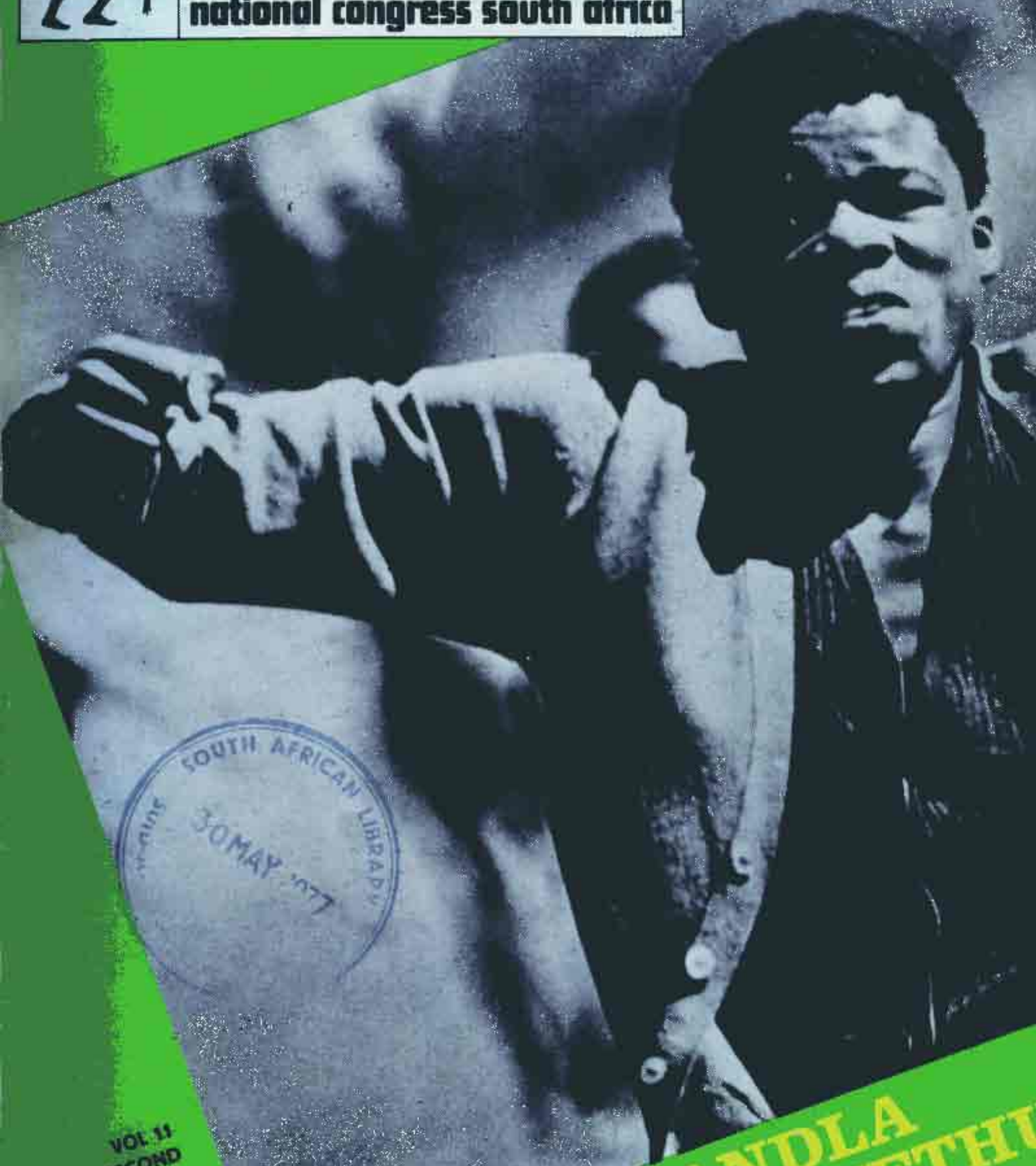




# SECHABA

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national congress south africa



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# SECHABA

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## LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM:

Voice of African National Congress  
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Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam  
on 15435 Khz, 19 Metre Band  
Sundays & Wednesdays  
at 10.000 p.m. SA time  
Mondays & Fridays  
at 0.30 p.m. SA time

We regret that Part Two of the Latin American Connection and the article on oil have been held over until the next issue, owing to pressure on space.

December 16, 1976: Heroes Day . . . Fifteen years  
since launching of Umkhonto We Sizwe . . . Six months  
since Bloody Wednesday in Soweto,  
and the rising of the youth

# DECEMBER 16: South Africa - Heroes Day

In Cape Town last December 16, explosions echoed through the city centre as four bombs scattered leaflets from ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, to mark the founding of Umkhonto, to commemorate fallen heroes of the fight for liberation, and calling upon young people to rally behind the ANC and join Umkhonto in ever greater numbers for training to become freedom fighters.

In London the same evening, large portraits of Bram Fischer, eminent South African freedom fighter, and Oliver Tambo, Acting President of ANC, looked down on a packed Heroes Day meeting. The meeting was called to express support for the South African people, and to confer on Bram Fischer posthumously, and on Oliver Tambo and the ANC, the World Peace Council's highest award, the Joliot Curie Medal.

## Leaflet Bombs

Scores of people scattered at several central points in Cape Town when the bomb blasts sent leaflets and smoke shooting into the air — but no one was injured. Police moved in to grab away leaflets which many people were picking

up and reading. But a large number of the leaflets were known to have been taken by passers-by and widely circulated.

The bombings were reported in front page headlines and pictures in the main newspapers. Police mounted a search for the people who had placed the bombs, but they failed to track them down.

One leaflet reminded young militants: "... it is essential to be disciplined, organised and correctly to identify the enemy. You must be part of an organisation, part of a revolutionary movement — the ANC with its allies and military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe will lead our people to victory."

The second leaflet was a declaration by Umkhonto that the murder of innocent children will be avenged, and that the mass struggle will grow side by side with the armed struggle. "In this way we build a people's power."

## Heroes Day Meeting

In London, British trade unionists, parliamentarians, and supporters, students and diplomats from many countries gathered to pay tribute to South Africa's fallen heroes — and to offer their strengthened support for the people's



**Romesh Chandra Secretary General of the World Peace Council hands Joliot Curie Medal for Bram Fischer to Eli Weinberg**

struggle, which developed a renewed momentum in the events of Soweto exactly six months before.

High point of the meeting was the award of the World Peace Council's Joliot Curie Medal to the late Bram Fischer, eminent South African advocate and Congress movement leader who chose to return to South Africa and go underground, was captured and jailed for life, until he died from the harshness of prison conditions.

The medal was presented by the World Peace Council's Secretary-General, Romesh Chandra, and handed to an old friend and comrade in jail of Bram Fischer's, Eli Weinberg. He accepted the award on behalf of "Bram's family, our comrades, and all of you." Eli Weinberg

said he was deeply moved at the honour. He brought greetings from comrades in South Africa, whether in jail, or fighting in the underground.

Eli Weinberg said that the people of South Africa, despite all repression, "have taken up the slogans of the African National Congress and the Freedom Charter, and they have taken the road to its realisation, the road of armed struggle.

"In Soweto, in the black townships of South Africa, we have the largest concentrations of politically aware, class conscious workers on the African continent. They are inspired by the glorious example of their brothers in Angola and Mozambique, who through armed struggle defeated the Portuguese and South African armies."

**DECEMBER 16TH IS A HISTORIC DAY IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE!**

The national liberation movement, under the leadership of the ANC, formed UMKHONTO WE SIZWE in 1961 when it became clear that only through armed struggle — no matter how long and bloody — could freedom be won. UMKHONTO provides our people with the skills of modern warfare. The bomb blasts and sabotage actions that rocked South Africa in the early 1960's are being heard again. Now the conditions and opportunities for our struggle have become more favourable. The oppressor will be met bullet for bullet here in South Africa. Our youth — African, Indian and Coloured — must join UMKHONTO in ever bigger numbers and train to become skilled freedom fighters. Remember: to succeed in struggle it is essential to be disciplined, organised and correctly to identify the enemy. You must be part of an organisation, part of a revolutionary movement — the ANC with its allies and military

wing UMKHONTO WE SIZWE will lead our people to victory!

**COUNTRYMEN AND COMRADES:** You have shown your courage and contempt for death. With such fighting spirit and unity our final victory is assured. Let us continue to convert our anger into revolutionary action. Let us harass the enemy on every front.

On this December 16th — **HEROES DAY** — the ANC dips its revolutionary banner in memory of all those comrades who have fallen in battle. To all the parents we say "Be proud for giving birth to such heroic children. They have not died in vain and we will continue the battle until victory is won."

To all of you we say: Forward brave fighters! Forward brothers and sisters! Maintain your revolutionary unity and fighting spirit. Together we will raise the struggle to more glorious heights. The blood of our people has made us stronger and more determined.

**AMANDLA NGAWETHU!  
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!  
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**

**Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC addressing the gathering. On his right is Reg September chief Representative of the ANC in London**



Eli Weinberg described Bram Fischer as "a unique phenomenon ... in the fullest sense a son of the Afrikaner soil, rooted in the history of his people ... yet he broke away from the reactionary currents of Afrikaner history ... He realised that the liberation of the black proletariat would also achieve the emancipation of the whole of South Africa's society."

Romesh Chandra said Brām Fischer was "A great South African and a great citizen of the world." He was a Communist who never gave up, and at the same time was an African who loved South Africa, and loved the ANC.

Other speakers included the Secretary-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, Alfred Nzo; Meshack

People of South Africa — Sons and Daughters of the soil — the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and its military wing UMKHONTO WE SIZWE has declared:

**"WE SHALL AVENGE THE BRUTAL MURDER OF OUR INNOCENT CHILDREN. WE SHALL AVENGE THE RUTHLESS KILLING AND MAIMING OF OUR PEOPLE WHO HAVE RISEN IN HEROIC PROTEST AGAINST THE APARTHEID MONSTER!"**

The terror that Vorster let loose in the Black townships has failed to crush the spirit of our people. Our unity and determination to struggle is greater than ever before. Africans, Coloureds and Indians, young and old, workers and parents, pupils and teachers, have stood firm against the police atrocities, and in the heroic months since June have raised the struggle to new heights.

Vorster and his cohorts must know: We shall defy their murder squads with greater determination; we shall continue to build the unity of all the Black people and reject with contempt efforts to divide us through useless concessions, dummy bodies and Bantustan frauds; we shall organise better, in secret to outwit enemy spies and informers; we shall co-ordinate our struggle in all corners of South Africa; develop our mass actions, demonstrations and strikes which mobilise our

people and disrupt the economy; we shall harass the enemy, his police, soldiers, officials and spies wherever we can. Above all, we shall arm ourselves with modern weapons and hit back through our organised fighting force UMKHONTO WE SIZWE!

**UMKHONTO WE SIZWE — PEOPLE'S ARMY OF LIBERATION**  
These racist murderers who slaughter unarmed children and women, fled in panic when they came face to face with the armed freedom fighters of UMKHONTO in Zimbabwe in 1967 and 1968. Their racist arrogance shrank when our MPLA comrades thrashed them in Angola. And now the time is coming when UMKHONTO will punish the racists on our own soil. The mass struggle of our people helps to bring that day nearer. Already Vorster is trembling because last October bombs destroyed the Jabulani police station, the Mzimhlope railway line and the Tzaneen to Pietersburg railway. He knows that armed freedom struggles start in small ways as happened in Angola, Mozambique and Vietnam. The freedom fighters organise the people in the towns and countryside: the mass struggle grows side by side with the armed struggle. In this way we build a **PEOPLE'S POWER** that will punish the oppressor for his crimes and establish freedom and justice over every inch of our beloved South Africa!



**Reg September  
was one of  
the speakers  
at the  
meeting**



**Mayibuye  
Cultural Unit  
at Heroes Day  
Meeting**

Chilumano Mashe of the ANC-Zimbabwe; John Forester of the engineering union AUEW-TASS, and Bob Hughes, MP, Chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Also attending were diplomats from Vietnam, Jamaica, Cuba, Liberia, Senegal, Botswana and Zambia.

The evening started with a presentation of revolutionary poetry and peoples'

songs, performed by the Mayibuye Cultural Unit. A half-hour collection from the audience for funds to help young people who have left South Africa and reported to the ANC for training and care, raised more than £3,200. Donations came from many sources, including Ethiopian and Arab students, and from support groups all over Europe, who had sent delegations to the meeting.

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**For the first time in history, a representative of the majority of the people of South Africa addresses the United Nations: Oliver Tambo, Acting President of the African National Congress, before the UN General Assembly, October 26, 1976 . . .**

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# **The Victory Of Our Cause Is Assured**

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For the first time in the history of the United Nations, a representative of the majority of the people of South Africa has been invited to share this prestigious rostrum with the distinguished representatives of the sovereign nations and peoples of the world.

This is a development of considerable significance for which I most sincerely thank you, Mr President, and this august body, in the name of the African National Congress and the entire liberation movement in South Africa, and especially on behalf of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Permit me to congratulate you, Mr President, on your unanimous election as President of this session of the General Assembly. We take this opportunity to pay warm tribute to your country and its esteemed leader, Prime Minister Madam Bandaranaike, for its leading rôle among the non-aligned nations and its unswerving support for just struggles the world over. It is worthy of note that the non-aligned movement and the United

Nations fall under your able guidance at a time when these two powerful instruments of progressive change are called upon to bring their collective weight to bear fully and effectively on the struggles for national liberation in southern Africa and in other parts of the world.

In the course of the past four weeks this session's deliberations have been punctuated by events calling attention to the great victories which have been won in the struggle for national independence and world peace.

The peoples of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia have been celebrating their independence anniversaries. The United Nations itself has observed its thirty-first anniversary, recording an achievement highlighted by the presence at this session, as full and equal Members, of the representatives of the heroic peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and other countries who, by their sacrifices, have enriched the meaning of national liberation and independence. In this context, the idea of bantustan





**O. R. Tambo, Acting-President-General of the ANC**

**"... our right to determine what to do with our liberation"**

independence is an outrage in Africa. On the other hand, the absence of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Angola from this session diminishes the United Nations.

I recall that two years ago the highly commendable act of solidarity by this august body with the brother people of Palestine was crowned by the address from this rostrum by my brother and comrade-in-arms Yasser Arafat who, true to the Palestinian tradition of solidarity with all oppressed peoples, called for the same opportunity to be accorded to the leaders of other liberation movements. It behoves me, on this occasion, when the struggle he leads and you support has been subjected to concerted attempts at liquidation, to express our unswerving solidarity with their just cause. As has been the case in the past, we are convinced that the Palestinian cause will emerge from this temporary setback stronger than ever before.

The struggle of progressive humanity for the total and final elimination of the evil system of colonial domination in

Africa has entered its decisive, penultimate stage. Confidence in the imminence and historically inevitable victory is moving the colonized peoples from Djibouti on the Somali coast to Cape Agulhas in South Africa to unprecedented heights of heroism in the pursuit of that popular outcome. Despite its imminence, our victory will not come easily. In the last four months, the apartheid régime has demonstrated to all who were ever in doubt that it is determined to fight to the bitter end, without regard for the numbers of our people it butchers in the process.

In spite of that practical experience and, indeed, exactly because of it, our people are demanding freedom now. They do not ask that their masters should restore to them their rights as free men and women. Rather, by their own actions against immense odds, they are restoring to themselves the right to call themselves free. After three and a quarter centuries of the most brutal national oppression suffered by any people on the African continent, our people, the indigenous majority, are asserting their will to be free with breath-taking heroism.

There is not vocabulary to describe the nobility and the pathos of the conscious sacrifices that the black youth of South Africa have made over the last four months to free themselves, their people and their country from forces that are determined to keep us forever their chattels. Together with their mothers and their fathers, they have seen hundreds of their compatriots pay the supreme sacrifice rather than accept a life of enslavement.

Through their own heroic efforts which are, and have been, supported by the whole of progressive mankind, the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia are advancing towards their own genuine independence. Daily in our South Africa, as in Palestine and in East Timor, ordinary people make extraordinary sacrifices in their quest for freedom.

As revolutionaries, we are moved to speak out daily, as we must, to salute



A 'hippo'

these extraordinary sacrifices, wherever they occur. Again as we must, we use extraordinary words to describe these sacrifices. They are heroic, they are selfless, they are noble. But, alas, in the end, use and abuse turn even those words upon themselves. Their strength of feeling withers away. What then must we say when thousands of hearts have beaten as one in South Africa and hundreds have perished in their unarmed and unequal yet relentless resistance to the oppressor? Shall we say the black people of South Africa have performed an heroic deed and leave it at that? Or shall we coin new words to describe the temper of the young man of ten years who marched undaunted on a French-built armoured car in the streets of Soweto, stone in hand, until he was cut down by a torrent of machine-gun bullets?

We say no. No words are necessary at all. The blood that our people have shed calls for action, not for more words. It calls for action to destroy the Fascist régime that continues to massacre the innocent.

For months before June 16, the African student youth of South Africa had protested not only against the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, but also against the whole system of "Bantu education". Typically, the Fascist tyranny in our country did not bother to listen to the grievances of the students and the people as a whole. "It was at Orlando West," writes the black South African journalist Willie Bokala, "near the Orlando West High School where the law, in its own fashion, gave a hearing to their grievances. Tear-gas bombs and gun bullets were the redress they got."

That was in June. Since then, no less than a thousand of the cream of our people have been shot down in cold blood in the streets of our towns and cities and in far-flung villages. Thousands are held in Vorster's prisons. The systematic murder of the patriots of South Africa continues behind the secrecy of these prison walls.

It is not the first time, however, that for redress of their greivances our heroic countrymen have confronted tear-gas

bombs and bullets and been subjected to cold-blooded assassinations. The African National Congress has repeatedly declared that repression, coercion and mass murder are of the very essence of the apartheid system. The mass shootings that characterize South Africa today are therefore neither an aberration nor freak incidents. They are the concrete expressions of the policy of the apartheid state, whose central features are extreme national oppression, brutal super-exploitation of the oppressed black and the maintenance of this system through open fascism.

National oppression is in itself a reactionary force directed against the oppressed. Equally, super-exploitation is in itself a reactionary force but by terror. Apartheid is a reactionary force directed by the white racist minority against the black majority.

In as much as the apartheid régime is a product of colonial conquest it is itself an imposition on our people. From the earliest days of their arrival, the white settlers, as they did elsewhere in Africa, set themselves the task of subjugating the indigenous population politically and economically. The apartheid system of today is the outcome of a process of historical development which has led to the entrenchment of white settler colonial domination. The racist régime is chosen by and represents only the white fifth of the population of our country. It exists to advance the sole and exclusive interests of this minority. Everything else in what the forces of reaction are pleased to describe as "the South African way of life" is predicated on this fundamental feature of South Africa. The black people of South Africa are therefore a colonized people. The majority of the representatives present here will understand what we mean by this, because their peoples have themselves been at some time colonized and subject peoples.

In the eyes of the white colonizers, the black people of South Africa exist merely as beasts of burden. Their life purpose is to serve fully and without question the

interests of the white colonial master. All this is written into the South African statute books. Every single white Parliament in South Africa has legislated in favour of extreme national oppression and the brutal super-exploitation of the black people. Each Parliament has further legislated to make sure that we, the colonized, do not seek to change our condition by thought, by word of mouth or by action. That, in its totality, is what constitutes the criminal system of apartheid. As the whole world knows, it is also overlaid and suffused with a virulent and pernicious white racism.

To justify the extreme national oppression of the black people, their super-exploitation and their control by Fascist methods, the white colonial régime upholds as State policy a lying racist philosophy which seeks to shroud criminal practices in the cloak of natural law and divine right. The people, how-



"It looks as if the Government is showing the hand of friendship abroad and the foot of suppression at home"

ever, contemptuously reject this philosophy. Like the rest of the great humanity, never shall we accept the position of slavery. The popular uprising that has dominated South African life over the last four months is a militant and eloquent assertion of these truths.

What distinguished South Africa from the rest of the world is that its rulers have chosen to put themselves outside the bounds of this great humanity. In no country have racial discrimination, national oppression and economic exploitation been elevated to the level of State policy, buttressed by statutes and conventions, sanctioned by force of arms and clothed in a deceitful and perverted version of Calvinism.

We speak of those who — to paraphrase the words of the poet Bertold Brecht — because we want to live like human beings, slaughter us like savage beasts. We mean those in South Africa who by their daily actions deliberately impose death, even on the unborn, and consciously educate the young to deny their own humanity; those who pay and arm with guns — and with rubber stamps — a whole army of overseers to sweat and bleed the black majority in order to provide life and comfort solely and exclusively for the white minority.

This august body advanced the ideals and objectives enshrined in its Charter when it declared the system of apartheid a crime against humanity and adopted a convention for its suppression and punishment. It was a fault of the times that in 1945 representatives of the colonial system in South Africa were admitted into this Organization of the world's peoples. It is a gross travesty of justice and an evil tribute to the arrogant power of international imperialism that today these representatives are still allowed to walk freely into this forum and pose as spokesmen of our people.

The vast majority of our people — and among them we count some white people who have bravely denounced the criminal régime of apartheid and joined the ranks of the revolution — are neither fascists



**'Our people, the indigenous majority are asserting their will to be free with breath-taking heroism'**

nor racists. Nor do they oppress or exploit anybody; nor, indeed, do they have plans to oppress and exploit.

It is an insult to human reason and to the Charter of this Organization, it is to spit on the graves of the patriots of our country and all those other heroes in other lands who have perished in the struggle for liberation that our oppressors should have an acknowledged claim to appear in this Assembly as our spokesmen. We do not recognize the legitimacy of the white minority régime inside South Africa. So also we reject its claim and pretence to represent the people of South Africa internationally.

Rulers such as those that occupy positions of power in South Africa today have been warned. They have been warned that good as slaves may be in supplying the comforts of their masters, yet they have a fault in that they can think. Our people also are not lacking in this faculty. That is why today they are in open, mass revolt. They are asserting the age-old right of the slave to rebel, the right and duty of the oppressed to rise against their oppression.

Like all other patriots, we love our country and its people — all its people. It is a varied land of snow-capped mountain peaks, of deserts and sub-tropical greenery, covering vast mineral resources. Its warm seas to the east and cold ones to the west contain also large animal and mineral resources.

Our people, with their varied cultures which are continuously mingling and interacting to their mutual enrichment, exhibit, despite their conditions, a great love for life and a sensitive joy in the creative and humane endeavours of the peoples of the world, without exception. These ordinary, industrious and peace-loving people want to revolutionize themselves and their country.

As a colonized people, we assert not only our right to rebel against the colonizer, but also our right to determine for ourselves the means and methods to use to liberate ourselves and our country, as well as our right to determine what to do with our liberation. We have a vision of, and we fight for, a future South Africa in which national oppression will be abolished once and for all, in which racism in whatever form it rears its ugly head will be suppressed with all the might of popular power. We fight to restore power to the hands of the people.

In so doing we shall also liberate the oppressor. We know that many whites in South Africa are ill at ease because they are aware of the immorality of the

injustices and cruelties that are being practised in their name and on their behalf to uphold an inhuman social order of which they are the beneficiaries. They already sense that change is coming soon.

We realize that all but a small handful of true revolutionaries, and men of conscience among them, will continue to support the minority régime because of training, self-interest, fear and inertia. Yet they, the whites, also need to be liberated from the obscurantism, backwardness and ostracism into which they have thrust themselves. Our national democratic revolution therefore has the task also of liberating even these our oppressors.

We fight also for a South Africa whose wealth will be shared by its people equitably. We fight to abolish the system which obtains in our country today and which concentrates almost all productive wealth in the hands of a few, while the vast majority exists and toils to enlarge that wealth.

We will create a South Africa in which the doors of learning and of culture shall be open to all. We shall have a South

**Spirit of Soweto . . . of Langa . . . of . . .**



Africa in which the young of our country shall have access to the best that mankind has produced, in which they shall be taught to love their people of all races, to defend the equality of the people, to honour creative labour, to uphold the oneness of mankind and to hate untruth, obscurantism, immorality and avarice.

We will have a South Africa which will live in peace with its neighbours and with the rest of the world. It will base its foreign relations on the principles of non-interference and mutually advantageous assistance among the peoples as well as the continuation of the struggle against the system of imperialist and neo-colonialist domination.

With the orchestrated chorus of a coterie of hand-picked placemen, Vorster is today declaring the Transkei independent. Today, we have had the spectacle in Umtata, the principal town in the Transkei, of one flag raised and another lowered. Soon after that, in continuation of the charade, the national anthem of the oppressed, sung by liberation fighters

since 1925 was played in glorification of national oppression in a new guise.

We know from the words of Hendrik Verwoerd himself, racist former Prime Minister of South Africa, that the bantustan policy represents an attempt at perpetuating the criminal system of apartheid. I quote from a statement he made in 1963: "If we are agreed that it is the desire of the people that the white man should be able to continue to protect himself by retaining white domination ... we say that it can be achieved by separate development."

The following year Verwoerd stated that before the collapse of colonialism in the greater part of Africa the white minority régime had visualized for the African people "separation ... that ends at a certain point, self-rule under the care of a guardian." But since the collapse of colonialism, they have had — to use their own words — "to make an adjustment within [the] policy" and not against it, as Verwoerd stressed. This adjustment meant carrying the policy — to quote

Casual murderers, left, father and son in grief and anger, right





**'No less than one thousand of the cream of our people have been shot down in cold blood in the streets of our towns and cities and far-flung villages'**

them again — "further and further to its logical conclusions."

There, in the words of its own architect, is spelt out the purpose of the "separate development" programme and its intended logical conclusion: the fraudulent independence of the bantustans. The African National Congress and the vast majority of our people rejected this programme very firmly and unequivocally at its very inception. We, together with the vast majority of our people — including those in the Transkei — continue to reject it today.

We state now, as we stated then, that an incontrovertible part of the demands of our people is that there shall be one united and democratic South Africa. We will never abandon our birthright to the ownership and control of the whole territory of our country nor countenance any attempt to balkanise it and to set its people one against another in tribal, racial or national conflicts. No African independent country could ever fail to oppose such an attempt, especially when the obvious and declared aim is to perpetuate a colonial system in Africa. No Government, country or nation in the world, genuinely opposed to apartheid, racism and colonialism, could at any time lend support to the bantustan programme in general and to the idea of bantustan independence in particular.

It is for this reason that we welcome

and hail the stand of the vast majority of mankind and the member states of the Organization of African Unity and of the United Nations, as well as the non-aligned countries, which have adopted these positions. We call upon this world body to declare its unanimous, unequivocal and irrevocable rejection of the so-called independence of the Transkei.

We think it proper however that we should here call for vigilance. Experience shows that there are forces that will try to break this united stand. Already voices have been raised among United States military circles arguing for the establishment of a United States naval base in the Transkei. Non-recognition of the Transkei does not mean that the forces of imperialism will not give surreptitious support to Vorster's bastard creation. Non-recognition of the bantustans as a whole must also mean their total and complete isolation. Such a collective commitment will serve as a warning also to the racist régime and its black collaborators in South Africa that the international community is determined to abide by the principles of the Charter of this Organization.

We have stated before that the right to determine what they shall do with their liberation belongs exclusively to the people of our country. This bears not only



on the issue of the Transkei, the "separate development" programme as a whole and any other "solution" that the Fascist régime may impose on our people; it bears also on new voices that we have heard raised arguing not only that majority rule in South Africa is a long-term aim, but also that non-racial solutions must be found for African issues, among which South Africa naturally features prominently.

The Vorster régime continues to exist because of the economic, military and political support that it receives from the countries of Western Europe, from North America and from Japan. It is clear to us also that another group of countries is being activated to act as conduits and fronts for the big imperialist powers. We refer to countries such as Israel, Argentina, Taiwan and Iran.

Imperialist strategy with regard to South Africa remains unchanged from what it has been over the years. Its aim is still to strengthen the criminal apartheid régime to enable it to protect the joint interests of the multi-national corporations which have invested in and are trading with South Africa and the super-profits that accrue to these companies.

It is timely to commend the United Nations for condemning the apartheid régime as constituting a threat to world peace and international security. In doing



**'Non-recognition of the Transkei does not mean that the forces of imperialism will not give surreptitious support to Vorster's bastard creation'**

so, we hail the concerted campaign waged by the vast majority of United Nations Member States in favour of the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. The position adopted by certain Western countries in repeatedly frustrating this effort is being closely watched by our people, who expect all justice-loving and peace-loving nations to go beyond verbal condemnation and to take effective measures against this international pariah. The duplicity of those countries who join us in condemning the system, while buttressing it economically and enhancing its repressive, terrorist and aggressive potential through the supply of the most sophisticated war equipment, is consistent only with their hostility to African aspirations.

This military cooperation shows no sign of diminishing. Instead, secret military pacts, including attempts at incorporating the South African régime into the NATO defence arrangement, are concluded. And of late, this has taken the form of nuclear collaboration intended to help the régime to fulfil its ambition to produce the atomic bomb. We are convinced that this sharply increases the threat to world peace and international security. After all, the Pretoria régime has now arrogated to itself the right to intervene militarily in all African countries, south of the equator. It stubbornly persists in its provocative policy against the international commu-

*"One can't get rid of it overnight, you know..."*





nity by continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia. For 11 years now, it has been the major ally of the illegal Smith régime. It recently committed naked aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and in fact pursues a policy of permanent subversion and aggression against the neighbouring States such as Zambia, Mozambique and Angola.

We call on the aforementioned member states, particularly the United States, France and the United Kingdom, to abandon their short-sighted policy. The young people wantonly killed in Soweto and elsewhere by Vorster's bloodthirsty police using Western arms are survived by hundreds of thousands who are today swelling the ranks of our revolutionary forces. Their determination to lay down their lives for the liberation of their fatherland guarantees the irreversibility of the revolutionary tide that will certainly be crowned with victory over the apartheid régime. And since we have not given up our hope of having the entire international community rejoice with us and the African continent over that inevitable victory, we call on the United States, France and the United Kingdom to support the invocation of Chapter VII of

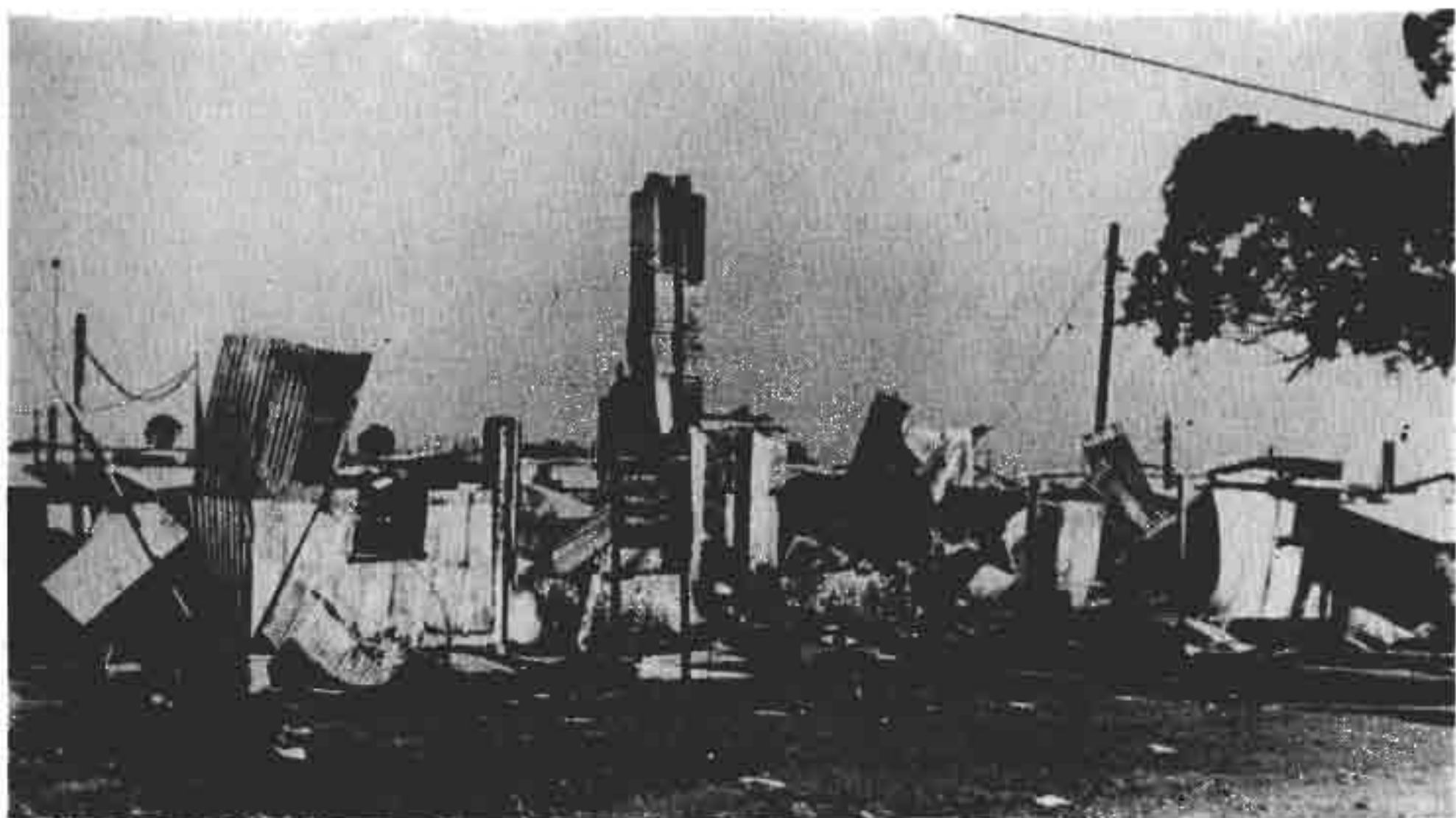
the Charter, which we implore the General Assembly to propose for consideration by the Security Council this year.

While imperialism has these interests in South Africa and while it predicates its own survival on the survival of the white minority régime, the confrontation between the African National Congress together with the struggling people of our country, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism led by the United States, on the other, cannot but grow sharper. For a strategy for the strengthening of the criminal apartheid régime is simultaneously a strategy for the destruction of the forces within South Africa that seek to bring about a genuinely popular change.

The same idea is conveyed in statements made by representatives of the United States Government that a non-radical solution for the South African question must, in the long term, be found. We take this to be a very categorical and clear statement by the world's leading imperialist power, on its own behalf and on behalf of its allies in NATO and elsewhere, that it is prepared to accept only such a solution as would leave its interests in South Africa intact.

Neither the African National Congress

Township liquor store





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**'The only basis on which to judge the acceptability of any solution is whether it accords with the fundamental aspirations of the broad mass of the people'**

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nor our people as a whole can ever accept such a solution. The attempt to build up collaborationist forces inside South Africa that will accept such a solution will also meet with a dismal defeat. The only basis on which to judge the acceptability of any solution is whether it accords with the fundamental interests and aspirations of the broad masses of our people.

At present the big imperialist powers and their junior partners such as Israel are clearly ranged solidly against the liberation of our people. It is they who have consistently defied the call by the peoples of the world to isolate and destroy the criminal apartheid régime. It is they who have supplied the arms for the butchery of the eight-year-olds, which continues to this day, and who have given Vorster the moral strength to defend the South African racist system without regard to the loss of human lives. Their hands are therefore as soaked in the blood of our people, which ran in Soweto, in Athlone and elsewhere, as those of Vorster himself.

Mankind as a whole is still moved by the horror of the apartheid system. The time has come to cry out "No more!"

Thousands of our people, including very young, are held in Vorster's prisons subject to daily torture. Many have already been murdered. The situation calls for yet another duty on the part of

the international community — to press for the immediate and unconditional release of all patriots detained and imprisoned by the racists.

Today, the attention of our people is focused on this august body. In their view, since the nations gathered here have denounced the apartheid régime as one that constitutes a crime against humanity and a threat to peace, they cannot at the same time give it the material and moral wherewithal to continue its crimes.

The victory of our cause is assured. As no force is able to deny the peoples of Viet Nam, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau their right to national self-determination, equally no force will be able to deny us our liberation. The peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia will be free sooner rather than later, and so will the people of South Africa.

We have set ourselves one task and one task only — to seize power from the Fascist régime. To achieve that, we have been forced to take up arms. We shall pursue the armed struggle not merely for the abolition of racial discrimination or for amendments to the apartheid system of national oppression, super-exploitation and fascism. We fight to transfer political power into the hands of the people. When, in June and subsequent months, our people replied to the Fascist Power





**Don't mourn – organise!**

with the cry "Amandla ngawethu!" they meant "Power to the People!" It is with that power that the people will transform our country into an acceptable member of the international community and create within it a society that upholds civilized and humane standards.

The African National Congress, the vanguard organization of the broad liberation forces of our country, for many decades, remains unwavering in its determination to carry out its historic mission of heading all these forces to victory. Despite all attempts to suppress them, its ideas find a ready response among the masses of our people. Since its foundations, it has, for instance, fought tirelessly to ensure the unity in action of all the oppressed people. Today the fruits of that labour are evident to all.

We are in the forefront of a struggle in South Africa whose victorious outcome is demanded not only by our people but also by the imperative of world peace. We have come here and spoken to try to get

the rest of humanity that loves freedom and peace to renew its pledge in word and deed to support our people until power is restored into their hands.

I am certain that all those who are assembled here will not fail us. We are strengthened in this conviction by the fact that the General Assembly has affirmed the legitimacy of our armed struggle. We are strengthened in it also by the knowledge that the Organization of African Unity, the socialist countries, the non-aligned movement and the democratic forces in the imperialist countries have continuously demonstrated their resolve to support our struggling people. We are strengthened by the positions consistently taken by the Nordic countries.

The Fascist régime in South Africa is in a more precarious position than it dares to admit. Like a wounded beast, it is exacting a terrible toll on our people. That impels all of us to join in a concerted effort to stop the bloodbath by destroying the criminal régime now.

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Speech to the UN General Assembly on November 4, 1976, by Sikosi Mji, 22-year-old underground ANC activist, and participant in Soweto demonstrations. Her brother, now detained, was immediate past president of SASO. She left South Africa, escaping from a police search, in September

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# We Fight White Domination

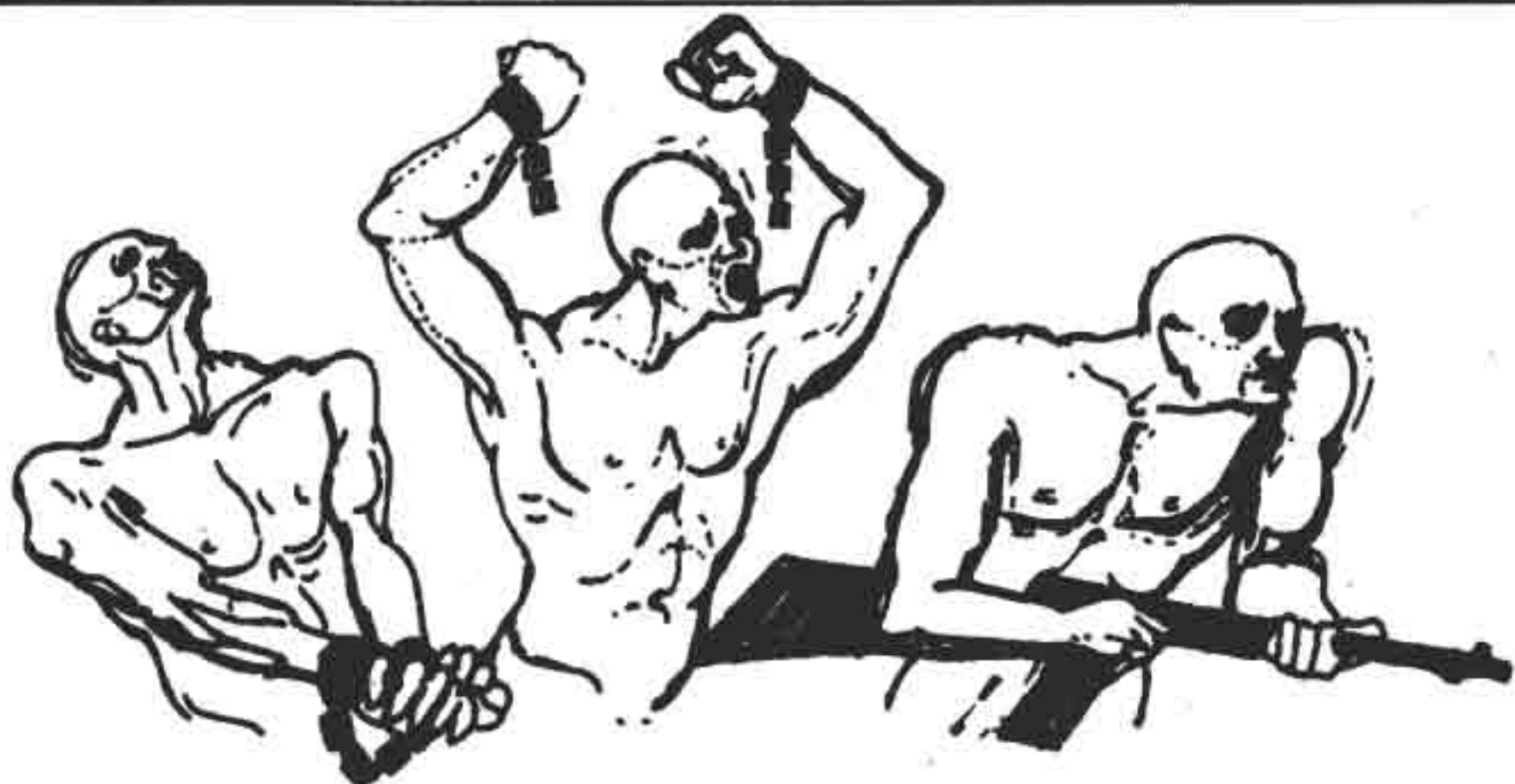
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It pains me to stand here and address you about a subject which is all too familiar. May I express at this juncture, my congratulations on the vast documentation work that this committee has made available for those who come from all over the world to learn about the evils that men commit against other men.

Bearing this in mind, some people would think it rather absurd for a 21 year old schoolgirl to address this committee on a perennial subject that has been on

the agenda of this body since its inception. I therefore do not wish to bore you with this subject, but as a product of apartheid, I wish to have you see in me, the mood of the struggling youth of South Africa.

I do not propose that there is anything new in the black man's struggle against white domination. I would like to confirm continually our struggle and the untempered burning desire of our people for freedom. We, the people of South Africa, have, during our lifetimes dedicated



ourselves to the struggle for liberation of the African, Coloured and Indian people of our country.

We fight against white domination and we also fight against black puppet domination (bantustans being no exception) in whatever forms these have come to us. We continue to cherish the ideals of a democratic, free society in which all persons shall live together in harmony and with equal opportunities without regard to the colour of their skins. These are ideals we hope to live for and to achieve. But again, these are ideals for which, if needs be, we are prepared to die. We are quite aware of the determination of the enemy to fight us to the end to secure the so-called "South African way of life". We have heard and seen as children, the massacres the white racist régimes of Verwoerd and Vorster have committed against our people.

We have wondered how four million people have been able to oppress, exploit, dehumanize 18 million people. The

answers are not too difficult to find, for we have seen them in Sharpeville, Carletonville, Bulhoek, Dimbaza, Alexandra township and, most recently, in Mamelodi and Soweto. Without being taught, we have discovered for ourselves the secret of power. Without persuasion we have grown wise at an early age.

The fact that the system of apartheid has been universally condemned as a crime against humanity poses a challenge to us — a challenge we have accepted. In recent years Mozambique and Angola, just across our borders, have not only won their independence but have fought for their self-determination and consequently have taken the power to determine their fates and their futures into their hands. So we ask ourselves: are we different? If so, how?

Without appearing to ask for personal sympathy, I wish to put a sketch of a typical South African family before this committee. My father was a founder member of the Youth League of the

**Soweto children shout defiance and give 'power' salutes around burnt out delivery van**



African National Congress, and when Congress was banned in 1960 he was put under strict police surveillance. This meant that during certain periods of the year, he had to report at police stations, also whenever he proposed to move from one part of South Africa to another. We were subjected to all sorts of questions and abusive treatment.

In August 1976, my brother, an immediate past president of the South African Students Organization, was arrested by the Security Police. At 3 am that morning 300 of these loathed police made their raid on the campus of the Medical School of Durban. My brother, and many of his kind, stay now in the prisons of South Africa, where many have died, in solitary confinement. For 288 days or more, depending on Kruger and Company, under Section 6 of the Suppression of Communism Act, my parents may never be allowed to see my brother. In fact the government even refuses to disclose the name of the jail where he is kept.

I am fortunate in having fled the country, because I still have chance of saving those who are now still leaving. But what about those who are detained? What about those in Robben Island? What about those who have died in the bloody streets of Soweto? What about my friends who are dying as I am talking to you now?

Allow me, to convey, on behalf of my colleagues who are facing fascist machine guns stones in hand, dust-bin lids as their shields the pressing appeal for the redoubling of the international community's efforts. We are not in doubt as to the inevitability of our victory. Even though we face heavy odds, we are resolved to pay the highest sacrifice. Help us hasten the triumph of justice by enabling us to meet the enemy on at least relatively equal terms.

Help us also by providing us opportunities to pursue our studies. As you know hundreds are today without educational facilities in South Africa due to the current situation.

**If the hat fits . . . FASCISTS! in helmets**





# REPORT FROM KHAMMI

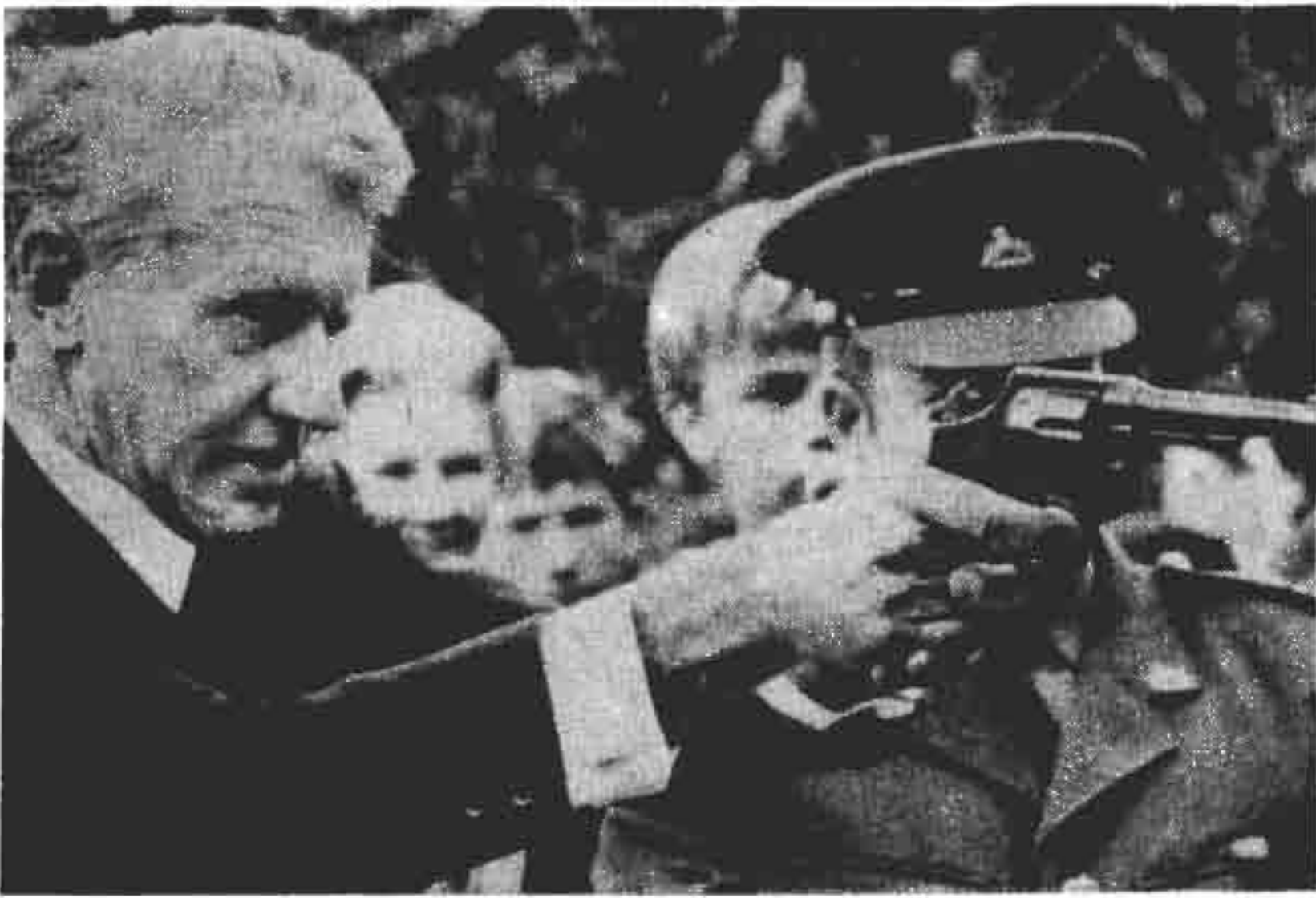
**Report from inside a notorious Rhodesian prison where South African are among those suffering and dying from the appalling conditions**

Khami Prison looks a beautiful place. From the outside one could take it for an hotel. In fact it is a place where more than 500 prisoners are kept, and whose prison sentences vary from six years to life imprisonment.

This prison came into being in 1966 when the "D" class regulations were imposed. There was a medical officer named Macleod who applied treatment

without caring to know what the patient suffered from. He would take the tablets or sedatives from the nearest bottle and hand them to the sick man. When many people, after receiving his treatment, went mad, we had the terrible proof that he was giving the wrong medicines.

In 1967 he left Rhodesia for Congo as a mercenary. After the defeat there he came back to Rhodesia, rejoined the prison 21



He needs  
to learn . . .

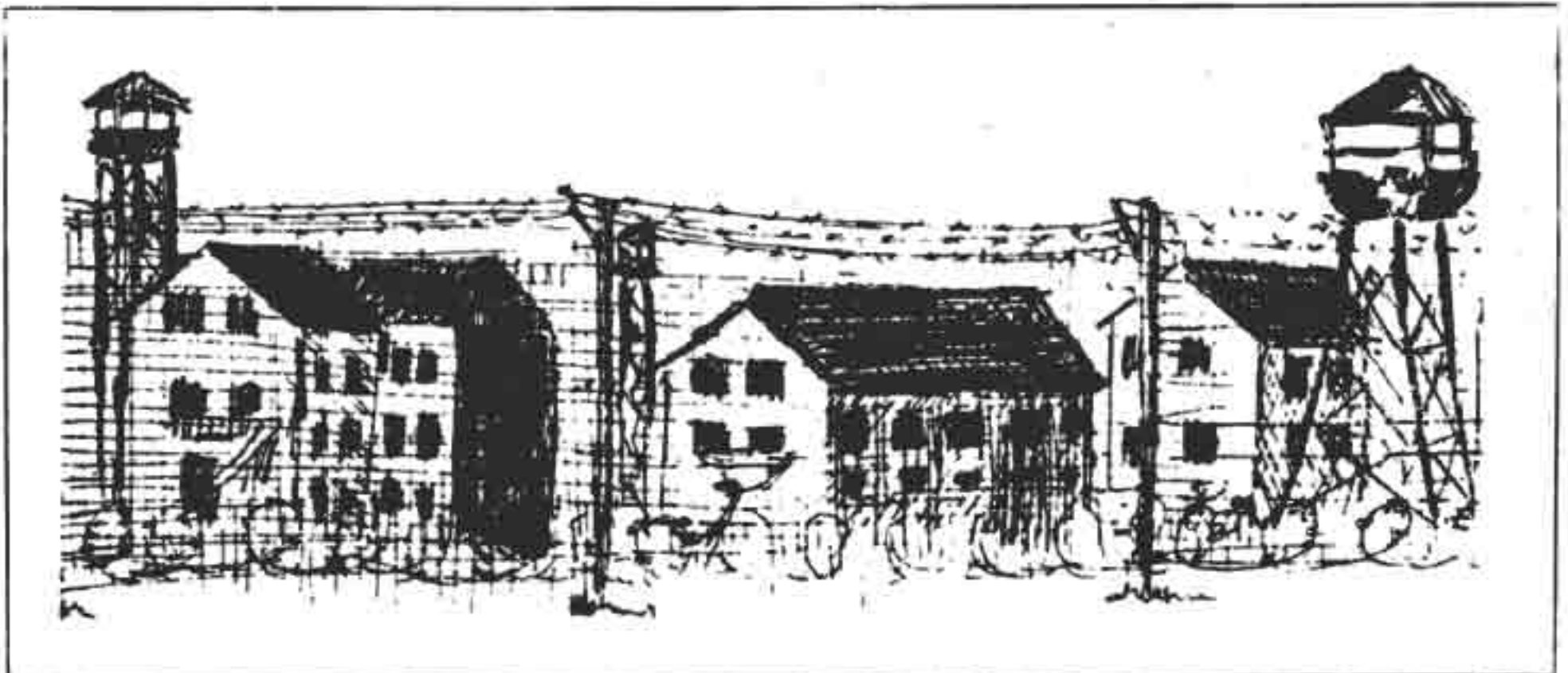
service and was again stationed at Khami. The same man gave sedatives to a prisoner and as a result the patient died. This was proved by the doctors during a post mortem at the Mpilo Hospital.

This white orderly fled to South Africa but now he is back again at Khami Maximum Prison.

One more prisoner has died in a crowded cell where they are packed together like sardines. The deceased prisoner, George Mutusi, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa, died as a result of an overdose.

The man had been suffering from high blood pressure for a long time but had never been taken to hospital. Until his death he had been at the mercy of the prison medical warder who is also responsible for the deaths that took place in the last few years. Daniel Muphande, the medical warder, has proved beyond any reasonable doubt that he is resolved to exterminate prisoners one at a time.

Mupande has the power to heal or kill. He knows prisoners have no other resort to medication. He treats or sends to hospital when he feels like doing so. Of





the prisoners who are suffering from high or low blood pressure, not one is safe, because instead of giving them the special tablets Mupande drugs his patients by giving them many grams of sleeping drugs.

All these prisoners suffered from internal abdominal pains like ulcers, kidneys and blood pressure, accelerated by frustration caused by poor prison conditions.

Also different types of books are sent to prisoners by various organisations but

HAROLD



The following prisoners were sent when sick and at the brink of death to Mpilo Hospital and they all died there:

Brown Chiquada	1973
Kasimiro Ngara	1973
Chibaya Chambeko	1974
Gibson Mureza	1975
Reggie Hlatshwayo	1976

The following died in cells:

Chief Pachanza	1974
George Mutusi	1976

these are not handed to the prisoners. The only books which are given to prisoners are those which are of no value to anybody. The Rev Magara proudly makes it clear that any book of value to prisoners will not be allowed by him to get into their hands. This is contrary to prison rules and regulations.

He does not allow prisoners certain stationery even though the prison does allow these things. It seems as though this

Padre is making some sort of black market with these things. Ninety per cent of prisoners, who do not attend his Anglican church, find a lot of hostility. Prisoners are not allowed to write to any person or charity organisation. All help that prisoners used to get from previous padres is now used for personal benefit by Rev Magara and it seems the authorities have turned a blind eye to this corruption. All things in his possession seem to disappear.

The prison aid association buys newspapers for the prisoners, but they are not given to them. Any prisoner found in possession of a newspaper is subjected to punishment. They are forbidden to possess toothpaste as well as toothbrush. They get only one letter a month, even those who are serving long prison terms. They are allowed only one visitor a month, for fifteen minutes. Some people come from very far away, some from foreign countries. These are all subjected to the same prison timetable.

During the night prisoners are not allowed their uniforms in their cells, though Scale Two prisoners sleep with their pyjamas in their cells. The prisoners are allowed eight cigarettes a week and food is very little and not well cooked. Those who are still awaiting trial are not allowed to receive anything from outside such as food and cigarettes. They are not



allowed to write to their lawyers and they are allowed to write only one letter a month like the convicted prisoners.

The respective political organisations are not aware of this perilous situation. The prisoners have decided not to complain to the prison authorities in fear that they might be deprived of the few privileges allowed them.



**Nkosazana Dlamini describes the development of political consciousness among the youth of South Africa and the common stand on a number of current issues**

# **THE ANC IS THE ANSWER**

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**Nkosazana Dlamini is the Vice President of SASO (South African Students Organisation) and a member of the ANC underground inside South Africa.**

**She left the country last September after weeks evading a police search, by moving from room to room in the men's hostels of Natal University. She had one narrow escape: she was arrested for trespass, but gave a false name, was fined ten Rand – and released as one more routine “offender”, caught in the relentless machine of repression, found guilty and punished by rote . . .**

**Nkosazana, when she escaped, was the only member of SASO's executive not in detention. She was born in Pietermaritzburg in 1949. She lived with her family in Glebelands location, Durban, and attended primary school there.**

**Her family was moved out when Glebelands was turned into a bachelor's quarters, and they were taken to Umlazi – the “Soweto” of Durban. She went to high school at Amanzimtoti training college (formerly Adams College), and took her BSc in zoology at the University of Zululand. She was in her fifth year in medical school at Wentworth, University of Natal – with just one year to go before becoming a doctor – when the uprising began.**

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**Q. The ferment among young people reached a head just as exams were coming close. Did you not feel worried about getting politically active at this time, and upsetting your exams?**

**A. Well, when the June incidents came I was already involved. In fact they broke in the middle of our half-yearly exams, but all the students decided they were not going to continue. I just found myself getting on with my political work. I knew that if it came to the crux I would have to leave the country. But there was no point in leaving what I had started just for a degree. Even if I passed the degree I would still suffer the same oppression. It**

**was a feeling, you know, that to make something of education — or anything else — there must be a complete political change. We all felt that we should rather concentrate on getting the people mobilised and politicised to bring political change, before we can enjoy education.**

**The only thought I had was for my parents. You know how important it is for them, if they are putting you through medical school. But the police started harrasing them, even before I left the country, so fortunately they were with me. Thousands of parents came to feel the same way, that the struggle was the only alternative.**



Q. There is an argument, as expressed by Gatsha Buthelezi, that it is against your own interests to be militant against these institutions because they are helping you — what do you feel about that?

A. I think that's totally wrong. The kind of education we get would not advance anybody — it is meant to create a reservoir of cheap labour, to exploit the people! The idea is to equip us to take instructions from our white rulers, and to cope with the economic demands of the country. It is not to advance us as a nation. The buildings burned were government buildings, symbols of oppression — and there were also bantustan buildings burned — which shows how the people really reject these "homelands".

Buthelezi is really not true to himself because he opposed Bantu Education when it was introduced. I don't know since when it has become a means of advancing the people!

Q. Is the feeling against Gatsha Buthelezi and his groups very strong among the people of Zululand and Natal generally?

A. Yes — very strong. When he first came up some older people, and young ones, were not quite sure, because he had been known before as a militant politician, and people thought maybe he would continue on a good path. He himself said he was only taking up a position in the bantustan framework to prove to the world that the bantustans are a sham. So some thought: we cannot dismiss him.

But recently people have seen him for what he is. Among other things he has gone out of the country and canvassed for foreign investments for Kwazulu. Inside, he has accepted an honorary degree from one of the tribal colleges. And when the present uprising started he said that the police should deal with the students accordingly, and that he would organise vigilante groups to counteract the students.

All this led to him losing the little support he had. And in May this year there was the big demonstration against him at the University of Zululand, where

he was receiving his honorary degree. Most of the young people do not support him at all, and many of the older people are withdrawing their support. Once in Soweto he could draw quite a crowd. Last July he could not even hold a meeting — there was nobody.

Q. He was one person who has been exposed by events. Who are the other people, who are also trying to project some kind of nationalist "alternative" to the ANC and the liberation movement, whom people should be aware of?

A. Well, we have people like Pathudi, also a homeland leader; people like Dr Bhengu, a high school principal — quite militant, but also working along anti-progressive nationalist lines. There are a few people who have left the country and who are stationed in Botswana, some of whom were among the leadership of SASO and Black People's Convention. They are trying to find a way of creating a kind of "third force", to project the black consciousness movement as an alternative to ANC — and Western countries are backing them. Inside the country there are similar things going on, though they might not be obvious at the moment.

Q. How do these people operate? How do these third force manoeuvres manifest themselves?

A. I think they would like to play heavily on the emotions of the people, taking advantage of the fact that the white rulers have done lots of brutal things. So they tend to project the African black image, with slogans like "Africa for the Africans" and "South Africa for blacks — no whites". You know that is what some people feel — specially after the recent uprisings. They feel, without analysing the situation to any depth, that the white man is no good.

There is also some propaganda sometimes published in the national papers at home, as "coming from the ANC in London", and yet contradicting what we know the ANC stands for. We were quite confused inside the country — until we heard that there were people being expel-

led from ANC who were issuing such statements, and trying to identify themselves with the black consciousness movement inside the country. They were saying the the ANC is led and manipulated by whites who belong to the Communist Party and that people should be aware; that it is only blacks who should be in the leadership of any organisation; it's only blacks who can bring freedom — blacks led by blacks — that sort of thing.

In some statements they were even saying that the present uprisings have got nothing to do with the ANC, and it is only the black consciousness movements, plus the people who are for "Africa for the Africans", who are doing anything for liberation.

*Q.* And what is the young people's response to this kind of rhetoric?

*A.* You may divide the young people into two broad categories. There are those, aged 18 or 19 and still at high school, who are more likely to believe in that kind of line, for a few reasons: they haven't really come into personal contact with whites — except for their mother's "master", or the policeman who demands a pass in the street. Their consciousness is formed from day to day experience, and they tend to be a bit more anti-white. It's when we leave our schools in the ghettos that we come to know whites as fellow-men and women. Only then are we really able to start understanding the fundamentals of the problem in South Africa.

But to get young people interested in politics in the first place — they have to get this consciousness from their day to day sufferings. Once they are interested — only then can you explain the fundamentals...

*Q.* ...you mean, that racialism is a convenient way to exploit people?

*A.* Yes, that racialism is only used to exploit people, and for political domination. What we are fighting is not really a racial struggle, it only tends to look that way because of racialism... I suppose I went through the same process myself. At high school I was taught mostly by

Afrikaans-speaking teachers and in a way they ill-treated us, and the African staff. There was lots of apartheid within the school and I used to feel very bitter towards whites.

But when I was doing matric I started coming into contact with older people, discussing art, literature, politics. Only then do you begin to appreciate the problem. When I got to university I made a few white friends, at science conferences, meetings, and so on, we used to talk a lot. My close white friend was equally frustrated as I was because we could not visit each other. It dawned on me that not all whites are bad. So I became interested in knowing more of the intricacies of the system; how things are worked; why certain industries prefer to operate in South Africa than in Britain or the US. I got to know it was because they make more profit in South Africa through cheap labour. That's how I developed...

*Q.* And are you confident that this process of becoming aware will be repeated among young people as they go through the events of today?

*A.* When I grew up there wasn't much political activity really. Now they stand a better chance of understanding the situation than we did because there is lots of political activity, both from students and from mass movements in the country. There is also lots of underground work being done by some ANC people. In the mid-Sixties there was almost no political activity — and not much initiative from the community. But nowadays, as an ANC member, I know there is quite a lot of work being done, though there is still room for improvement. So many people are now in the struggle — all that is needed now is to teach people the real problems — the interest is already there!

People receive unknown mail which turns out to be ANC pamphlets and other material, and they try to find out where they can get more literature. For a time there hadn't been much publicity about ANC outside the country, and people tended to feel lost. But now that they see letter bombs in the street and so on they



**Shot in the back**





are really interested. Sometimes you have to restrain yourself from telling them — you have to assess people really well before telling them more, and involving them. Lots of people recognise the ANC as their movement. I'm quite confident that ANC will have no trouble in mobilising support for the call to armed struggle.

During the uprisings people were saying everywhere: "If the ANC would come with arms we'd leave our jobs and go to fight." Some are just waiting for the day.

**Q.** Is there also a general awareness and acceptance of ANC leadership on Robben Island and outside?

**A.** Oh yes. When people were demonstrating their songs were mostly about people like Mandela and Sisulu, Bram Fischer and others — which means that they know of these leaders at least. On their placards demanding people's release they included the old detainees with the new ones. And they used slogans like "Amandla Ngawethu."

**Q.** Support groups in the West are not always aware of the dangers of splittist movements, and the way they work and plan their tactics. What do you think they should watch out for?

**A.** They tend to be racial in their politics. They try to discredit the ANC in their talk — even unprovoked. Beyond criticising, they have no message themselves to give to the people.

**Q.** Why in your view was there this sudden rallying over the education issue in June, then this sustained heroic militant action by the people everywhere? How do they remain so resilient?

**A.** One reason why it has been sustained is that there has in fact been a great deal of political work going on before, which brought out the pre-conditions, before the outbreak. The June incidents sparked off something among people who were really prepared and determined to carry on the struggle. Lots of people who left the country did not do so to apply for asylum as refugees. They have left determined to acquire the necessary skills to fight and to help the people in their struggle.

And to show that much of the work which has been done has come from the ANC — almost everybody who leaves the country looks for the ANC, and makes for them. They know where to go, they know who is going to give them the necessary skills to overthrow the regime.

As for the older people, they are staying and getting some education in the role they can play as workers in the struggle. Especially in South Africa, we don't need everybody to be a fighter with a gun.

Even initially, during the peaceful demonstrations, parents supported the pupils. It was they who opposed the original introduction of Bantu Education, and the forced introduction of Afrikaans as a medium revived their original rejection of the system.

But what really got the parents into action was the brutal police killings. Though the police had always been ruthless with peaceful demonstrators, nobody expected they would immediately and cold-bloodedly murder young children. So besides their solidarity with young people they were angered — and their hatred and rejection of the whole system came to the surface. They were completely with the students in their militancy. Even the workers strikes were very successful.

**Q.** At one point they tried to use Zulu migrant workers against the demonstrators. What was your view of what happened?

**A.** The government and police were taking advantage for instance of Gatsha Buthelezi's statement that he was going to organise vigilante groups against the demonstrators. There is evidence that the police went to the township hostels and agitated the inmates. There is also evidence that most people who took part in the "anti-riots" were not really hostel dwellers, but disguised policemen, transported to the scene in police cars.

White policemen were heard giving instructions like "don't destroy the buildings, kill the people only." Obviously they were trying to reduce the whole thing to look like a tribal faction fight.



**Youth on the move**

**Q.** Do organisations like SASO and BPC still have a role to play? What should that role be? How should they work?

**A.** I think they still have a role. They should concentrate on trying to break the racial and tribal barriers between different oppressed groups.

**Q.** How do they go about doing this?

**A.** We have lots of community projects ranging from literacy training to home industries, legal aid and medical aid. When we carry out these programmes we also explain to the people why it is they

have to be taught basic reading at their age, why they always fall on the wrong side of the law, why it is their medical services are so poor — in other words, how they are affected by the system.

We explain to Africans that Indians and Coloureds are paid more so that the oppressor will be able to divide different sectors of the oppressed people, so they will see their interests as different, and not fight against the oppressor in a group.

At our work camps we give talks too. We explain when we are with Coloured people why the whites seem to be favour-



ing them — not that the whites see them as better, but just as part of the whole process of divide and rule; and that in fact they are just as affected as the Africans are.

As medical students we ran clinics among all three black groups. In Indian, African and Coloured ghettos, we go as a team of Africans, Coloureds and Indians — to demonstrate that we can all work together to help each other, and we can fight the enemy together. So they begin to see each other as part of an exploited oppressed group.

**Q.** Many people in the black consciousness movement say that it is not anti-white, but merely an expression and a forging of dignity among black people. But how can this movement progress into the broader dimensions of *anti-racialism*?

**A.** As I said we started at a time of political apathy. First we had to get the people interested in the struggle. When you have the community interested — then you can start explaining what the struggle is about, beyond just being black.

For instance, when you talk to workers you have to explain that the white worker

in the firm is, broadly speaking, in the same category as them, that he is working for the wealthy few who run the industries — some of them owned from outside the country. The white's salary is bigger than the black worker's alright — but this again is an attempt of the bosses to make the white worker think he is better than the black worker. So the black worker, instead of hating the exploiter who owns the industry, hates the white workers, because he gets a better salary. The degree of exploitation is not the same — so as to cover the fact that *all* are exploited.

**Q.** In future, do you think the struggle will take a direction which shows that the people are understanding who the real enemy is?

**A.** Yes — The whole theme of the last SASO conference for instance, was the socio-economic structure of the country.

There were many commissions to discuss how to explain to the people that the problem lies in the socio-economic structure rather than in racial differences. We felt we could do this, because we now have solidarity. We have consciousness. If we had tried to explain to an apathetic man: the white man is not your problem as such, your problem is capitalism and imperialism — he wouldn't have known what we were talking about. Now that they are with us — the student body and the mass of people — it is easier to explain the fundamental problems of our struggle in South Africa.

There is lots of literature, some of which is being simplified to reach the ordinary person, with the facts. Some of it is coming from SASO, some through ANC underground.

**Q.** In recent weeks you have been

#### **Afrikaans the most dangerous drug for our future**



around Britain and Europe. You have seen and addressed a number of support movements. If you had just five minutes to sum up the most important things for our Western supporters to realise, and to do, what would you say?

A. They should really understand first and foremost that our struggle is not really a racial struggle, that we are more concerned about the socio-economic structure.

They have to stop their governments and others from any form of contact or collaboration with South Africa. And they must try to stop emigration to South Africa.

They must understand that the ANC is the answer to our struggle. The people inside cannot alone bring about effective change. They need the leadership of the ANC for an armed struggle — which is the only answer.

Q. How do you see the present uprising in the context of the struggle that has been going on over the last few generations?

A. I think what is happening now is at quite an advanced stage. The people are fighting at a national level, responding nationally to something which originally affected a smaller group, in one place.

Now if you take the Bambata rebellion — those people were revolting against the poll tax, but the revolt never spread around the nation.

I would say also that people are more united: something which affects one sector is taken up by others. Even white students demonstrated in solidarity. This was quite a step forward.

The way the resistance has been sustained shows that our people are more determined. Also, in the past, students have demonstrated alone and workers never joined them, while workers have struck and students never realised that what they were striking about was part of the national struggle. Now, people have got together.

Also, many people have realised they have got to go out of the country to join the ANC so that they can train and return to fight.



Poster on the grounds of the Anglican Cathedral in Cape Town

Q. The regime and its supporters have shown that they could not even be called 'nationalists' any more — because they are quite prepared to tear the guts out of the country, and balkanise it into bantustans, so they can continue to rule and to exploit cheap migrant labour. What do you think their chances are of getting away with this bantustan trick?

A. I'm quite positive they cannot get far, because the people in the country fully realise the implications of these bantustans, and they are not prepared to accept them. They are rejecting the whole system as they rejected Transkei independence. The Transkei elections had to take place under a state of emergency, and lots of people were put in jail before polling day. And in other bantustans, the people are not fooled — maybe that's why the chiefs there are saying they will not accept independence.

There is a lot of political consciousness among young people from the Transkei, and I think it will continue to develop — though Matanzima will try to suppress it.

Fort Hare students, who are mostly from the Transkei, are generally very politically aware.

Some medical students were sent telegrams by officials, asking them to say whether they were citizens of Transkei, or any other bantustan. None of them ever replied to those telegrams. They were not prepared to have their contracts taken over by the bantustans. Some of these students were even prepared to borrow money from the banks and repay it, rather than take the state loans which would compel them to work in the bantustans. Vorster's idea is to project to the world that the young people, the new graduates, are eager to go back and work in the bantustans.

**Q.** Do you think the regime will buy over a small group who will seize the chance to make money out of the situation, and form the core of a bourgeoisie in the bantustans?

**A.** Well, it might happen, but the only people who would benefit are a few

cabinet ministers and a few businessmen. And they are the only ones supporting the bantustan policy. The rest of the people are not. And I don't think the regime has time to build up a middle class or bourgeoisie, because the people are already determined to fight. Maybe if they had started much earlier...

**Q.** Would you say that in South Africa in general, the people's strengthening resistance is really the white government's own fault — because through Bantu Education, they have tried to force an obviously inferior and oppressive form of education on the people — and it is bouncing back on them?

**A.** Well, if you look at the earlier generations — those who were educated under the more British type of system, they tended to be more on the passive side because, well, they seemed to feel they could be assimilated into the British way of life. But Bantu Education spells everything out — and now it's coming back to hit the people who introduced it!

**Bottle store up in flames**



I think if we had been left with the British type of education a middle class might have been created by now. But Bantu Education has made the lines of confrontation sharper.

Q. There are a few people who try to develop a mystique of Nguni nationalism, Sotho nationalism, or whatever. They go back into history to try and prove that one group has always oppressed the other. Do you think the "third force" agents will try to use this sort of mystique?

A. They might well try to — like for instance the "new nationalists" — the groups of eight expelled from the ANC, do try to imply that the ANC is dominated by one tribal group or another. But I don't think they'll get far with that tactic — simply because people have come to realise that in the past one of the main reasons for their defeat was that they were fighting in small ethnic groups — Xosa wars, Zulu wars and so on. If they had been able to come together in those times then they would have overcome, they feel. So they will automatically suspect anyone who tries to put one tribal group against another.

That's why Buthelezi's party Inkatha met with very strong criticism when it was called Inkatha KaZulu. People felt it was very wrong to start a purely ethnic movement. He tried to change the name again, but people still reject it, when it is formed within the context of one tribal homeland.

Q. What is the position of those who already have a lot of money and interests — people like Tshabalala of Soweto?

A. Yes, well they look towards the homelands really because that is where they can develop their interests and make money. Maponya, for instance, during the Soweto uprisings, went to stay in an international hotel in Johannesburg because he was afraid the people might harm him. It shows he was quite aware that the people no longer identify their enemies by their skin. They know who the enemy is, even if he has the same colour — that's why he had to run away into town and stay there.

Q. Have you seen or experienced any attempts by outside agents or interests, to buy over the student leadership?

A. Inside the country it hasn't been very obvious, but outside the country, some of the SASO and BPC people in Botswana have been supported by certain agencies, which have been paying them to go to the United States, West Germany and so on.

Inside there are people being put forward by some liberals. There was a lot of pressure from British liberals to release one former SASO leader, Steve Biko, because, they said, if there was to be any peaceful solution in South Africa, he's the one who should be free. I thought that was not really fair, because there are lots of national leaders who have been languishing for many years in jail. I don't know who is behind the whole thing, but it did strike me as peculiar that they should single out one person when there are more well-known national leaders in jail. He has recently been released...

Q. So we can watch with interest what happens with him now ... but did you yourself see any signs of manoeuvring within SASO?

A. At one stage, before the uprisings began, and then again afterwards, a few whites from two commonwealth countries' embassies, came to us in SASO and said they were interested in the South African political situation, and wanted to help SASO. Both these countries had recently been taken over by more right wing governments, one of them was ignoring the sports boycott, and we felt it was not going to be strategic to accept their offers. We told them we could not accept their help, nor supply them with information. They said they had spoken to Steve Biko, but we told them that our executive must speak and decide for itself.

Q. You were a speaker at the Emergency Solidarity conference in Addis Ababa. What is your impression of African continental support for ANC?

A. I had the impression of very wide support for the ANC. It is really encouraging — if they can keep it up, and it does not end in the conference room.

# THE TRANSKEI:

## an account and analysis of Bantustan policy

“Native Policy”, as it was known in the days of the Cape Colony, “Bantu Administration and Development” as it is called today, lies at the very foundations of the system of apartheid. Disenfranchisement and dispossession remain till this day the main objective of the Bantustan policy. By these means the white racist state wishes to formalise “constitutionally” what has been the reality since the last shot was fired in the wars of dispossession.

When the armies of the free African peoples were defeated on the battlefield, the struggle against subjugation was forced to assume new and different forms. This transformation was a long process. The oppressed people themselves had to change, to fit them to carry on the struggle. New organisational forms had to be discovered, tested in struggle and readapted for the harder battles to come. This process of transformation involved the emergence of an urban black working class closely related by its recent past to a rural peasantry. The urban population’s ties with the land are also reinforced by laws which refuse to recognise the African workers as residents of the urban areas in which they reside.

The history of the struggle for national liberation this century is essentially the struggle of these two streams of the oppressed black population. The African working class, forced to move between country and town, brought with it to the urban areas traditions of mutual assistance, communal action and struggle which contributed towards the development of the national liberation movement. From the town to the country they took with them the ideas and traditions of national struggle and resistance learnt from other countries and other peoples, which assisted in the growth of peasant secret societies and popular assemblies.

### Insurrections

Through the movement of people between these two opposite poles of South Africa, the traditions developed which gave rise to the insurrections in Sekhukhuni land (now called Lebowa), Witzieshoek (now called Qwaqwa) and the Transkei during the 1950s. From this too grew the African Mineworkers Union, made up predominantly of migrant workers during the 1940s.



As the 1946 miners' strike was a landmark in the development of the national liberation movement, so too the peasant revolts in the 1950s were a turning point in the liberation struggle. Because of the relative weakness of the white racist state in the rural areas, it was here that armed units of the peasants in the Transkei managed to establish a situation of dual power during 1959 to 1961. The revolt was the result of long struggle against various government schemes in the post-war period. These had included livestock culling (which gave rise to the Witzieshoek rebellion), the enforced fencing of arable land in "betterment schemes", the unseating of chiefs (which gave rise to the Sekhukhuni land uprising), and the enforcement of Bantu Authorities (which sparked the revolt in the Transkei).

During the course of the struggle the peasants had learnt new organisation methods and tactics, culminating in the armed uprising in Pondoland in 1959 to 1960. The revolt itself threw up new structures such as the popular assemblies (Intaba) and the secret societies like Ikongo and Makhuluspan, which dealt death to collaborators and pro-government chiefs. In order to crush the rebellion, the white South African parliament passed Proclamation 400 which placed the Transkei under a State of Emergency which is in force to this very day.

Proclamation 400 came a few years ahead of the virtual state of emergency that has gripped South Africa since 1963. It was under the cover of these measures that the Pretoria racists developed and groomed their appointees in their chosen role as collaborators. The Transkei received "self-government" during this time; it was at the same time too that the CRC and the South African Indian Council were born. While it systematically smashed all authentic black opposition, the government carefully nurtured those structures it would recognise and speak to, giving a few crumbs of economic inducement here, a few symbolic privileges there.



Kaiser Matanzima

### Collaborator

The black collaborator and bureaucratic stratum whom the government sponsored, acquired its title of "spokesman" for the people behind the ample skirts of Vorster and his bully-boys. Men like Kaiser Matanzima, who have been forced to live in fear of his life under heavy police protection, now flamboyantly fly to the capitals of the imperialist world ready to serve up their people and their country as objects of exploitation. Government-paid "leaders" and others court imperialist investors with the words "cheap labour". These sellouts have no legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

As we face the prospect of a formally "independent" Transkei the tasks before us remain the same. The liberation forces have to continue the struggle for a united democratic South Africa. So-called independence has introduced a new facet and it might prove necessary to adapt tactics, but the struggle is essentially the same. Though the Transkei is economic-

ally underdeveloped and otherwise deprived, it was here that the armed struggle first took root and armed units of the people learned the hard lessons of surviving in order to fight on. As Vorster and his Transkeian houseboys raise the flag on the "independent" Transkei, the air is rent by the defiant black revolt rocking South Africa. We can say with confidence that the Transkei's independence will be short-lived. Like "white South Africa" it is living on borrowed time.

On October 26 last year in Umtata, a ceremony of sorts was held. In sharp contrast to the acclaim which greeted the independence of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, the celebrations in Umtata were a lonely affair. No foreign delegations attended it, and most governments announced before hand that they would be boycotting the ceremony. None were prepared to grant recognition to the Transkei government. This alone tells us a

great deal about how the world views the so-called independence of the Transkei.

From the outset we have to be clear that what happened in Umtata on October 26 was not the emergence of a new African state. It was rather the culmination of a process which began in the late 1950s whereby the white racist regime delegated some of its duties and obligations to a few selected appointees. In other words, this so-called independence of the Transkei is of the essence of apartheid.

Therefore, quite correctly, the international community extended to the Transkei independence celebrations exactly what we have consistently demanded it apply to Vorster's regime itself — total isolation — diplomatic, economic, and cultural. Perhaps ironically, this is the first time the oppressed people of South Africa have been able to muster a unanimous response to their appeals. We trust it will not be for the last time.

#### Lecturing the future African middle class?

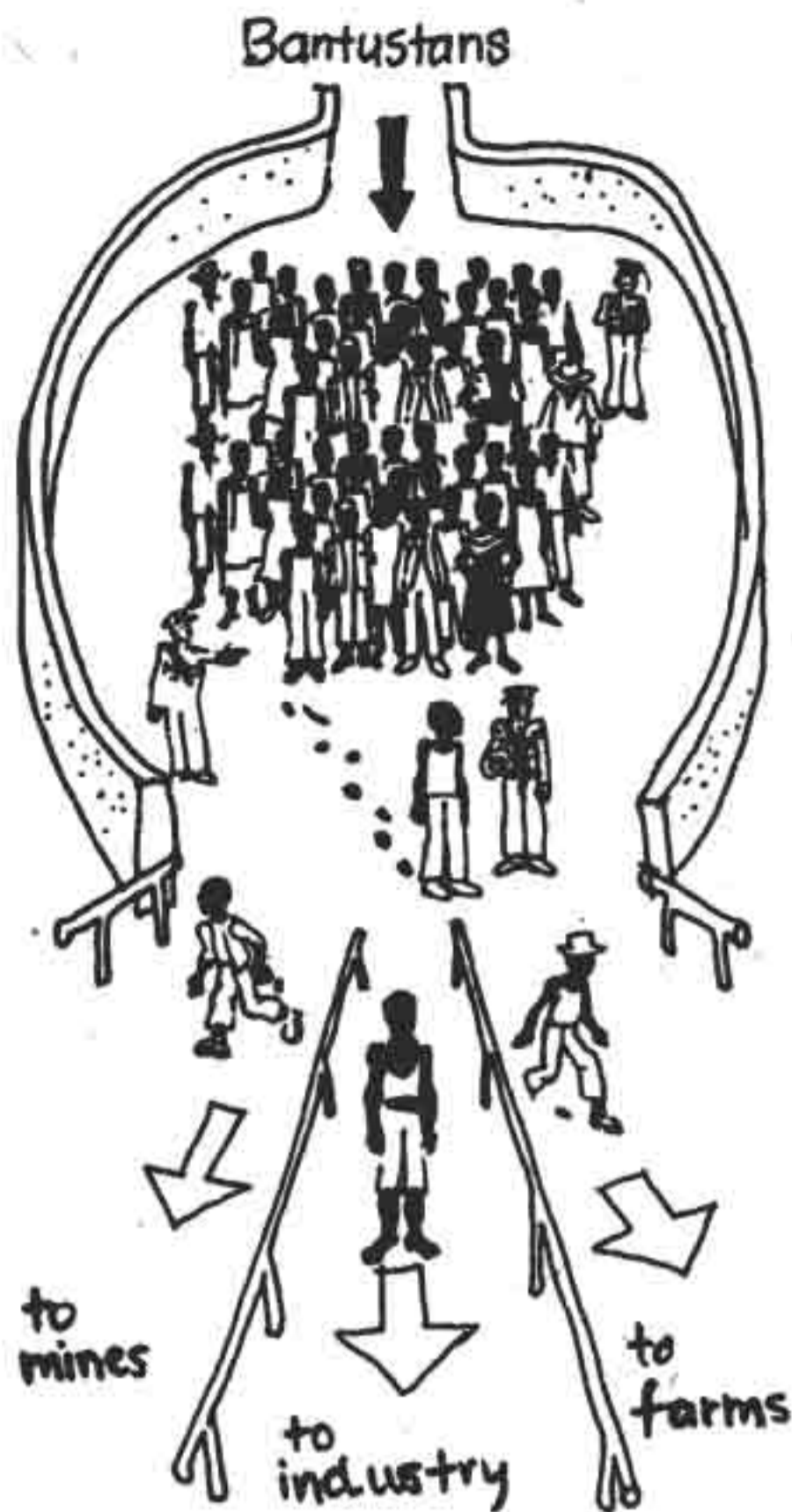


The Transkei's "independence" has its roots deep in the past actions and policies of the various white governments that have ruled South Africa since conquest. In the 1942 draft republican constitution of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party, article 60 states: "To each of such segregated race groups of the Coloured subjects of the Republic, self-government will be granted within their own territory under the central management of the general government of the country, in accordance with the fitness of the group for carrying out of such self-government for which they will be systematically trained."

So after the victory of the Nationalist party in 1948 the first step in carrying out this grand design was undertaken. The terms of the Bantu Authorities Act dissolving the Transkei Council, the Bunga, were unanimously accepted by the Bunga members in 1955. But the Bunga itself was a system of indirect rule devised by the British colonial authorities. It was neither democratic nor representative of the people of the Transkei. The majority of its members, as in all other similar systems subsequently developed for the Transkei, were chiefs and headmen who held their positions at the behest of the white government and were responsible to it.

The Bantu Authorities Act was designed to tighten the reins in the hands of the Pretoria government and to streamline the existing system. Between 1955 and 1958 for instance, 34 chiefs were deposed by the white government for opposing its policies. That the remaining chiefs have proved so reluctant to criticise or oppose Pretoria should not be surprising: most of them operate within a system whose basis is outright blackmail.

The Bantu Authorities Act was followed by the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act of 1959 which laid the basis for the "independence" of the Transkei. In 1963 the Transkei was granted "self-government" in terms of this act and has since been the pilot scheme for the full implementation of the Bantustan scheme.



The first parliament of the "self-governing" Transkei was composed of 109 members, 45 elected, 64 appointed by the South African government. During the elections of 1963, the party led by Chief Kaiser Matanzima won only 11 of the elected seats. The party led by Chief Victor Poto Ndamase won 34 seats. However, Pretoria was able to arrange things in such a fashion that Matanzima's party acquired a majority on the legislative assembly, through its control of appointments. At least half the eligible voters were living outside the Transkei. Two-thirds of those domiciled in the Transkei participated in the elections. This has been the pattern in all subsequent elections, no doubt including the most recent one held last September.

## Emergency

The elections of 1963 took place under a State of Emergency, under Proclamation 400 of 1960, to suppress a peasant revolt in the Transkei. The State of Emergency is in force to this day. This of course gave the governing party inordinate advantages over the opposition — still it could not marshal enough support to elect a majority to the legislative assembly.

During subsequent elections, the Transkei National Independence Party, as it became known, managed to increase the number of its elected members. In part this was due to the defection of opposition members, but also because it harnessed government equipment and controlled political patronage. In spite of this apparent support, the TNIP refused to submit the question of "independence" to a referendum. Instead Matanzima used the regional authorities set up in 1955, where his supporters and other conservative elements are in control, to decide for their people.

The elections of September 1976 took place after the Transkei government had detained without trial all the leading opposition party members and numerous other opponents of the Bantustan policy.

But, many former critics of apartheid argue, this is not peculiar to the Transkei. Many have argued that with all its faults, the independence of the Transkei should be accepted, because it offers the first real opportunity for blacks to set up an alternative to apartheid. Is the Transkei such an alternative? What chances are there that it could become an alternative?

It is our contention and that of the liberation movement in South Africa that the Transkei is not now, nor can it ever be an alternative to apartheid. It is an essential component of the apartheid system as it has evolved. Its capacity to evolve out of the apartheid framework is nullified by political, economic and social factors.

The present "Bantu homelands" evolved from the 13 per cent of the land area of South Africa arbitrarily set aside

## "Resettlement camp"



## ULTIMATE INDEPENDENCE ROAD

By Bob Connolly  
RAND DAILY MAIL



for African occupation by the Natives Land Act of 1913. The Transkei itself comprises about 14,200 square miles and is divided into three separate pieces. In terms of the Bantustan programme this area is supposed to house over two million Africans. According to 1970 population census, just over half of these are based in the urban areas of what the government calls "white South Africa". In spite of this, the population density in the Transkei still surpasses even that of many urban areas of South Africa — 122 persons per square mile, compared with 35 per square mile in the so-called white areas.

Of the 1.7 million people who live in the Transkei 50 per cent are under the age of 15; 33.4 per cent are in the age group 16 to 45; the remaining 16.6 per cent are over the age of 45. Within the 16 to 45 age group, 68 per cent are women. This anomalous population distribution

pattern is the result of the migrant labour system and is to be found in all those areas designated as "homelands".

### Overpopulation

Ninety nine per cent of the arable land under cultivation grows maize. Its annual agricultural output is approximately R8.1m, of which R7.6m is derived from crops, R0.5m from animal husbandry. In all the homeland areas 94 per cent of the population live on what is known as communal land. In fact this is government owned land, which they farm on a quitrent basis. In theory each family is entitled to a plot of 4-5 acres, but surveys show that up to a quarter of the families do not own a plot at all. The remaining 6 per cent own land as individual land-owners by title deed. A government survey in 1955 found that over 30 per cent of the arable land was badly eroded, 44



per cent moderately eroded — all owing to overpopulation and soil exhaustion because of over-intensive cultivation.

With an agricultural output of about R5 per head of population, the Transkei has to import 90 per cent of its food requirements. Its chief function is as a reservoir of cheap labour to service the mining, agricultural and industrial areas of "white South Africa". Of the adult male population 85 per cent are workers forced to seek employment outside the region. Of the remaining 17 per cent, one-half are employed by the state or state-related institutions. Consequently remittances from migrant labour at present comprise about 70 per cent of the "national" income of the Transkei.

Given the present population distribution in the Transkei, the agricultural workforce of the area is predominantly women. A recent survey indicates that among those families engaged in agriculture, only 8.4 per cent produce enough to provide for themselves and obtain a surplus for the market in a good year.

At present about 42,000 Africans are in paid employment in the Transkei. Over half of them are employed either directly by the Transkei government or by agencies of the South African state. Industry provides almost no jobs and is limited to woodworking and match factories. As from 1964 industry employed approximately 4,000 workers. The biggest earners in industry are the forestry-related industries, e.g. tar pole manufacturing. Total industrial output in 1970 was valued at R4.4m.

The South African government and its apologists claim that the Xhosa Development Corporation and the Bantu Investment Corporation, set up in 1964, have as their primary purpose the rectification of this situation. When one examines the record of these state corporations, a very different picture emerges however. In the ten years of its existence, the XDC has created only 16,000 jobs in the Transkei. When one considers that annually almost 17,000 Transkeian Africans enter the job market of "white South Africa" the total

cynicism of the XDC claims becomes apparent. Equally the claims of the Bantu Investment Corporation do not bear close scrutiny. Of the total number of loans it has granted to businessmen and enterprises in the Transkei, 82 per cent went to white-owned firms; only 18 per cent to African-owned firms. Both these are closely related to other state corporations. The Boards of Directors of both are lily-white as are all the top administrative personnel.

Thus when one looks at the economic prospects of the Transkei, it is obvious that it is not likely to extricate itself from its present position. It will for the foreseeable future continue to be mainly a supplier of cheap labour to "white South Africa". Moreover, the relationship between it and Pretoria is so structured that it has practically no room for manoeuvre.

### S.A. Capitalism

What then is the rationale behind the Transkei's "independence"? "We are trying to introduce the migratory labour pattern as far as possible in every sphere. That is in fact the entire basis of our policy as far as the white economy is concerned, namely a system of migratory labour." This was the rationale given by Froneman in Parliament on February 16, 1968. In order to understand this question one has to trace back the history of the relationship between the reserves, as they were then called, and the greater South African political economy. This political economy, by any standards one wishes to employ, is capitalism. To grasp the essence of the homelands policy — and indeed the apartheid system itself — one has to come to grips with the specific features of South African capitalism.

South African capitalism may be dated from the inception of commercial farming in the Cape during the 19th century but it took root in the country after the mining revolution, after 1867. Like capitalism in its homeland, it advanced by subjugating, plundering and exploiting the environ-

ment in which it came into being. The result was the creation of a number of core regions of industrial development and concentration and correspondingly the destruction of the traditional African societies with their pre-capitalist modes of production or their reorganisation on a dependent and satellite basis. The process of subjugation and restructuring is what we refer to as the wars of dispossession, the introduction of laws and statutes of labour coercion and the integration of the indigenous people, by various means, into the capitalist economic system.

“Native Policy”, later to be called “Bantu Administration and Development”, has always been central to this process. As early as 1849, when white commercial farming was being developed in the eastern Cape, we read in a letter to the governor of the Cape, from the British Secretary for the colonies: “Permanent locations should be established within the colony: in selecting the sites of these

locations, sufficient intervals should be left between them for the spread of white settlements — each European immigrant would thus have it within his power to draw supplies of labour from locations in his immediate proximity.”

The letter also makes clear that these locations should be of a certain size: “I conceive that it would be difficult or impossible to assign to the natives such locations of an extent sufficient for their support as a pastoral people ... I regard it, on the contrary, desirable that these people should be placed in circumstances in which they find regular industry necessary for their subsistence.”

The guidelines laid down in this letter have been the basis of all subsequent policy in South Africa and form the basis of all the institutions of national oppression. Driven by this artificially-created land hunger, the African people were put through the mill of capital accumulation, first as agricultural labourers, later as

#### Ever on the move to eke out a living





mining and industrial workers. It is these policies which are the basis of the migrant labour system, the pass laws and influx control and which are at the root of the breakdown and almost total decay of the rural economy in all the so-called homelands.

## Early Decay

This process of decay set in as early as the 1890s in the Transkei. While the African peasant, driven from the land, retained the illusion that earnings in the cities could be reinvested in rural plots and enable him to return to an agrarian life, the problem did not seem acute. But as economic and political factors conspired to block off such a retreat, he had to adopt an urban lifestyle and establish himself alongside other dispossessed peasants as part of an urban proletariat.

The destruction of rural life in the Transkei reached its peak in the years before the Second World War. In 1936, for instance, there was a higher death rate for illnesses related to malnutrition than all other parts of South Africa. Government commissions in 1946, and the Tomlinson Commission in 1950, drew attention to the crisis in the "homelands". Both also inadvertently called attention to the growing African urban population which the white state saw as a potential threat to its continued existence.

When addressing itself to the crisis in the "homelands," the Tomlinson Commission proposed a number of measures designed to make the reserves, the Transkei included, at least capable of supporting the population which government policy demanded should live there. The Commission predicted that South African industry, commerce and agriculture would be dependent on African labour, but proposed that those not engaged in these sectors should be settled in the "homelands."

These are the "unnecessary appendages" as they were so arrogantly called by the government minister, Froneman. It proposed that the land tenure system be

revised so as to make for more efficient use — that the state sponsor the development of a class of commercial farmers by consolidating the small plots; that "betterment" villages be constructed to house the smallholders who would be dispossessed by such consolidation measures; and that industry be decentralised to create job opportunities close to the borders of the homeland to absorb these landless people.

Though the government had commissioned Tomlinson's investigations, it turned down a number of his proposals and implemented only those it thought would not prove too expensive. Thus the deportation of Africans from urban areas has been pursued with a vengeance but no employment opportunities have been created in the "homelands." Measures to sponsor a collaborator class have been undertaken but the assistance given them has been so miserly that its development is being stunted. For example, the XDC has bought up over 500 retail outlets in the Transkei but only about 300 have been sold to Africans. What is even more revealing is that almost all those who bought them had to borrow the money from the XDC. Thus the commercial class which is emerging in the Transkei is doing so under the tutelage of the white regime. The projected development of commercial ranching and crop production will probably take place within the same constraints.

What then of the future of the Transkei? Can it, as some claim, serve as a base for African liberation? It seems improbable. We have already seen the true colour of the Matanzima government in a recent law passed by the Transkei legislature — and this must exceed the prowess even of his Pretoria mentors in turning language upside-down. In a measure designed to deliver the goods of independence to the people of the Transkei, the Department of Health was empowered to demolish the homes and crops of any citizen who either defied or refused the instructions of a headman or chief, or whose actions or words incited others to act disrespectfully

to a headman or chief. One can see whose health this "Department of Health" is designed to protect.

The Transkei comes into being with the complete scenario of repressive laws in the hands of the Vorster regime. These include the Suppression of Communism Act, the Unlawful Organisations Act, the Terrorism Act and, of course, the infamous Proclamation 400. It has retained the various racist laws of South Africa on its statute books, Chief Matanzima has vowed that he will never legalise trade unions in the area.

But there is another side to it which is more insidious and less obvious. Through the granting of "independence" to the Transkei the racist regime has created opportunities for a certain stratum of Africans. It has already installed a huge bureaucracy replete with the petty-prestige of public office. Its XDC and BIC have created opportunities for those African businessmen and farmers who would like to expand within the framework of apartheid. But this expansion will be as the white regime sees fit and under its judicious eye. The Pretoria regime has structured things in such a fashion that this stratum of bureaucrats and middle

class farmers will forever be beholden to it, and as such will have a stake in the perpetuation of the apartheid system.

The way in which the government hopes to tie this collaborator class to its chariot wheels is most eloquently revealed by the following news item from the Star Weekly April 17, 1976: "The cream of the white farms bought at considerable expense by South Africa and ceded to the Transkei, will become the personal properties of the Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima and four fellow paramount chiefs. Similar grants of personal farms will be made to other prospective farmers who have given faithful service to the Transkei (read South African government)."

Contrary to the claims of its apologists, the "independent" Transkei comes into being by violence, as the child of violence. It comes into being in a state of siege, with its prospective rulers relying more and more on arbitrary methods and on their white racist mentors. With the present tempo of resistance inside the country, the Transkei's spurious independence will meet its end together with the "white South Africa" which gave birth to it.



Tebello Motapanyane, Secretary-General of the South African Students Movement, describes the events and political developments leading to the new upsurge, and explains how the militant youth see the future shape of the political struggle

# HOW JUNE 16 DEMO WAS PLANNED

Interview with Tebello Motapanyane,  
January 1977.

**Q.** You were deeply involved in the events which took place in South Africa last year amongst the students. You were particularly active in the Soweto area. Could you tell us what position you held at that time?

**A.** I was elected as secretary general of the South African Students Movement — SASM — that is at national level at its congress in Roodepoort in March 1976. I was also the first chairman of the Action Committee, later called the Soweto Students' Representative Council. The SSRC actually organised the demonstrations in Soweto which hit the world headlines on June 16.

**Q.** It is clear from all reports that SASM played the major rôle in initiating the events which began on June 16 in Soweto and were followed by continuous actions, particularly amongst the youth, throughout the country. How was SASM formed?

**A.** SASM was formed in 1970-71 by high school students. It was mainly concen-

trated at the three high schools in Soweto — Orlando West High, Diepkloof High and, of course, Orlando High.

**Q.** Were there any organisations already existing amongst the students before SASM was formed which thereafter became merged into SASM?

**A.** There were others from outside who had organised youth clubs. Many young people used to go to these youth clubs and take part in meetings. These discussions played an important rôle in the subsequent decision by the students to form SASM as a students movement based in the schools. It was first known as ASM, the African Student Movement.

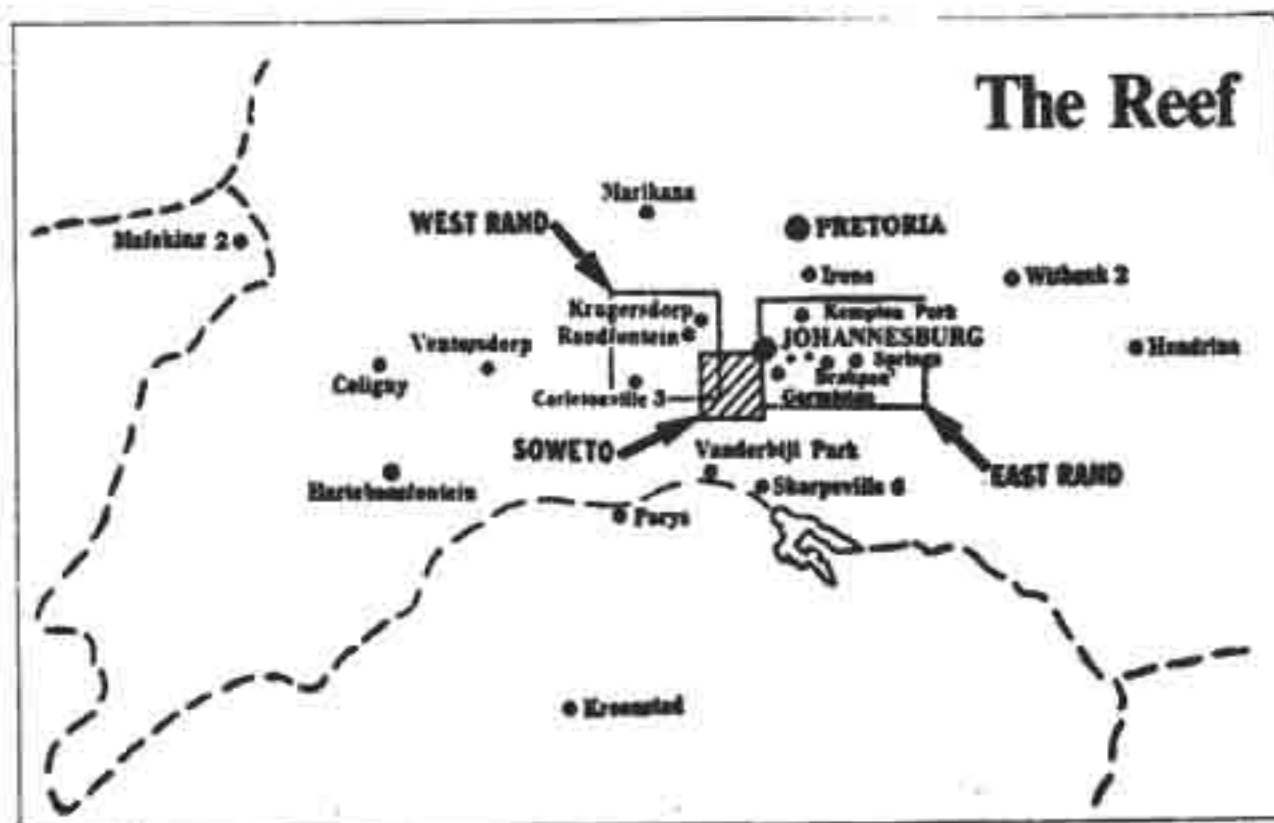
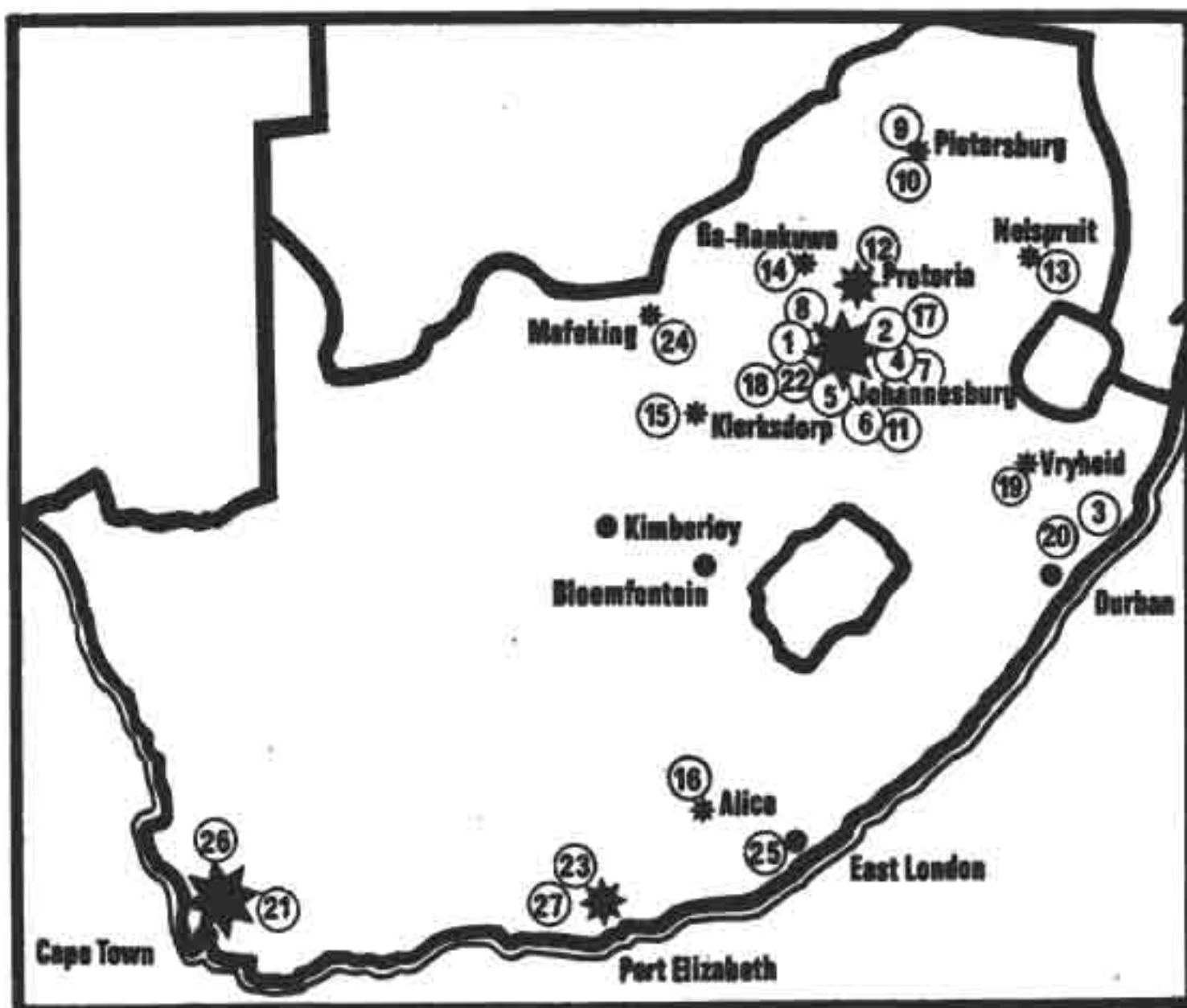
**Q.** The African Student Movement was restricted to the three high schools that you mentioned. How did it grow into what subsequently became known as SASM?

**A.** Immediately after ASM was formed in these three high schools, messages were transmitted to all the other high schools in the whole of the Republic of South Africa. ASM spread quickly to the other high schools because the students realised that it served their aspirations. By 1972 it was 49

# THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN UPRISING 1976

This map shows the nation-wide areas of unrest which started in Soweto, on June 16.

1. June 16: Soweto.
2. June 18: Alexandra township, north-east of Johannesburg.
3. June 18: University of Zululand at Ngoye, near Empangeni.
4. June 18: Tokosa and Daveytown, near Benoni.
5. June 18: Nelspruit and Kathlehong, Germiston.
6. June 18: Vosloorus at Boksburg.
7. June 18: Tembisa, near Kempton Park.
8. June 18: Kagiso at Krugersdorp, West Rand.
9. June 18: University of the North, Turfloop, near Pietersburg.
10. June 20: Seshego township, Pietersburg.
11. June 21: Duduza township, Nigel.
12. June 21: Townships surrounding Pretoria: Mamelodi, Mabopane, Atteridgeville, Hammanskraal.
13. June 22: Lowveld; Lekozl township near Nelspruit.
14. June 22: Ca-Rankuwa in Bophuthatswana homeland.
15. June 23: Jouberton township, near Klerksdorp, Western Transvaal.
16. July 18: University of Fort Hare.
17. July 20: Witbank, Middelburg and Carletonville.
18. July 22: Boipotong township, Vanderbijlpark (Vereeniging).
19. July 25: Zulu Training School, Vryheid.
20. July 26: Ndwedwe, Natal.
21. August 2: UWC boycott at Bellville South.
22. August 4: Soweto violence flares again.
23. August 7: New Brighton, Port Elizabeth (boxing match).
24. August 8: Montshiwa township, near Mafeking.
25. August 9: Mdantsane township, near East London.
26. August 11: Cape Town's three townships; Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu.
27. August 18: New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.



decided that since the movement was now national, it should be known as the South African Students Movement, that is SASM. The first congress — we used to

call it the General Students Council — was held at Roodepoort at the beginning of March 1972. I would say almost every school was represented, mainly from

Soweto, the Eastern Transvaal and the Eastern Cape. But almost every other area in the RSA was there. At that stage we concentrated mainly on things like community work. Funds were raised to help disabled people and so on. We also concentrated on creating discussion groups in the schools.

**Q.** At that early stage was there any kind of consistent political approach evident amongst the students?

**A.** There were some indications. We were, of course, very alive to the fact that we as black people were being oppressed. The students especially were quite sensitive to this and we were all the time trying to find a way of doing something about it. It was just unfortunate that we were not so clear about how to show our anger and resentment in a clear political way. But we certainly expressed ourselves indirectly in things like poetry writings and so on.

**Q.** At that stage did the congress see itself as a political campaigning body or rather as a sort of extension of the youth club kind of activities except that it was now concentrated in the schools?

**A.** No, I would say it was not a youth club extended to schools. It was a students' movement that was beginning the process of sensitizing the students and encouraging them to become more actively involved in the type of surroundings in which they live.

**Q.** What main grievances emerged at that first congress?

**A.** Well, primarily it was the issue which affected us very much, that is, Bantu Education. As the congress actually noted Bantu Education was designed to domesticate us rather than to educate us as people. It was designed to prepare us for the labour policies of the government and the ruling class it represented.

**Q.** Was there any decision taken at that congress to begin to work up opposition in the schools to the whole idea of Bantu Education?

**A.** Yes, we already started discussing the possibility of action to reject Bantu Education. We organised numerous group discussions to make people aware of the second-rate stuff we were being taught.

For instance, in things like maths; the maths we were taught was very much inferior. We tried to get across the need to fight for the correct type of maths and the correct type of history and so on.

**Q.** It has been generally spread that SASM was an offshoot of the South African Students Organisation, SASO, and also that it was inspired by the Black Consciousness movement. Could you say something about this.

**A.** It is not correct to say that SASM was an offshoot of SASO. SASM was formed independently and was quite autonomous. Firstly, it was not actually spearheaded by SASO people; the decision was taken by the people from the youth clubs to cater for the needs of high school students — we did not have in mind to copy what SASO was doing. But many ideas that we used to project, like black consciousness for instance, SASO was also preaching.

**Q.** During that period there was an upsurge within South Africa especially at the universities which appeared to be connected with the general stress on what has become known as the Black Consciousness movement. To what extent do you think were the younger people at the schools inspired by this kind of activity and by this kind of atmosphere which was being generated amongst the youth generally?

**A.** Black consciousness as a concept did play a rôle in sensitizing the students. The banning of the ANC left a sort of political vacuum in the field of legal resistance even though the ANC was working underground. We had no direct contact with those who could direct us politically and many of us turned to the general idea of black consciousness as a sensitizing factor. We did not, however, believe that black consciousness on its own would lead us to liberation. It was a useful tool to sensitize students who were not as politically aware as they should have been.

**Q.** You made the point that the ANC was at that stage operating underground and did not have any direct connection with the group which actually formed SASM. Was the ANC known amongst the youth? Did

its ideas act as any kind of inspiration to the steps that were taken?

A. Certainly. I would say the ANC was known to the students and its ideas influenced many of them. If you ask most students from South Africa which is the most important revolutionary organisation, they will always quote the ANC, its allies, and leaders who are at present detained on Robben Island. Also the work which the ANC did during the 1960s, the 1940s and so on, was known to many students.

Q. But apart from knowledge of the activities of the ANC during the 1940s, 50s and 60s, at the time when SASM was formed was there awareness of the ANC as an underground movement? Were the youth aware of the fact that it was functioning and attempting to continue the struggle not necessarily by mass open campaigning but in some other way?

A. Yes, there clearly was such awareness. There were political trials concerning

ANC. We knew that the ANC was operating because we would hear that this person was being charged in Durban, in Cape Town, in Grahamstown, and so on. We would always hear from the papers of ANC activity. We heard about the operations in which ANC guerrillas were involved with the fascist police and soldiers in Zimbabwe, as they were trying to go back home to begin the war of liberation in South Africa. From time to time there were ANC pamphlets and journals which we sued to get and we saw very little of any underground activity except by the ANC.

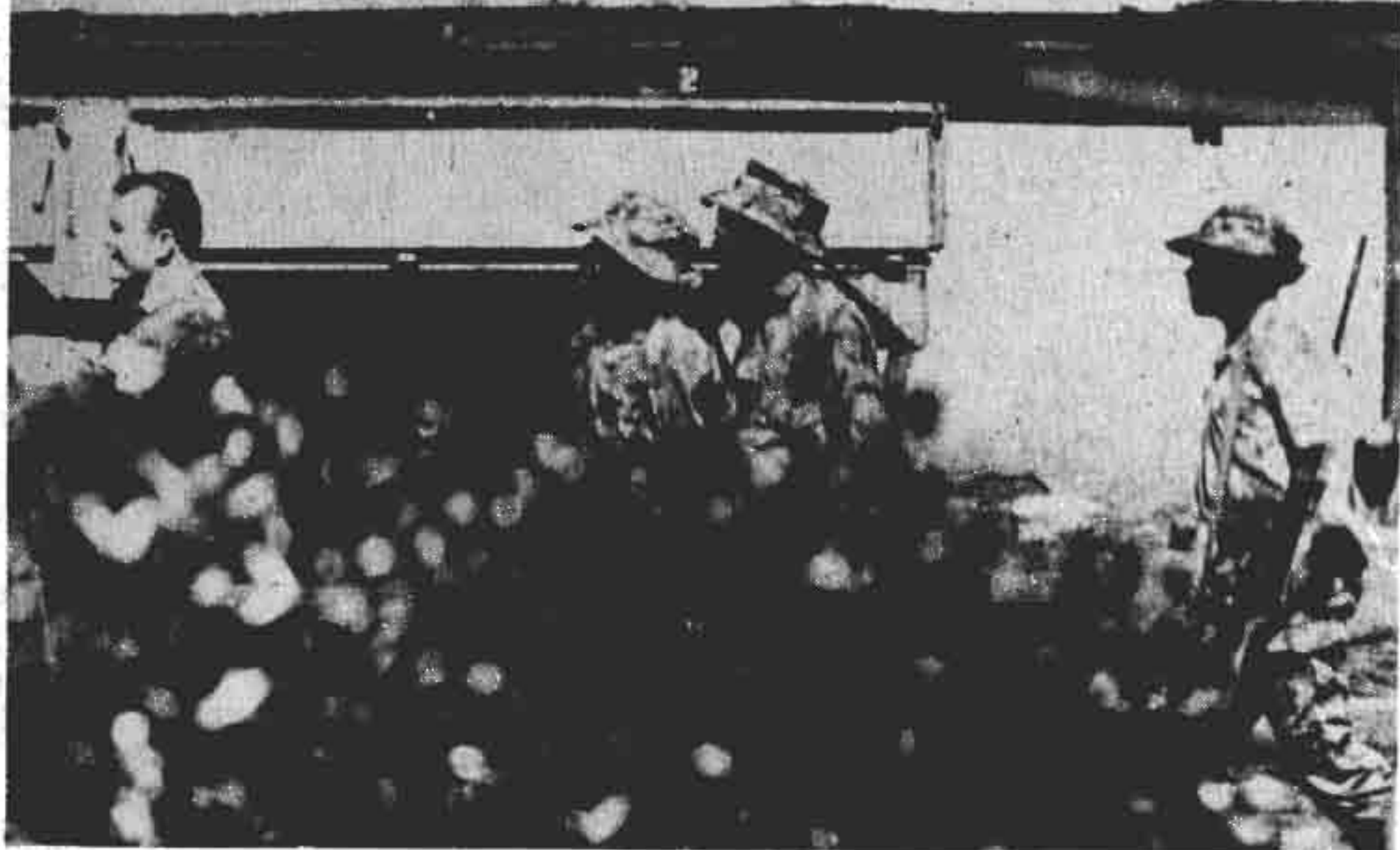
Q. Will you now give us a short outline of the development of student organisation in the schools from 1971 onwards?

A. From 1971 on SASM went on growing from high school to high school. As you know, when a thing is new it causes some excitement; the students joined SASM in large numbers. They used to have their local meetings at their high schools,

**How an FM bullet lifts off and destroys the whole front of the head leaving 'a skull'**



## Beechies Chewing Gum. It's the thing to share.



Hunting children

discussing many problems affecting students and more general problems which were connected with the system of oppression, the misuse of our parents by the government and all those things. Then in '72 we had another congress at which new office-bearers were elected. Most of them were harassed by police because SASM was now attaining momentum and it was going from strength to strength. In 1973 the same thing happened — some of the members were forced to leave the country and went to Botswana. In 1974 about six members of SASM were arrested; most of them were from the Morris Isaacson High School and Orlando West High School. Some of the students were again forced to leave the country. In 1975 the same thing happened. There was a trial in Grahamstown in which people were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act and Terrorism Act.

**Q.** Before 1976 was there any stage at which any of the students began to organise themselves into more tightly-knit groups in order to meet the enemy's attacks against the kind of open organisation which SASM was becoming and which exposed it to continuous harassment?

**A.** In 1974 small organised groups were created which used to meet in secret places. Those cells were concentrated mostly in Soweto, Durban and so on. To be specific and to be direct: they were initiated by the national liberation movement, that is, the ANC.

**Q.** In what way were they initiated by the ANC? Were they formed by the ANC, or did they establish connections with the ANC?

**A.** They were formed by the ANC. We in SASM did not actually think of forming such things. We were operating legally and



**'Situation is very bad' says chief of police**

tried to keep SASM as a broad legal organisation. But some of us listened to our elders from the ANC when they said we needed more than just mass legal organisation. Hence we founded these underground cells.

54 Q. The Soweto events themselves date

from June 16. That is when the world became aware of the massive nature of the student protests. But obviously these events must have been preceded by some kind of preparation. Could you give us a brief description of the build-up period prior to June 16.



A. The immediate issue was, as we know, the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction by Vorster's regime. When the directive from the Bantu Education Department was issued that certain subjects should be taught in the medium of Afrikaans, the students reacted very negatively. As early as March 1976, Thomas Mofolo was the first school to have Afrikaans imposed on it, and immediately there was a student protest. In March 1976, the principal called in the police to cool the students and force them to accept Afrikaans. Some students from my school, Naledi High School, went there to investigate their problems. We also visited schools in Meadowlands. We found that these students also felt bitter about what the government was doing. They immediately stopped attending classes because they felt as we did that what was needed was a positive reaction.

Q. Was this in March that they stopped attending classes?

A. Yes, it was in March. Then the local parents committee intervened taking the matter to the Bantu Education inspector who was arrogant and very adamant about imposing Afrikaans. The Naledi High SASM branch also went to Orlando West

Junior Secondary where we spoke to the students. The students there agreed with us and started destroying their books and refused to attend classes. And this is where the first effective protest started in Soweto. It was effective in Orlando West Junior Secondary School because the students there were quite clear about what they wanted. They were just not prepared to listen to what the government was saying. Despite the threat by the Bantu Education inspector that the schools would be closed and that they would be chased out of school, they remained very firm in what they were doing. We went on to other high schools, to other junior secondary schools and other higher primaries. By May 1976, the protest actions were quite general in many schools.

Q. In this period, were there any positive acts of resistance in any of these schools?

A. In Orlando West at one higher primary school, the principal there called in the police to cool the students and to force them to go back to classes. The students reacted by stoning the police who came there. These were just the signs of the real thing that was on its way.

'Hippo' confronted by Soweto roadblock



**Q.** What happened after this initial period during March, April, May when the situation was beginning to simmer in all these schools?

**A.** Early in June the police sent their men to collect one of our colleagues. I think it was the 4th of June. We did not see them when they came that day. They arrested one student but he was later released. Then on the 8th they came again. Hey, it was unfortunate for them to be seen by the students. They were beaten and their car was burnt. On that day they were coming to arrest our local secretary of SASM at our school. He was going to be arrested in connection with the student protests in Soweto schools.

**Q.** After these events on about June 8 at Naledi, what steps did the students in Soweto take to organise themselves further?

**A.** We took a decision to inform the staff that we totally reject the half-yearly examinations and were not going to write the exams until our demands were met. Then the Naledi branch called a meeting under SASM on Sunday, June 13 where it was actually decided that there should be positive action from all the high schools and secondary schools in Soweto. About 300 to 400 students attended, representing the whole of Soweto. We discussed the issue of Afrikaans and how to make the government aware that we opposed their decision. The delegates decided that there

should be a mass demonstration from the Soweto students as a whole. The most important question was on which day, and how to start. We decided to have a committee that would take charge of the whole thing. We decided to take two members from each school in Soweto. The idea was to form a committee of students who were going to take decisions on the form and timing of the occasions in Soweto.

**Q.** Did this action committee have a name?

**A.** It was known only as the Action Committee of SASM.

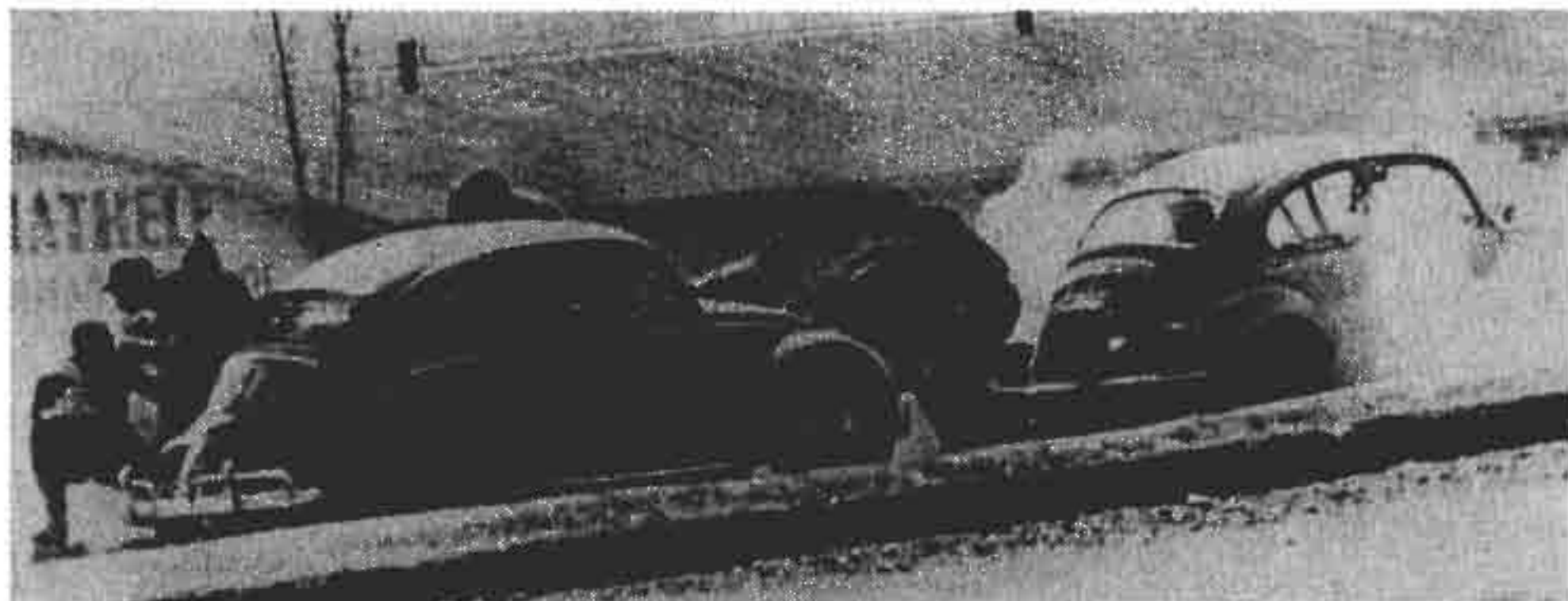
**Q.** We have since heard of the activities of a body known as the Soweto Students Representative Council — SSRC. How was that body connected with this Action Committee which was appointed at this conference on June 13?

**A.** The SSRC is the same as the Action Committee. It was called the SSRC immediately after June 16 for strategic reasons.

**Q.** Did the conference itself plan to have a violent or peaceful demonstration?

**A.** The demonstration we planned was to be peaceful because as students we were, of course, unarmed. But we knew that the police would be violent against the students. So we said no, immediately there is violence from the police, we would have to defend ourselves and, if possible, hit back.

### **Teargas in Soweto**





**Chief targets of the demonstrators were administrative buildings**

**Q.** There have been quite a number of actions against shebeens and bottle stores. In what way did the youth believe that these establishments were used to oppress the people.

**A.** To answer this question I'll quote one slogan that read "Less liquor, good education". The S.A. Government has built numerous bottle stores, beer halls and shebeens next to the stations. We believe that they are there to misdirect the black people. Most of the bottle stores are next to the stations so that when our fathers and mothers come from work, they drink and forget about their surroundings.

**Q.** I don't actually want to deal with the events of that day in detail because they are very well known to the world. I think it is clear that the police reaction was perhaps amongst the most violent in the history of South Africa and that on that day many hundreds of students were murdered by police bullets. Could you describe the events which took place after that day and tell us how the leaders of the student movement went on to pursue the struggle further.

**A.** Immediately after the first shootings of that day the students reacted by stoning the police and carried out other actions. Immediately after that we told our students to do what they could to spread the actions to other locations. The struggle went on for some days immediately after June at the same pace because at that time the Action Committee was meeting everywhere in an attempt to intensify the struggle so that it should really be felt by the Government.

**Q.** The struggle spread throughout the country within a short while. Was the spread of the struggle all organised by any centralised body, or did it have a spontaneous element to it?

**A.** SASM is a national organisation and has regional and local branches. If a certain member of a team is doing something that is right, the rest of the team will join him to do it; it was not always a matter of having to instigate the others to do it.

**Q.** It seems to be clear that it is impossible to meet and destroy the enemy in the streets by mass confrontation between people who have got guns and

those who just have stones in their hands. Was there any discussion about trying to raise the struggle to a higher level and to organise more effective kind of action to back up what the students had been doing?

A. We had the stay-away. History repeats itself. This wasn't the first time the blacks had a stay-away. We copied this stay-away campaign from the ANC.

Q. In whose name was the stay-away called. Which organisation called upon the people to stay away from work?

A. The very same SSRC. They typed pamphlets and distributed them to our parents to join. Leaflets were also issued by the ANC underground. The idea was to cripple the economy of the country.

Q. During the Soweto events we also heard of a body called the Black Parents' Association. Could you give us a short description of the rôle played by this organisation.

A. The main activity of the Black Parents Association was to get figures of how many people died. It was also there to help give material assistance to people who were injured in the police shootings. It also had meetings with the authorities. We felt it was impossible for us as SSRC to meet Vorster and the so-called Minister of Bantu Education, M.C. Botha. We felt that they knew what we wanted and it was pointless for us to meet them.

Q. What is your estimate of the number of people who had been massacred by the police since the June 16 events?

A. I think they exceed one thousand two hundred (1,200) because after the first few days the Black Parents Association had a Commission of Inquiry. We discovered that in Baragwanath alone we had something like 238 people dead. There were others in the police stations, mortuaries and so on. The official figure of 176 is clearly a lie. And people are still dying.

Q. Now looking back on these events which are, of course, still going on sporadically: what do you consider to be the main significance of the happenings since June 16 as far as South African youth are concerned?

A. Primarily that the youth of South Africa are fed-up with the status quo. It is clear that the youth is ready for action now. We no longer believe in talking and talking. We believe in positive action. Things like armed struggle. Students were attacking the police even without arms. It shows that the youth are quite ready for the big thing. Also the youth have gained a rich experience of struggle. This provides fertile ground for the armed struggle and other types of positive action against the racist regime.

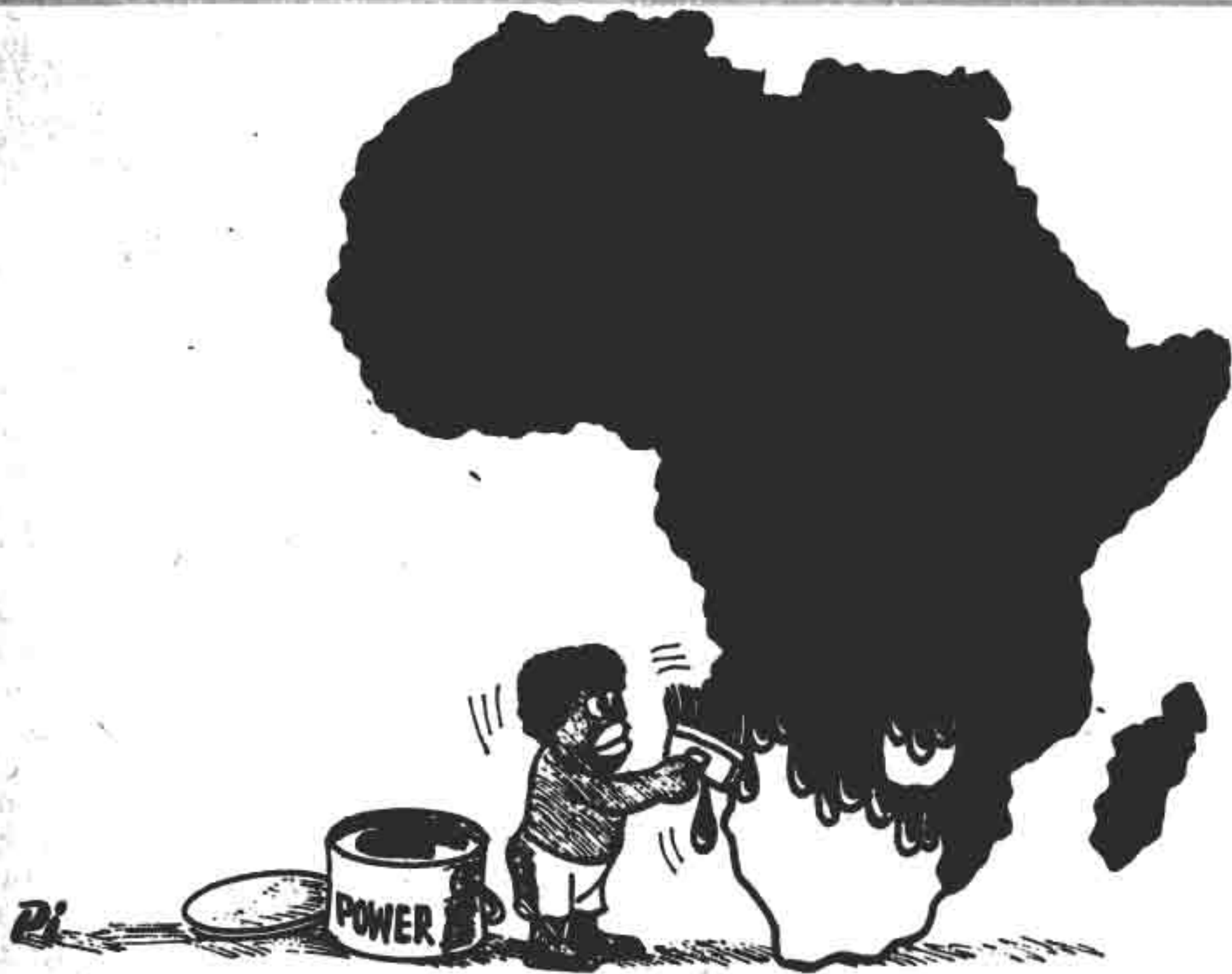
Q. We know that soon after June 16, the government, in an attempt to stop the nation-wide demonstrations, retreated on the question of Afrikaans. We also know that despite that retreat the students continued to go in for their militant actions. Could you comment on this.

A. Afrikaans was not the real issue. It provided the spark that fell on top of the powder keg that was building up amongst the African people as a whole. Afrikaans happened to be the immediate issue. The real issues are racism, oppression and exploitation.

Q. So what you are really saying is that behind the actions of the majority of the youth who took part in these demonstrations, was the issue of the destruction of the oppressive state and the ending of racist exploitation in South Africa. In what way have these particular demonstrations helped prepare the youth for the higher and more advanced stage of struggle?

A. First of all I would say that it has made them more sensitive to the situation they live in. The youth are listening to what their leaders are saying. When they are assigned to do a job by the leaders, they do it without hesitation. There is not the hesitation of the past of a person fearing arrest and so on. The people are more involved. It is their experience of struggle at home that has removed this fear from them: fear of the police, fear of the government. They are more and more involving themselves in the fight against racism, social injustice and exploitation.

Q. I think it is clear to all that through



this form of struggle alone — the confrontation in the streets — the enemy cannot be effectively met and destroyed. How then do you believe the youth see the future of the basic struggle in South Africa?

A. The youth have now seen more clearly than ever the necessity of armed struggle at home. We understand better that we are not dealing with people who are prepared to listen to us. We are dealing with people who are ready to go all out to maintain the status quo by absolute force. We must answer in the same way.

Q. If you are correct in saying that the youth is aware that the only long-term answer is to meet the enemy in armed confrontation, do you think that, therefore, there is no longer place in the South African situation for the kind of mass struggle in which the youth have been engaged in the last six months? And if you

think there is room for those kinds of struggles, do you think that their form ought to remain the same or that new ways ought to continuously be found in order to combine the political and armed struggle?

A. I think there is a place for what is happening to continue. But it should be developed into something more advanced than the initial actions. We know the struggle is not static. It is dynamic so we have got to get new approaches for struggle. The very act of struggle will teach the youth new advanced methods of raising the struggle to a higher level and to find new forms of organising at home. It is important for the youth to know that they are part of the great movement which has the responsibility for bringing about our total liberation. It is above all important for the youth to connect their activity with this great national liberation movement, the ANC.

# Afro-Asian Support for ANC

Further extracts of speeches from the momentous Emergency Conference in Solidarity with the People of South Africa, sponsored by ANC and AAPSO, Addis Ababa, October/November 1976

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The Emergency Conference in Solidarity with the People of South Africa, held in the Africa Hall, headquarters of the OAU, last October and November, attracted not only revolutionary forces from Africa, Asia and Latin America, but also the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, which play a major part in support for the liberation movement.

This was the first conference ever sponsored jointly by a liberation movement and an international progressive organisation, to be held on the African continent.

Many important documents were adopted by the conference. These included a unanimously adopted militant programme of action, and a document dealing with the setting up of a commission for investigating the crimes of the racist regime of South Africa.

In the previous issue, *Sechaba* reported on the address of the ANC Secretary-General, Alfred Nzo. In future issues we will report on the progress in implementing the militant programme of action, and on the work of the proposed commission.

The conference sent the following message of support to the people of South Africa:

## Support Message

The emergency conference of Solidarity with the People of South Africa meeting

in Addis Ababa, capital of Socialist Ethiopia, on 30-31 October 1976, sends its warmest militant greetings to the heroic and fighting oppressed people of South Africa.

We the participants of this conference representing African countries, the socialist world and progressive and democratic forces from different parts of the world salute you in your just struggle against racism, fascism, colonialism and imperialism.

In pledging our total support we wish to pay our undying tribute and homage to all the brave heroes who sacrificed their lives and liberty for a free and democratic South Africa.

Under the most difficult conditions of naked terror and illegality, you, the oppressed people of South Africa, led by the African National Congress, have relentlessly continued the fight for freedom, peace and democracy. Your struggle for the seizure of power to bring about national liberation is very dear to the international community.

The unprecedented wave of demonstrations, protests, strikes and virtual uprisings in some parts of the country has emphasised in the strongest possible terms your rejection of the hated system of apartheid and your determination to seize power.

Over the past years we have witnessed great successes in the anti-colonial struggle in Africa. The recent accession to

independence of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Principe and Sao Tome was a great victory for the world revolutionary, socialist, progressive and democratic forces. Especially significant was the defeat of the racist imperialist aggression against the people of Angola which has shattered the myth of white supremacy.

In sending you this message of support we the participants pledge to spare no effort and to devote all our strength, knowledge and unbounded enthusiasm to totally isolate racist South Africa economically, politically, militarily and socially from every sphere of life. We pledge to intensify our efforts to raise the necessary material support for your struggle.

We are absolutely convinced that you, the oppressed people of South Africa, led by your tried and tested organisations, the ANC and its revolutionary allies, with the full support of the international community shall pursue relentlessly the freedom struggle using different methods including armed struggle until Vorsters' bloody, repressive regime is completely destroyed and replaced by the power of the people.

Long live international solidarity with the people of South Africa!

Long live the ANC!

Death to Racism and Rascism!

The Secretary-General of AAPSO, Youssef el Sebai, said that the conference was being held at a particularly decisive moment not only in the history of Southern Africa, militant Africa, but also in the future course of international security and world peace based on freedom.

The storm of freedom shakes the borders of South Africa. The flames of revolution blowing in the South African ghettos have triggered the process of chain disintegration in the remnants of the colonial empires of Zimbabwe and Namibia, leaving the supporters of apartheid not a leg to stand on.

Indeed, if the Sharpeville massacres were followed by a relatively quiet period — which could have been interpreted by

the oppressor and his imperialist masters as the tacit acceptance by the people of colonial domination under apartheid — the recent Soweto massacres and the tragic events which today shake the conscience of humanity at large, precisely reflect the uprising of a whole people and their determination to put an end once and for all to domination by that system.

For more than three centuries, the South African people have waged a heroic resistance, sometimes by the force of assegais, sometimes political, but always struggling. It was the intervention of Britain at the end of the 19th Century and beginning of 20th Century with superior arms and re-inforcement from its colonial troops that enabled the present oppressors

The theme adopted by the conference was:

- Solidarity and support of the People of South Africa under the leadership of ANC by all means including armed struggle for complete overthrow of the Apartheid regime, for self determination and national independence.
- Strict application by the international community of the sanctions, in all fields especially political sanctions, economic boycott and arms embargo, against the Apartheid regime.
- Non recognition of the Bantustans starting with Transkei.
- Immediate release of political prisoners.
- Material, political and moral support to the liberation movement in South Africa.
- The struggle of the South African people under ANC of SA, the Zimbabwe people under ANC, and the Namibian people under SWAPO is one and inseparable.



Mr. Yusuf el Sebai, President of AAPSO

to temporarily subjugate the people of South Africa.

What is happening today in South Africa deserves not merely our sympathy, but most certainly our admiration manifested through active material and political support. We must guarantee an effective and irreversible solidarity pipe-

line until final victory is achieved against international imperialism and its police guard, Vorster.

A mere retrospective shows, that what imperialism calls the "Republic of South Africa" is but a colony, as most African countries were, dominating and exploiting human and natural resources through a system which is commonly called apartheid, but which is in fact a socio-economic system manipulated by white capitalist racists and international capital to ensure their super profits, systematically violating the spirit and form of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Charter of United Nations.

This "Republic" was given birth to by Dutch colonialism which implanted white settlers on the spot. British colonialism and, later on, British imperialism inherited and bolstered white rule so that it would serve their political and economic interests.

Today, it is the United States of America, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan — in short, all the imperialist countries — which are competing for supremacy and plunder, carrying out bloody repression, and bantustanisation of the people. Such is the sinister abuse of authority instituted by rapacious imperialism as a state system in South Africa, transforming the legal and rightful African owners into aliens and pariahs in their own motherland.

What remains clear is that never, not one single moment in the course of this tragic history, has the Pretoria regime identified itself with the true aspirations of the peoples of South Africa and the African continent.

Even the Anglo-Boer war, sometimes mistakenly viewed as progressive, was in fact a reactionary war, a war between two vultures struggling for the plunder of the immense riches through the oppression of the population of South Africa. The objectives of the Boer settlers were not compatible with the historical struggle of the South African populations. The struggle in South Africa, to be just, must be considered from the point of view of



the African majority which has been waging a struggle since the 17th Century to recover freedom and independence in its usurped motherland.

South Africa remains a colony awaiting liberation by the movement for change led by the ANC. The only difference between the classical form of colonialism and its South African apartheid version is that the colonisers and the colonised share the same geographical boundaries. In many aspects this makes the latter form of colonialism even more vicious and oppressive.

We therefore have only one alternative — to opt for the staunch determination of the people to militate in the direction of history, dignity, and the safe-guarding of human values. We must move along the road pointed to by Kwame Nkrumah in this very hall, that there should be no rest until the whole of Africa is totally

liberated. There must be total commitment to the struggle waged in this country and this region.

The working class of South Africa, the black workers in particular led by the South African Congress of Trade Unions, is not unaware of the character of the South African social and economic structure. It is a working class that has gone through the school of blatant national oppression, economic exploitation and a consistent application of the theory of apartheid and white supremacy. Thus it is a class that is conscious of its role in the struggle for a national democratic revolution.

The South African black workers are deeply conscious in using their power not

**Alfred Nzo addresses huge South Africa Support rally in Addis Ababa**



for economic reforms, as the masters would expect them to do, but for demolition of the monstrous policy which has destroyed their lives for centuries.

Confronted by the socio-economic realities of South Africa, SACTU resolved at the time of its formation that the working class cannot isolate itself from the mainstream of the national liberation movement. The system of national oppression embraces all sections of the workers in industry, churchmen, professional men and women, the youth and students and all other sections of the population that have identified themselves with the fight for a better life and against baasskap.

It is common knowledge that adequate industrial machinery and legal protection for improvement of workers' conditions are not available to the working class of South Africa. As a result, black workers often have no way out but to resort to strike action in order to attract the attention of the overlords. But in most cases, if not all, such actions are suppressed by terror.

Apartheid is firmly opposed to free association of black and white workers, and to the treatment of blacks and whites on an equal basis. The South African regime regards black workers as nothing more than "labour units", needed to perform tasks allocated to them, under conditions which keep them inferior of whites.

In the Senate in 1972 the Minister of Labour expressed this attitude in these words: "The four cornerstones on which our labour peace in this country is based, are that the white worker may not be replaced by a non-white; that he may not be in the same work situation and work shoulder to shoulder with a non-white; and that he may not be incorporated into mixed Trade Unions".

Under such conditions of colour discrimination in employment coupled with a whole range of restrictive laws, designed to squeeze super profits out of cheap labour, the black workers have resolved to throw in their lot with the

progressive forces in the country, in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

We are convinced that so long as democratic rights are denied certain sections of the population, so long as two million blacks go unemployed while 40,000 whites-only jobs remain unfilled, and so long as blacks are still subjected to the most intense racial oppression and economic exploitation, so long will the current revolt continue to escalate. The working people, the students, and all other democratic forces in the country are standing four square behind their political organisations to continue the fight for freedom.

We know that the South African regime exists because of massive economic and military support it receives from the Western countries, but we know also, that notwithstanding this aid, Vorster will never succeed to reverse history. No power on earth can halt a united people in their determined march to victory.

SACTU hails the magnificent stand of the Organization of African Unity in refusing to participate in the 21st Olympic Games in Montreal, with New Zealand, because the latter country, in defiance of the expressed wishes of the African states and sportsmen, continue to play sports with the racists. This is solidarity.

SACTU hails the decision of the Australian workers and their trade union centre — The Australian Council of Trade Unions — for refusing to handle any cargo to and from South Africa. We appreciate the activities of all other organisations who have, through concrete actions demonstrated their solidarity with our struggle.

We appeal to the international trade union movement — the organisation of African Trade Union Unity, the World Federation of Trade Unions; the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Confederation of Labour and the ILO, to support the black workers of South Africa and other oppressed masses of the population in their just struggle for democracy, peace and freedom.



# FRANCE:

## Vorster's Thugs Bomb Home

The Paris home of Charles Palant was bombed by racist pro-South African fascists on February 17. Charles Palant is the vice-president of MRAP, (the French Movement against Racism and for Peace) which has for years conducted a campaign against the French Government's support to the racist Vorster regime. He happens to be one of the very few survivors of the Nazi death camp Auschwitz after he had been arrested in Paris as a resister and a Jew.

MRAP had received numerous death threats by mail and telephone. MRAP's offices were the target of three bombings. In August 76 the offices were ransacked and Nazi signs painted on all walls and furniture. In October, fire was set to the premises causing extensive damage.

It is clear, as evidenced by the leaflet left behind by the thugs who tried to murder Charles Palant, that it is the MRAP's anti-apartheid activities which are bringing all this fascist attention to it. Who then could be behind such dastardly deeds? For a few months, the French extreme right wing has been showing a new interest in Africa, and South Africa in particular. At their last congress, one of the right wing parties: le Parti des Forces Nouvelles, received messages of support from white South Africa and passed resolutions in support of the white minority regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury.

It is more than probable that the South African embassy and the South African Foundation office in Paris are supplying money to these thugs.

The following is an abridged text of the leaflet left behind by the fascist would-be assassins:

„Enough Lies”

MRAP = an organisation only concerned with a selfless struggle against racism without any political bias . . .

“MRAP conducts a frenzied struggle against Apartheid (Apartheid is simply separate development of the two communities, black and white in South Africa. How is that wrong?) If one day, manipulated blacks, filled with hatred, wiped out the white minority and took power, the USSR would have won one more battle . . .

One more piece of Africa's soil would fall to the reds. MRAP would have played its role . . .

“Remember also that it was MRAP which was responsible for the adoption by Parliament of the law against racism (the Pleven Act) in 1972. It was MRAP that sued ORDRE NOUVEAU – New Order – (equivalent to the National Front) in 1973 and during the trial the CGT supplied a Senegalese witness. It was MRAP again which permitted itself to demonstrate scandalously in front of Federal German Republic Embassy last October 6.

“We declare that MRAP is an organisation controlled and formed by the French Communist Party. All its activities go to strengthen Soviet interests.

“We demand an end to the State subsidies (YOUR TAXES) going to MRAP.

**“WE WANT THE BANNING OF MRAP. WE STRUGGLE TO THIS END!**

– Committee Anti-MRAP.”

J. Z. Moyo,  
2nd. Vice President  
of the ANC-Zimbabwe  
was murdered  
in Lusaka, Zambia  
by a parcel bomb.  
An Obituary on  
Comrade Moyo  
will appear in our  
next issue.

