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SECHABA

official organ of the African National Congress South Africa

VOL 12
FIRST
QUARTER
1978



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of the
African
National
Congress
South
Africa

SECHABA

First Quarter 1978

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SECHABA (Quarterly)

Annual Subscriptions	
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Single Copies	
USA & Canada (airmail only)	\$1.50
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Zenzo Nkobi, Horizont, ADN/Zentral Bild (Berlin), Eli Weinberg (South Africa), UNO (New York), World (South Africa) and Amandla (Holland)

Cover picture: Zenzo Nkobi

Layout: Erich Bißmann

LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM

Voice of the
African National
Congress
and Umkhonto
We Sizwe on:

Radio Tanzania- External Service (Dar es Salaam)
on 15435 khz 19 metre band on short wave,
at 10 p.m. SA time -
Sunday, Monday, Wednesday and Friday

Luanda Radio- 40 and 30 metre bands on short wave.
27.6 metre band on medium wave.
7:30 p.m. SA time

Lusaka- 31 and 49 metre bands on short wave
at 6:10 p.m. SA time

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

The meeting of the National Executive Committee held on the 15th-24th July, 1977, was of extraordinary significance for the entire liberation movement of South Africa, including its External Mission. The question may arise: Is it not a normal procedure in the ANC that its leading members meet and review the situation internally and internationally? Yes, in that respect, there was nothing spectacular about this NEC meeting. Yet this was an extraordinary meeting. The African leaders met to discuss the situation at home and internationally under these new conditions of the "post-Soweto period" and mapped out a strategy which fills us with renewed courage and vigour and imbues us with self-confidence and determination, let alone enthusiasm. The reports are encouraging and it is our task as the External Mission of the ANC to study and understand and, what is more, implement these decisions so that we can contribute positively to our noble task of liberating our people from colonial domination and racist oppression.

The African leaders met at a time when events of a truly historical nature are taking place in our country. The anger and resistance of our people (and not just the youth) has reached boiling point. The racists are on the defensive. The economy is in a shambles, unemployment has affected the blacks severely and also some sections of the white population.

The report notes the growing prestige of the ANC inside and outside the country and states that internally this is due to increased activity of our underground combat groups: "It is natural that the growing activities of our organisation have had a great psychological and political impact on the masses of the oppressed population".

Internationally, the growing authority and respect for our movement was enhanced by President O.R. Tambo's address at the UN General Assembly on October 26, 1976 and by the Lisbon Conference of June 1977, which recognised the ANC as the sole representative of our people.

The NEC report goes on to state that a position has been reached when the ANC viewpoint cannot be ignored "even by the Security Council of the UN" and the front line states invite the ANC regularly to their sessions. The NEC, therefore, concludes that a campaign for the eventual exclusive recognition of our organisation as sole representative of our people will be launched by our International Department on behalf of the entire revolutionary movement and the external mission should be "fully geared" for this task.

Comrade O.R. Tambo is President

Comrade O.R. Tambo was confirmed as President of the ANC and the membership of the NEC was increased by comrades who "have recently completed their terms of imprisonment on Robben Island". These measures should be seen as another step in the direction of

“strengthening and tightening” our organisational machinery both inside and outside the country—a precondition for efficiency and smooth running of our organisation.

In a characteristic ANC fashion, style of work and democratic tradition of criticism and self-criticism, the NEC report does not hesitate to state that some of our organisational weaknesses, “which were graphically pointed out by comrades working underground” at home have “directly contributed to serious setbacks suffered by our underground machinery and revolutionary organisation as a whole”.

This simply means we must tidy our house. Our people need a strong, well dedicated revolutionaries who, by their

deeds and thoughts will increase the combat strength and readiness of our organisation. Our task is two-fold:

- to raise the level of political understanding of the members of our movement and
- to constantly and consistently attack the enemy (and its institutions) which uses torture and repression to “win the minds of our people” and to intimidate them away from the course of revolutionary struggle.

The struggle at home is developing very rapidly. The situation is fluid — these are exciting and hard times. The enemy is becoming desperate — he is on the retreat and he is dangerous. **WE MUST ARM THE PEOPLE — WITH WEAPONS AND POLITICS.**

ANC President Oliver Tambo reporting to members on the Lagos Conference



The ANC Lives

While the actions of our people and our movement continue unabated, the Vorster regime is growing more and more desperate to hold onto power. These actions reveal a determination to heighten the level of struggle at whatever cost. The regime's response to the peoples demands is making it increasingly difficult for South Africa's allies to side openly with the fascist state. The resistance continues all over the country and the racists are obviously finding it impossible to contain. The statements put out by the enemy on the threat posed by the African National Congress are revealing. From these and from the actions of our comrades, the world can better understand the strength of our movement and the nature of our oppressors.

False Claims Continue

We are constantly hearing claims by the enemy that the ANC has finally been crushed. Recently the racist Brigadier Coetzee told the press that "a massive terrorist plan to invade South Africa aimed at guerrilla warfare has been smashed". These statements are carefully timed in the face of increased resistance and international pressure, to ensure their supporters that they are still in control and daily winning the battle against the liberation forces. But these statements also reveal the strength of the ANC underground machinery. According to the brigadier the police seized (when exactly is not specified) caches of Soviet arms, explosives, booby traps and ammunition. The arms were said to include machine guns, rocket launchers

and grenades. Coetzee informed the readers that these arms were to be used in a massive invasion which was the "brain-child of the banned ANC and SACP operating from overseas and neighbouring African states."

Another report describes attempts to bring arms, ammunition and propaganda into the country (the Transkei is specifically mentioned). This has led to increased police patrols along the countries borders with Swaziland, Botswana, Rhodesia and Mozambique. The police say that they have known for some time that the ANC has been increasing its efforts to "slip agents into the country to build up urban terrorism".

The Vorster regime always pinpoints its problems as coming from outside and as being caused by a few 'agitators', but the ANC is inside the country and the people do not need "agitators" to tell them that they are nationally oppressed, economically exploited and racially discriminated against.

The regime is not prepared to say how many men are being deployed in the area but are confident in the knowledge that many of their forces have had experience in combating "infiltration" with Smith's patrols. There are certainly lessons to be learnt here. These can be most easily understood by assessing the war situation in Zimbabwe. Smith's forces are in desperate straits and any claims on his part to have successfully halted the "infiltration" of freedom fighters into their own country would be a joke. But of course the enemy cannot afford any honest assessment of the struggle.

ANC defiance

The first week of September 1977 saw a tremendous expression of our strength in the Cape. Two pamphlet bombs exploded in the Cape Town city centre in the lunch hour. The bombs, which were heard in most parts of the town, went off in Greenmarket Square and at the corner of Burg and Strand streets at 1.30 pm. Mid-day traffic came to a halt as the leaflets scattered. At the same time a large banner in black, green and gold which read "ANC LIVES!" was seen hanging from the top storey of the parkade in Strand Street. Hundreds of people were able to see this inspiring symbol of our movement. It remained in full view for about 25 minutes as the police struggled to saw off the metal clasp which held it fast to a metal railing. People rushed to pick up the pamphlets. These were described by the racists as "highly inciting ... urging Black workers to revolt and strike". The Security Police had linked previous explosions in the Cape to the Rabkin-Cronin trial last year but are obviously being kept busy as the movement shows once again that it can never be silenced.

No Surrender!

White South Africans were shocked when their upholders of "law and order" were met with a round of bullets while carrying out their investigations. Nicholas Molikwani, 24 year old teacher was shot dead by security police raiding squad at his home in Dobsville on September 17 1977, after he opened fire, wounding Major Burger and Constable Riekert. Police said they recovered Soviet weapons and "subversive" literature from his room. Top sources in Pretoria said that Comrade Molikwani was "definitely a terrorist, definitely a member of the ANC and definitely had Russian weapons on him." The incident prompted South Africa's "Justice" Minister Kruger to state that "large numbers of the guerrillas have completed their training and are ready to come into the country." What is

clear is that the ANC is arming the people and that they are no longer defending themselves with stones but with weapons.

Traitor Nkosi is Dead!

Security policeman, Sergeant Mandla Leonard Nkosi, was killed in a spray of bullets while in his bed at his KwaMashu home near Durban. Bullets fired from an automatic weapon hit him, one going through his right shoulder and coming out through his chest. Several cartridges were found outside the house. Photographs taken later showed the walls of his room riddled with bullets and his bed covered in blood. A fitting end for this traitor of the people.

Nkosi gave evidence as a state witness in nearly all the ANC trials since 1968. These include the trial of Dorothy Nyembe, who was subsequently jailed for 15 years, and the recent Pietermaritzburg trial. Nkosi had become increasingly arrogant in the months before his death, openly boasting about his activities and spending his spare time terrorising our people, especially ex-Robben Island political prisoners. His work for the oppressors was described in a fitting manner at his funeral when he was buried with full military honours. He was described as an "upholder of the law" and his bosses found it shocking that he was "gunned down in cold blood in the sanctuary of his own home". Brigadier CF Zietsman, Chief of the Security Police said that Nkosi "had worked fearlessly in the fight against communism". Nkosi had at first been involved in the ANC/ZAPU operations on the eastern front. But he joined the enemy to give evidence against his comrades of those campaigns, and did good service for Vorster from that time until his death. His death is a lesson for those who betray the people's cause.

Unity between Teachers and Students

Student unrest throughout the country continues with the active support of teachers. By September, at Soweto's 40 or



Maintaining "law and order" SA's notorious para-military fascist organisation 'Hell's Angels'

so state high schools, 450 of the 750 teachers had already resigned. Schools and teacher training colleges in the Northern Transvaal, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London, Queens Town and King Williams Town were most affected. The Ciskei authorities closed down all secondary and high schools under their jurisdiction. Lebowa bantustan also had many school boycotts.

Mass protest was further fired by the murder in detention of Steve Biko, one of the leading exponents of the philosophy of Black Consciousness. This led to draconian measures being brought into force in the Ciskei. These, like Proclamation 400 which was declared in the Transkei in 1960, give powers of detention to the authorities for up to 90 days, for people suspected of "insurrection or forceable resistance to the Ciskei Government, as well as of encouraging a political aim, including social and political change in concert with a foreign government". The racists' fear of this mass action has become more articulate of late. One of our radio broadcasts beamed from Luanda into South Africa put it this way: "Never was the Vorster regime con-

fronted by such a united and mighty force, embracing all layers of the oppressed, all racial groups, legal and illegal organisations" and continued, "the process of practical struggle is drawing the emergent forces of the Black Consciousness movements closer and closer into the mainstream of revolution."

Crackdown on all Legal Organisations

A few weeks before this latest onslaught, Kruger was giving his views on these organisations and their potential. He stated: "The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa has turned into a black power movement which has been infiltrated by members of the banned ANC". His decision to ban all organisations and individuals who in any way criticise apartheid policies has been vigorously defended by the racist regime. This wholesale banning of practically all channels of legal opposition of the oppressed majority shows just how desperate the white supremacists have become. Organisations banned include the Black Peoples Convention, the South African Students Organisation, the 5

Soweto Students Representative Council, other youth organisations, the Black Womens Federation, the Christian Institute and the Union of Black Journalists.

The racist regime originally demanded extraordinary powers to deal with "communists and terrorists". All of these organisations proclaimed a policy of non-violence in their pursuit for justice in South Africa. These actions by the state once again underline the correctness of the strategy of the ANC and its revolutionary allies: that the road to freedom lies through armed struggle.

BophuthaTswana "Independence"

The BophuthaTswana bantustan was due for its so-called "independence" on December 6 1977. The runup to the elections mirrored events in the Transkei last year. Less than 40 per cent of Tswanas live in the bantustan and voters were less than eager to take any part in the debacle. Of the estimated 1.5 million voters only 375,000 registered. But of these 1.5 million about 187,500 actually voted in the election. The results were easy to forecast. On the eve of the elections a ban was imposed on all meetings in the bantustan not registered by a magistrate. The provisions of this prohibition, largely similar to those of the Riotous Assemblies Act, were drawn up by the BophuthaTswana cabinet. Chief Mangope's "Democratic Party" secured 90 out of 96 seats in the Legislative Assembly, holding 47 out of 48 nominated seats.

Opposition to this second independence fraud has been strong. Violent resistance was reported in the Odi region where a shopping complex was set on fire and the home of a school inspector gutted. These actions against the apartheid regime and its collaborators have spread to other regions of the bantustan.

Mangope has already started to plan out his policies. Circular letters have been sent round asking the people to state the value of their property, the number of sheep, goats, cattle and other livestock they have. This move is similar to that of

the Transkei's last year when taxation on livestock was increased by 900 per cent. After strong opposition this increase was cut by half. The BophuthaTswana rulers can expect similar difficulties when they attempt to further lower the living standards of the already impoverished population. BophuthaTswana is a collection of six bits of semi arid and infertile land which produces only 10 per cent of the agricultural produce it needs and gets all its water and electricity from outside its "borders".

On the citizenship issue, Mangope has disposed of much of the formality of apparent opposition to Pretoria. "Citizens" of the bantustan who wish to "regain" South African citizenship will have their applications considered as foreign citizens. BophuthaTswana can expect the same international response as did the Transkei. The reactionary newspaper *The Citizen* could only muster the following optimistic note: "Transkei's Prime Minister, Paramount Chief Matanzima, is almost certain to attend (the independence celebrations), doubling the official international representation enjoyed by his own homeland last October".

The Vorster regime is relentlessly pursuing its hated bantustan policy which it advocates as the solution to white South Africa's problems and a method to halt our movement's progress. The National Executive Committee of the ANC has said: "It has become evident that part of the regime's main strategy against the revolutionary liberation movement is to build mini tribal armies whose main task will be to reinforce the aggressive military and para-military police against the revolutionary onslaught of the people. This is also part of the plan to construct a safe belt stretching along the borders using the bantustan so-called independent states to insulate the regime against infiltration by military cadres trained abroad." Our people living in these areas and our movement will make sure that the racists fail in their plan to create a buffer zone.

Torture and Repression in South Africa

'The trials presided over by black-robed lawyers and red-robed English judges who are addressed as your Lordship, are elegant facades covering one of the most vicious police states in the world.'

Martin Garbus, International League for Human Rights
Human Rights, after a visit to South Africa last year.

When nine ANC militants stood in the dock of the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court last year, Vorster sought by their sentences to intimidate our people. Five were sentenced to life imprisonment while the others received terms of between eighteen and seven years. Before passing sentence the judge commented: 'They have shown themselves to be dedicated revolutionaries, and there appears to be little or no reformation in their cases.' The five who received life terms had already spent years on Robben Island for ANC activity and all the accused were activists of the SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions).

After the sentencing the men gave the clenched fist salute to the packed court who joined them in singing the national anthem, Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika. Police rushed them out of the court without giving them time to say goodbye to their families.

If the racists think they have intimidated our people by these vicious sentences they need only look about them, where the anger of the people is exploding into organised action.

A year ago racist Justice Minister Kruger claimed he was 'breaking the back' of the ANC. More recently events have forced Kruger to alter his claims; now he says he is wiping out ANC networks. The oppressors are on the run. No more can they lie, as they have over the years, that they have broken the back of the liberation movement. Within weeks of a boast last September that the ANC in Natal had been crushed, the execution of Special Branch Sergeant Nkosi exploded this myth. This traitor had tortured and given evidence against many ANC militants, including the Pietermaritzburg trial comrades, and was due to act as a state witness in a number of other ANC trials. The daring machine-gun attack on his home near Durban was a dramatic demonstration of the presence of Umkhonto We Sizwe guerrillas in the heart of South Africa.

In the face of the escalating struggle throughout the country the regime has intensified its barbaric practices. Thousands are being detained and tortured. All people with known ANC connections, however distant, are being hunted down. Scores of former political prisoners have been detained. In their efforts to uncover the underground liberation movement and cripple the people's protest raging in the townships and rural areas, these butchers know no bounds. In less than two years more people have been murdered in detention than in the entire previous 13 years.

Each week's action produces more detentions, more trials, more prisoners. New courts have been created to cope

with the load and new legislation to speed up trials and ensure conviction. The accused are tortured and forced to sign admissions of guilt which are then used as evidence. The Criminal Procedure Act introduced last May contains clauses which place the onus on the accused of proving that 'confessions' were made under torture—an impossible task in a situation where the only witnesses are the torturer and victim. Other clauses provide for pre-trial admissions and pleas, producing 15-minute trials such as that of Isaac Zimu and three others charged in August with attempting to undergo military training.

State witnesses who are also tortured are forced to give evidence based on the requirements of the police. Despite this numerous witnesses on reaching court refuse to testify or deny previous statements and plead for protection from the court. This is invariably refused and they are sentenced for failing to give evidence. In the case of student leader Paul Langa who was sentenced to 25 years in August,

one of the witnesses who refused to testify was sent to jail for three years. Important state witnesses in the Pietermaritzburg and Pretoria 12 ANC trials both declared in court that their evidence was false and extracted by torture. We salute these comrades, Ian Rwaḡa and Frans Kunene, and all others who have returned to Vorster's torture chambers because of their courageous stand.

The racists have totally failed to intimidate the people from action. Moreover, increasingly they are seeing the need for armed struggle and joining the ranks of the liberation movement. One indication of this is the growing number of trials involving armed attacks or organisation for armed resistance, as opposed to those of thousands of patriots committing unarmed acts of resistance. The vast majority of cases involving armed struggle are of ANC cadres. Many of the trials of the past year have involved people charged with underground ANC activities ranging from distributing political material in order to lead the masses

Joe Gqyabi, his wife Aurelia and children Jomo and Nonkululeko





Esther Maleke and her son George. She was sentenced to five years under the Terrorism Act

and organise for armed struggle, to direct involvement in preparations for guerrilla war. Amongst them have been:

Stanley Nkosi (28) and *Petrus Mothlanthe* (27) sentenced to ten years in April for establishing caches of explosives between January and April 1976.

Edith Mbala (52) a switchboard operator from Daveyton, sentenced to three years last March for distributing an ANC pamphlet.

Bongizipho Gwamanda (22) a student from Pietermaritzburg, sentenced in March for distributing ANC leaflets and playing recordings.

Khehla Shubane (21) a law student from Turfloop, sentenced in June to 5 years for recruiting students for military training. (Lawrence Ndzanga, a longstanding ANC and SACTU activist, was murdered in detention during this 'investigation'.)

These comrades, students, workers, men and women young and old, face the racist police, judges and jailers in the knowledge that the struggle for which

they have sacrificed is continuing and intensifying; through each of their actions the liberation movement becomes stronger and freedom one step closer. The country is echoing with resistance in which the armed actions of Umkhonto are avenging the crimes of the racists and preparing the people for the overthrow of the apartheid regime.

It is against this background that Kruger is now calling for the introduction of compulsory death penalties for people attempting to overthrow the regime by force, using foreign weapons 'on a war basis' against the established order. In several trials the danger of death sentences being imposed appeared acute at the time of writing.

In the Springs Supreme Court six men are charged with running an ANC bomb factory and training school in a Soweto house as well as sabotaging railway lines. The Springs Six are *Mawidhi John Phala* (50), *John Afheli Thako* (37), *Letsie Ben Mashinini* (34) — all messengers — *Solomon Musi* and *Phillip Koza* (55), both clerks, and a student, *Bafana Vincent Nkosi* (20).

Armed actions which took place in Johannesburg led to the arrest and trial of *Mondy Motlaung* (20) and *Solomon Mahlangu* (21) charged with murder, attempted murder, possessing arms and explosives and receiving military training. They are alleged to be part of a group of ten Umkhonto guerrillas who infiltrated into the country to commit sabotage and snipe at policemen during June 16 anniversary demonstrations. (Around this time reports suddenly appeared in the press of policemen 'accidentally' shooting themselves or their colleagues!)

If these allegations are true, these two men should not be tried according to international law, for Protocol number one of April 1977 of the Geneva Convention stipulates that guerrillas in a national liberation war should be treated as prisoners-of-war.

The trial of twelve in Pretoria, like that of the Springs Six, vividly illustrates the unity of forces within the liberation move-

ment. Attempts to counterpose the youth and students to the 'parents' or 'older generation' are destroyed by evidence of the composition of ANC units in court. Standing alongside veterans of the struggle are young militants including students. This exposes the lies of the enemies of liberation, their efforts to divide the oppressed people by portraying the youth, and particularly members of Black consciousness organisations, as part of a separate entity somehow opposed to the ANC. As a statement beamed over our Luanda Radio Freedom commented: 'The process of practical struggle is drawing the emergent forces in the Black consciousness movements closer and closer into the mainstream of revolution destroying all wishes to create a third force in opposition to ANC.'

The Pretoria 12 are:

Joe Nzingo Gqabi (48), former 'New Age' journalist who served a 12 year sentence of Robben Island for furthering the aims of the ANC and undergoing military training. He is alleged to have been head of the ANC underground in Johannesburg.

Martin Mafeto Ramokgadi (67), alleged to have been head of the ANC central structure in Johannesburg, is accused of recruiting and receiving funds. This comrade had already served 11 years on Robben Island and is in a poor state of health as a result.

Elias Tieho Masinga (24) charged with 'infiltrating' the Soweto Students' Representative Council and recruiting for the ANC and Umkhonto.

Petrus Nchabaleng (50) and *Nelson Diale* (41) both served years on Robben Island for Umkhonto activities.

Michael Ngubeni (42) a former teacher who served 12 years for sabotage.

Naledi Tsiki (21) detained with several members of his family since December 1976.

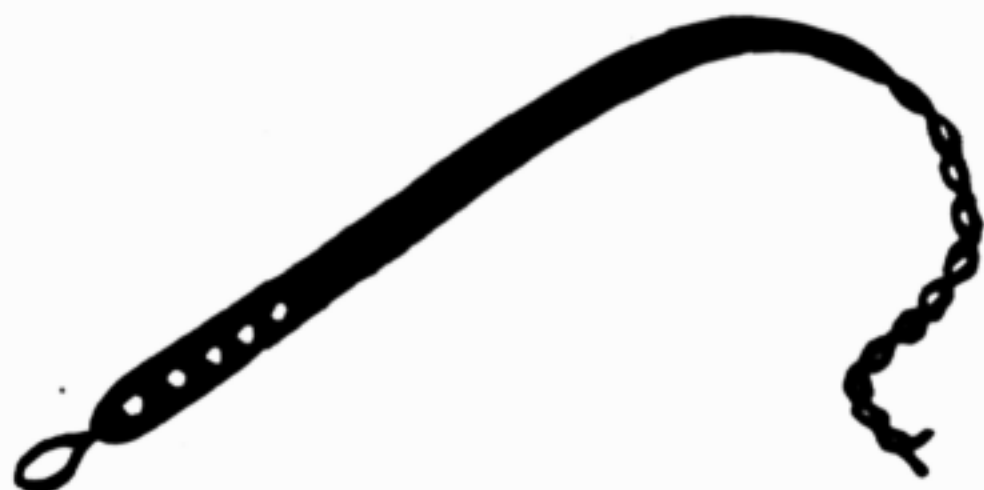
Pauline Mohale (26) who, like the other 11, was severely tortured, was thrown from a second storey window during interrogation. Her mother was forced to give evidence for the State.

Mosima Gabriel Sexwale (24) also charged with throwing a hand grenade at two policemen, seriously injuring them.

The other three are *Lele Jacob Motaung* (23), *Simon Mohlanyaneng* (23) and *Jacob Seathola* (47).

It is clear from evidence led in Pretoria and numerous other courts, as well as from events in the country, that the struggle has reached 'new heights. Not only are there cases of sabotage and small-scale armed operations by Umkhonto guerrillas, but it is evident that great progress has been made in preparing for a sustained armed struggle. It has emerged that there is a nationwide network which is smuggling recruits out of the country for training and reinfiltration — Kruger has warned the alarmed white public that 'terrorists' are returning to the country in large numbers. In addition some ANC cadres have been convicted of training people inside the country. There is also evidence of smuggling of arms and explosives into the country and stockpiling them in a number of areas. Finally, the trials also indicate increasingly successful combination of legal, semi-legal and illegal forms of struggle.

Young and old, the oppressed people of South Africa are united in their task: the overthrow of the racist regime and the creation of a democratic people's government. No amount of torture, murder and terror can prevent this. For every militant captured, scores will step forward to continue the struggle. The task of our supporters in the international community is to protest in order to place a check on the atrocities of the racists, and to aid the liberation movement headed by the ANC, hastening the day of freedom in our country.



The following are the patriots known to have died in detention at the hands of the security policy up to October 1977 since the introduction of detention without trial in 1963

Name	Date of Death	Official explanation of death
Bellington Mampe	1. 9.63	Cause undisclosed
'Looksmart' S Ngudle	5. 9.63	'suicide by hanging'
James Tyitya	24. 1.64	'suicide by hanging'
Suliman Salojee	9. 9.64	'Fell out of seventh floor window'
Nengeni Gaga	7. 5.65	'Natural causes'
Pongolosha Hoye	8. 5.65	'Natural causes'
James Hamakwayo	1966	'Natural causes'
Hangula Shonyeka	9.10.66	'Suicide'
Leong Yun Pin	19.11.66	'Suicide by hanging'
Ah Yan	30.11.66	'Suicide by hanging'
Alpheus Maliba	9. 9.67	'Suicide by hanging'
Ephraim Kaporo	12.10.67	'Natural causes'
J.B. Tubakwe	11. 9.68	'Suicide by hanging'
Nichodimus Kgoathe	5. 2.69	'Broncho-pneumonia following head injuries sustained in a shower'
Solomon Modipane	28. 2.69	'Natural causes'
James Lenkoe	10. 3.69	'Suicide by hanging'
Caleb Mayekiso	1. 6.69	'Natural causes'
Michael Shivute	16. 6.69	'Suicide'
Jacob Monakgotla	10. 9.69	'Thrombosis'
Imam Abdullah Haron	27. 9.69	'Fell down a flight of stairs'
Mthayeni Cuthsela	22. 1.71	'Natural causes'
Ahmed Timol	27.10.71	'Fell out of tenth floor window'
Joseph Mdluli	19. 3.76	'Application of force to the neck'
William Tshwane	25. 6.76	'Gunshot wounds'
Mapetla Mohapi	15. 7.76	'Suicide by hanging'
Luke Mazwembe	2. 9.76	'Suicide by hanging'
Dumisani Mbatha	25. 9.76	'Unknown illness'
Fenuel Megatusi	28. 9.76	'Suffocation'
Jacob Mashabane	5.10.76	'Suicide by hanging'
Edward Mzolo	9.10.76	Cause undisclosed
Ernest Mamasila	18.11.76	'Suicide by hanging'
George Botha	15.12.76	'Fell six floors down stairwell'
Nabaoth Ntshuntsha	9. 1.77	'Suicide by hanging'
Lawrence Ndzanga	9. 1.77	'Natural causes'
Elmon Malele	20. 1.77	'Heart failure'
Mathews Mabelane	15. 2.77	'Fell out of tenth floor window'
Samuel Malinga	22. 2.77	'Heart or respiratory failure'
Aaron Khoza	26. 3.77	'Suicide by hanging'
Phakamile Mabija	7. 7.77	'Fell from sixth floor window'
Elijah Loza	2. 8.77	'A stroke'
Hoosen Haffejee	3. 8.77	'Suicide by hanging'
Himathal Jamnadas	13. 8.77	'Suicide by drowning'
Bayempin Mzizi	15. 8.77	'Suicide by hanging'
Steve Biko	12. 9.77	'Hunger strike'



The Significance of the Lagos

We all stood up in silence and respect when His Excellency Lt. General Olu Olusegun Obasanjo, Head of the Federal Military Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces entered the conference hall, the National Arts Theatre in Lagos. This was an hour of decision and to some a time for soul-searching. To us, members of the liberation movement, it was clear from the start that Lagos was another battlefield.

The significance of the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1975 lies not in the fact that three Western powers used their triple veto to express their commitment to apartheid but in the realisation by our movement that there is still a lot to be

done to commit the UN to an anti-apartheid policy.

The UN sponsored International Seminar on Apartheid held in Havana in May 1976 drew up a programme of action which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in November 1976. This assembly — which was addressed by the ANC President O.R. Tambo — recognised that the oppressed people of our country have *no alternative but to resort to armed struggle to achieve their legitimate rights and therefore affirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of our people and their liberation movement for the seizure of power by the people and the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination. It*



Part of the ANC delegation at the Lagos Conference with ANC President Tambo in the forefront

A section of the delegates at the Lagos Conference

Conference

went further to call for a world conference on the Havana Programme to be held on African soil and hosted by an African country. Nigeria offered to host the world conference, thereby reaffirming its total commitment to our cause: elimination of racism and colonialism in our country. The organisers were to be the UN Special Committee on Apartheid headed by L.O. Harriman (Nigeria) in cooperation with the Nigerian Government and the OAU.

Lt. General Obasanjo and Dr Kaunda expressed the feelings and aspirations of the African people and indeed gave direction to all those present. The West was accused of complicity in the crimes

against the people of Africa. The Africans are fighting a life and death struggle. His Excellency, Lt. General Obasanjo spoke for all Africans when he said:

“For our part, we are convinced that there can be no compromise on the apartheid problems of South Africa. We find it difficult to fraternise with enterprises and organisations that are party to the system that holds our brothers and sisters in Southern African in bondage and regards us on account of our colour as sub-human. We cannot continue to cooperate with those that benefit from us while at the same time reap large profits from the sweat and blood of our brothers and sisters held in slavery. It is our sovereign duty to review our relationship with them and take appropriate action.

In this regard, we are compiling information on all those governments who pretend to be Africa’s friends but allow themselves to be used as weapons laundry for South Africa.... We are mounting a surveillance on all those enterprises who depend on our raw materials and markets but continue to help our enemies. Such enterprises must decide now to choose between us and our enemies and all that goes with their choice. We have a festering sore on which these flies have landed and are feeding in full glare of the world. And when we move to destroy these flies, no one should complain”.

The Internal Struggle

At the conference there were 111 governments represented — all members of the UN. South Africa and Israel were excluded. Besides the two heads of state who addressed the meeting there were present also the leaders of the liberation movements, among them comrades Oliver Tambo (ANC of South Africa), Joshua 13

Nkomo (Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe) and Sam Nujoma (SWAPO of Namibia). Also present were 40 foreign ministers and cabinet ministers and representatives of 40 non-governmental organisations, various anti-apartheid movements and solidarity movements from all over the world. Lagos had become an international rendezvous. The Steering Committee of the conference was also international in character:

President was Brigadier Joseph Garba, Commissioner for External Affairs and there were seven vice Presidents: Joaquim Alberto Chissano, Minister for Foreign Affairs (Mozambique); Peter Florin, Deputy Foreign Minister (German Democratic Republic); Adam Malik, Minister for Foreign Affairs (Indonesia); Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, Minister for Foreign Affairs (Cuba); Robert Stanbury M.P., Member of Canadian Parliament; Olof Palme: Co-Chairman of Commission (ex-

officio); L.O. Harriman, (Nigeria), Chairman of Special Committee on Apartheid and Co-Chairman of Commission (ex-officio). Rapporteur was Mohamed Sahnoun, Ambassador of Algeria to the Federal Republic of Germany.

According to S.G. Ikoku, National Chairman of Nigerian Anti-Apartheid Committee, even before the conference there was not enough consultation between the organisers in New York and in Lagos and "Lagos was reduced to merely implementing directives handed down by the "working group" in New York". This contradiction between New York and Lagos was not merely on procedural matters. It affected the work of the Steering Committee which seemed to "lack cohesion". The most bitter of the struggles seems to be the one centered around the "Draft Declaration" brought from New York and the question arose

ZAPU President Joshua Nkomo and Brigadier Joe Garba at one of the conference sessions



whether to include the main points made in the Nigerian Head of State's opening address or to defend the New York draft. Ikoku was quoted in the Sunday Times, Lagos, on September 4:

"So acrimonious was this tussle that, at a stage, rude remarks were directed at a national liberation movement to the discomfort of Algeria and Mozambique, both well-known standard bearers of the African revolution".

The Commission of the World Conference adopted concrete recommendations which are "meant to complement and ensure implementation of, rather than supersede, the Programme of Action against Apartheid adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session (1976). Its officers were: Co-Chairman: L.O. Harriman (Nigeria), and Olof Palme. Vice Chairmen: Pete Vlasceanu (Romania), P.J. Rao (India), Lucille Mair (Jamaica), Dr Vassos Lyssarides (Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation), Judge William Booth (American Committee on Africa), Mr Kader Asmal (Anti-Apartheid Movement of Ireland), Mr L.G. Ericksson (International University Exchange Fund), Rapporteur was: Mr Thomas B. Sam (Ghana)

The Commission recommended that all stages should:

— prohibit within their jurisdiction any recruitment and advertising for mercenaries or other military experts for services in the South African armed forces and police and or security services and consider the service by any citizen of their country in such a role as a crime to be severely punished

— prohibit transit facilities for, the issue of identity cards to, and the training and despatch of mercenaries

— grant immediate political asylum to bona fide war resisters and deserters from the apartheid armed forces

— terminate any cooperation with, and training of, intelligence, police agents, communications and cryptographic personnel in their country and to call on Interpol to terminate all links with the racist regime.



H. E. Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo addressing the conference

The Commission went on to express alarm at the current trials taking place in South Africa under the Terrorism Act and called for "coordinated and extensive internal campaigns for the halting of all political trials and the release of the Pretoria 12 and all others on trial or in detention awaiting trial". The Commission further recommended that a worldwide petition, containing thousands or even millions of signatures, in support of the political prisoners in South Africa be organised and presented to the UN on Human Rights Day (December 10th).

The ANC Speaks

Comrade O.R. Tambo, the President of the ANC of South Africa, in a well docu- 15



**Comrade
Sam Nujoma
President
of SWAPO**

mented speech gave a vivid picture of South African reality today. This exhaustive and inspiring speech which earned Comrade Tambo what amounted to a standing ovation will be published soon, together with other speeches and documents of the ANC by the Publicity and Information Department. In his speech Comrade Tambo appealed for:

(i) increased political and material support for the African National Congress of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia and the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, which are committed to armed struggle for the seizure of power

(ii) the invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions and an arms embargo against the Voster regime

(iii) measures to increase pressure against the governments of the imperialist countries, the multi-national corporations and other institutions which continue to aid apartheid

(iv) a renewed and intensified campaign for the immediate and unconditional

release of all those detained and restricted for their involvement in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa

(v) the enforcement of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid

(vi) Assistance towards student refugees who are the victims of Bantu Education and repression in apartheid South Africa.

In conclusion it can be said that the Lagos Declaration, though it could be better, does express the aspirations of our people. The contradictions inherent in it were perhaps unavoidable taking into consideration the composition of the Steering Committee and the Conference itself. The "reservations" entered by USA, Britain, France, West Germany, Spain and even Portugal regarding mandatory arms embargo and effective action against multinationals proved to us that the document had served its purpose. Nigeria is not a voice of imperialism — as Andrew Young and his paymasters thought — but stands solidly behind us. Our struggle is theirs. The battle is not over.

INTERVIEW

John Gaetsewe
Secretary-General,
SACTU

The Role of the Workers in the South African Liberation Struggle

Q. You have said that the organisation of black workers is essential in the struggle for social change in South Africa, that it is of fundamental importance for the black workers to be mobilised against their exploiters. Can you say something about what has been done to achieve this, and what the prospects are for the future?

A. I think it is of great importance to underline the role of black workers in the liberation movement. When one talks about the black workers in South Africa we are talking about people who have no

rights, no land, no organisation through which they can express their feelings. It is true that in the South African context one cannot fully regard all the working people as a working class. The fact remains that their role is very important. To play their part it is necessary for the workers to be organised to put forward their demands.

We in the South African Congress of Trade Unions have already put it to the workers that we cannot demand economic rights divorced from political rights. The African worker in South Africa is also the black person, who is being denied the basic rights of ordinary citizens. This is why we say the black people in South Africa are not only exploited as workers, they are also oppressed as a nation, as a group. The only way out of this is first and foremost that the workers must have their own organisation, their recognised trade unions. Secondly, it is important for them as workers to participate fully in the liberation movement.

In case some people may misunderstand what I am saying, I would like to point out here, that the struggle in South Africa as I see it, is not a class struggle. It is the liberation struggle. When we say that the workers should participate in this struggle, we are not saying that it is a class struggle. If it changes, in the process of the development of the struggle, that is a different matter. But as it is today, in my opinion, it is the struggle in which the oppressed people must liberate themselves.

Those white workers who are blinded by their privileges in comparison with black workers, and think they are not being exploited — they are really deceiving themselves. It is important for them to become conscious of their exploitation, and join the common role of the common man. That is the only future that the white people have in our country. Otherwise they have no future. As South Africans, they do have a role to play in the revolution. But I would like to underline the preconditions of any such unity, that first and foremost, the Africans in particular are numerically more, they are more 17

oppressed and more exploited, so they have to play the leading role.

Q. The African workers make up the majority of the black people. As it has been said, they have nothing to lose but their chains. Do you see the workers as a leading force at this stage of the struggle?

A. There is no doubt that the leading force in any struggle in the world are those who are most oppressed and most exploited. In South Africa this oppression and exploitation is in many cases based on colour, not on what a person does. But when I say the Africans have this important role, I also say they should open their arms to those others who have been deceived to think that they are not exploited — the whites. They must accept within their ranks those who are willing, as part of the revolutionary force. I agree that it is very important for the black workers to play a major role in the struggle, but this does not mean excluding the white workers.

Q. What about the position of the trade unions in South Africa, what is the structure at the moment?

A. For many years the South African Congress of Trade Unions had local committees, and was functioning very successfully, from the 1950s almost up to the 1970s. Problems arose, one of them was that a number of SACTU officials and also activists of affiliated trade unions were banned, some arrested — and some, like Vuyisile Mini, were executed. This list is unending. Recently Maswembe in Cape Town, who was in the advisory council, was killed; there was the outstanding SACTU leader, Florence Ndzanga; there was Gwala, on trial with the others in Pietermaritzburg — these are just a few.

There are many others, who formed trade unions later, to try to avoid direct confrontation with government, but who were put down just the same, because the government does not want to see the existence of a genuine African trade union

organisation. Some of these were banned within a week! It is not only SACTU, but nearly every genuinely African union, which has been harassed, and this includes some of the white organisations which have been really trying to help the African unions to organise.

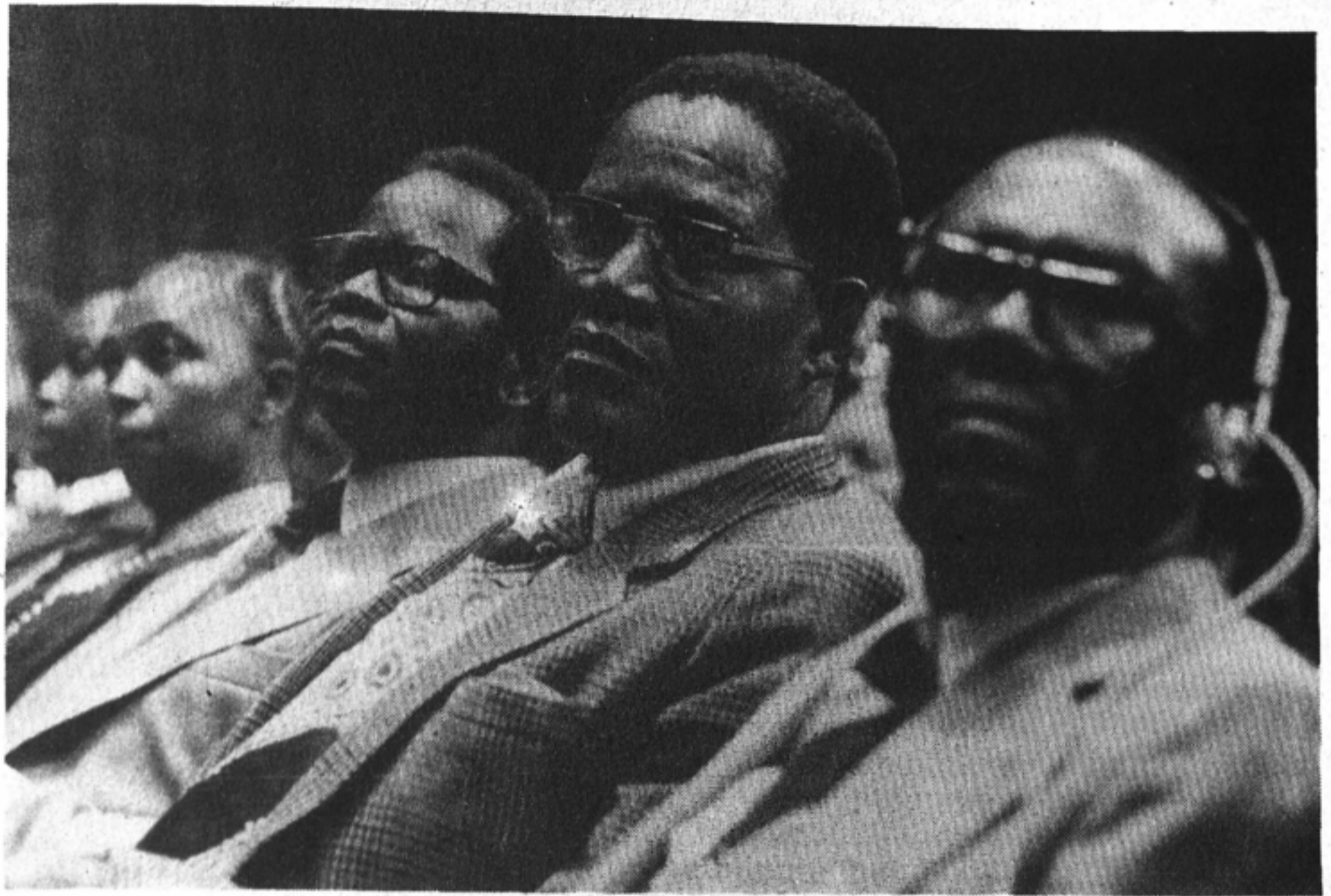
It is important to point out that Africans are chained by laws which put them in jail all through their lives. The African has no freedom of movement, no freedom of association.

The Pass laws are the basic cornerstone of oppression. One can go to others, like the Suppression of Communism Act, which was to ban members of the Communist Party, but experience has shown that it has been used against all people who are active in opposition to the government, even against ministers of religion. It has to be underlined that the African is barred from his rights long before it comes to laws which actually stop him from organising a trade union. He is faced with laws which deny him even the citizenship of his country.

Q. The government has constantly oppressed workers, their leaders and trade union organisations. But has it succeeded in suppressing workers' consciousness of their own ability to organise, their potential role in the struggle, and their power?

A. The government has failed to suppress the development of trade unionism in South Africa. As many comrades know, by 1963 there were already about 160 activists and officials of SACTU banned. But even up to this year the banning of SACTU officials and others affiliated to SACTU continues. The government has totally failed, so it has only one resort — violence. That is why you hear of our comrades being arrested today, and two days later they have died in detention.

The people are seeing the revolution in South Africa in the same way as all people in other parts of the world look at revolution. They are aware of things which they didn't see in 1955, when the Treason Trial was on. They are highly developed, and



Another section of the ANC delegation at the Lagos conference with Comrades John Gaetsewe and Oliver Tambo (2nd. & 3rd. from r)

these things are happening in front of them. In the 1950s one wouldn't even talk about real trade unions existing in countries near South Africa. Today, Tanzania, Lesotho, Botswana, these are independent countries where the people have their trade unions; our people see this change coming about with their own eyes. What will stop them? Five years ago there was no such thing as an independent Mozambique, they knew nothing of Angola. Today they see what has happened — and what is more they also see that these countries have not got rid of a single person just because they are white.

The apartheid government has tried to retard the development of consciousness. But retarding does not mean stopping.

Q. So the workers do have a sharp consciousness, not only of their own power, but also of where the principal enemy is?

A. Well, I can only quote events which demonstrate this. In 1976 about 500,000 workers in the Transvaal came out on political strike. They know where the

enemy is. They know that the main enemy, against which they themselves have the power, is in the factory, in industry. This is the area in which, when we want to hit our enemy, we will find him. They know! What is undoubtedly necessary is to help our people in working towards their aims. We must do everything that is necessary to help the workers to mobilise.

SACTU, despite all the difficulties, is in a position to do more than it had done in the past. We have people in different parts of the country who can be called upon to assist. In other words, there is a structure there, on which we can build.

What is most encouraging is that even some employers, who normally don't want to hear anything about it, today realise that the recognition of African trade unions is vitally important. The government of course is adamant against this, but there is no doubt that we are going to succeed, because one of the principal demands coming from the people is for recognition of African trade unions. They know that many of the 19

things which we talk about can only be achieved if they are successful in their own workers organisation. It is not something we have to make any bones about. It is something we have been demanding for many years. I think the first trade union that was formed in 1919 put up the demand for the recognition of African trade unions.

Q. Imperialism has always tried, very actively indeed, to work through national or international workers confederations, to subvert the trade union movement, to put up false front organisations — like Fofatusa in the 1950s in South Africa. How do you see the imperialist strategy in terms of our own Southern African situation developing at the moment?

A. To me, the struggle in South Africa, of both the workers and the people in general, is very sharp and very straightforward, because the regime uses the issue of colour, of race, as a method to pursue exploitation.

The workers in South Africa are already aware of these temptations. Fofatusa of course failed — nobody knows anything of it any more, while in jail and all over the country, SACTU is known, people talk about it. The workers know far better than anyone else that they are exploited, and how they are exploited. They know they are denied basic rights, so attempts by imperialists to try to confuse them with false advice will fail, as it has in the past. Undoubtedly it is vitally important that we should be able to assist in directing our people, and above all to mobilise the international trade union movement in support of the struggle. But our people do not need to be taught; they won't be confused. Nobody has to tell them: by the way, your children are going hungry, you have no houses, no bread, no right to be represented in parliament in your own country!

Q. Can you tell us something about the Black and Allied Workers Union, and its position?

A. This BAWU was formed in 1972, and is linked with the Black Consciousness movement. It is a new organisation; we don't know what it is going to achieve. We can only say we believe that workers can only be represented as workers, without excluding other races. The stress which SACTU puts on African workers mobilising themselves as a powerful force does not intend to exclude others who are willing to join in their struggle for freedom. I would like to emphasise that as long as the black workers are exploited and oppressed in South Africa, the white workers can never be freed from their chains.

Q. Do you see any signs at present of a significant number of white workers — however small — recognising where their true interests lie, recognising who and where the enemy is?

A. I must say we have friends, white workers in South Africa, not a big number, but we know we have people who are fully in agreement with the policy of SACTU. Of course it is one thing to agree with the aims, and another to say: I will stand up and even die fighting for this cause. They have not yet come out in that way. But you will see, as time goes on, that there will be new developments in this direction in South Africa. There are already questions about what is the role of white workers in the process of liberation. White workers are already asking, what role do we play in the future, as things change? It will come, without any doubt.

Q. At this point we could talk about the state of the South African economy, which is approaching crisis. Unemployment is as high as it has ever been, for instance. Will this contribute to a greater consciousness among the white workers, and give opportunities for greater mobilisation of the people as a whole?

A. There can be no doubt that for many years the white workers have been deceived. But as time goes on they can



Long queues like these are common throughout the country where workers wait hours and sometimes for days before being issued permission to work

also see — as some of them already do — that the line they have been following is the wrong one. Unemployment of course hits mostly the Africans, but it does not only affect them. There are white workers also unemployed.

But when you look at the workings of the whole economy it is most interesting. Because of the high unemployment, African workers who were doing jobs reserved for the whites are today being dismissed or changed to other jobs, while white workers are being brought back in to do the jobs originally reserved for them. But this does not solve the problem: the crisis affecting the whole western economy tends to be more serious in South Africa — due to a number of problems created by the policy of apartheid. With the majority in South Africa being paid low wages, they cannot afford to buy enough goods to promote the expansion of the economy. The minority, producing less, are being paid higher wages. As a

result the economy of the country as a whole is stagnating, and in many sectors, there is what could be regarded as a retrogression.

The other problem is the shortage of markets for South African products. Take textiles: South Africa cannot sell its textile products in Europe. The commodities they export to Europe are mostly minerals and other primary products. Textiles need to be sold in poorer countries which do not produce them — this is South Africa's natural market.

But because of its policy, the majority of African countries, close to South Africa, who could get cheap products from there, prefer to buy even at higher prices from other foreign countries. So the economy of the country is blocked from expanding in this way also.

This is why when you look into the figures you find that South Africa is not progressing at all. Unemployment is rising while the growth rate slows down. Even 21

employers recognise what is causing the problem.

Q. There are a number of big companies in the US and Britain which are campaigning for apparent reforms in workers conditions. What lies behind these campaigns? How do they fit into the big corporations' plans?

A. One has to recognise the fact that many of these companies went to South Africa not because they like it more than Britain or America or Germany — they went to make a profit. And once the profit is diminishing or wavering, other methods have to be tried. The strategy is aimed at creating some kind of changes which will satisfy the workers and allow the multinationals to keep their profits. It is not that they like Africans, they just know they cannot reap the same profits in their base countries.

Now if these companies really want to go in for some type of reform, the first thing they will have to press for is recognition of trade unions for Africans. Nothing less will satisfy the workers. This is not 1950 — it is 1977.

Q. What about attempts to play migrant workers against those who have some urban base — with this tactic intensified as phoney independence is granted, first to Transkei, then to Bophutatswana, and so on?

A. First of all let me point out that we have decided to form a united front with the Zimbabwe trade unions and Namibian workers unions. This front has its own executive, on which we will work together. We formed this because we foresaw their strategy of trying to use workers from other countries against our local workers.

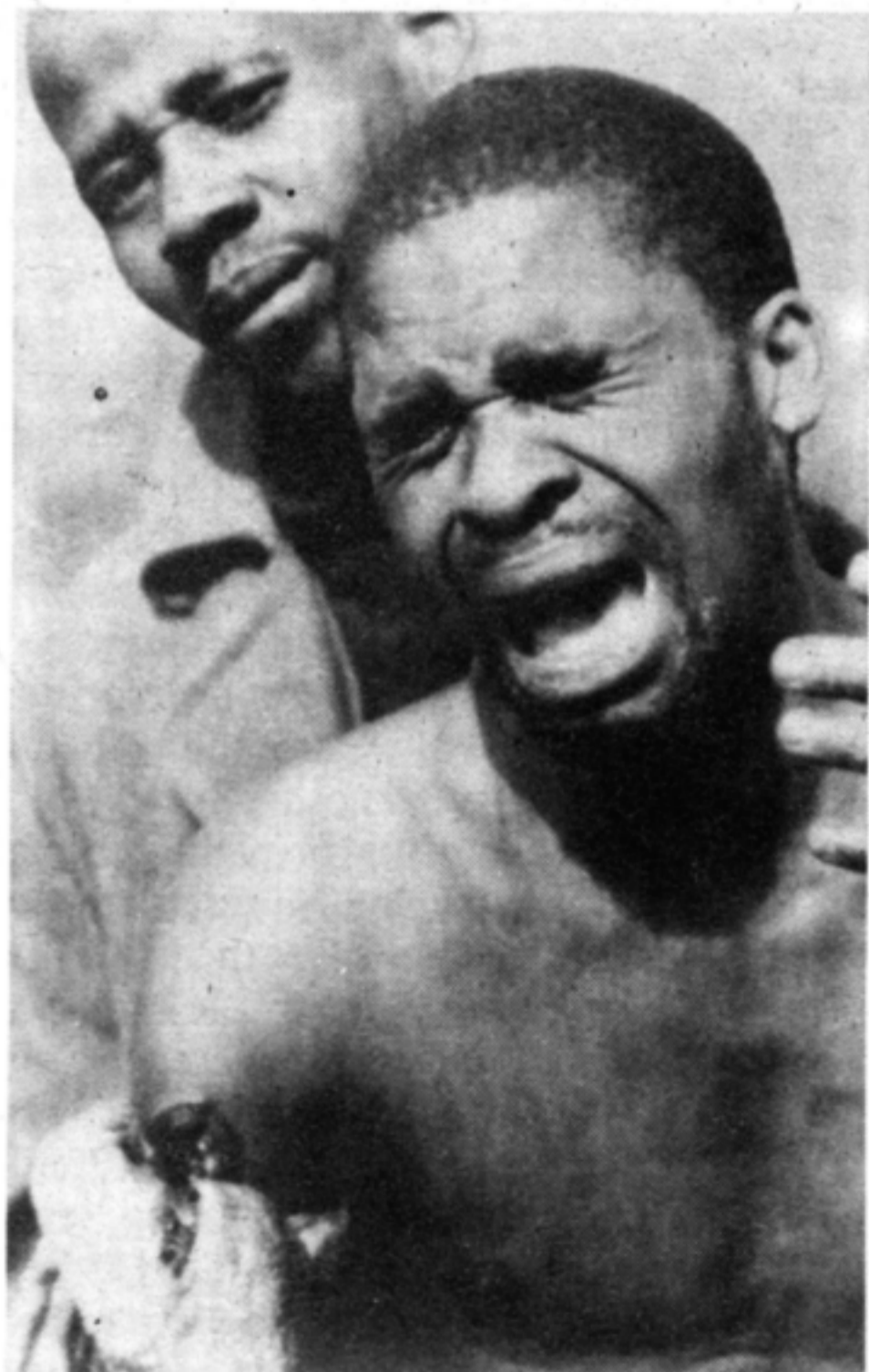
Workers in all these countries must realise that the enemy is not that person who is also suffering like them in South Africa. They must look at the real enemy. Again, colonialism and apartheid have opened our eyes that it is very important to work and fight together.

As for the Transkei and such places, we are aware that the strategy is to divide the workers — not only on colour lines but also on a tribal basis. And being aware of this, we have plans to fight it. Those workers must be organised, and realise that they are not really regarded by the employers and the regime as Xosas, Tswanas, Zulus or Sothos. They are all regarded as Bantu cheap labour.

Q. Can you say something about international trade union solidarity?

A. We have been getting a lot of international support, from a number of unions, the majority from those affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) but also from those affiliated to the ICFTU, in Australia, New Zealand, here in England, the STUC in Scotland

An African worker, demonstrating against the inhuman apartheid policy in extreme pain after being brutally shot by Vorster's fascists in Gugulethu near Cape Town





Their labour is the backbone of the SA economy. African mine workers deep down under the earth

and many others. We have also had support from those affiliated to the World Confederation of Labour, which was founded as a Christian federation. We appreciate the support of all these unions.

In 1973 after SACTU appealed to them, these organisations combined with others to call an international trade union conference in 1973. At the conference these confederations played a very good role. Last year we again appealed to them, that it was vitally important, especially after the Soweto events, to convene a second conference to focus on developing problems, particularly in South Africa.

That was why the Second International Trade Union Conference was held this year. There were difficulties in coming to the final resolutions, but after long discussions some new vital points were accepted. One of those points was the formation of an action committee, to involve the governing body of the UN's Inter-

national Labour Organisation, and including representatives of the WFTU, the ICFTU, and the WCL, the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATU) and the South African trade unions which are recognised by OATU. This is one big step which has been taken. One of the action committee's main objectives will be to constantly review developments in Southern Africa, give regular reports to the ILO, and reconvene further conferences when possible and necessary. We hope that these resolutions will lead to even more firm commitments to action from world trade unions.

One of the other points raised was that while it is important to pressurise companies operating in South Africa to withdraw, they should recognise the African trade unions as long as they operate there ... I think these points show that there have been important steps taken since 1973.

Q. *Finally, would you like to sum up on this question of how the workers in South Africa are seeing themselves, and will from now on see their role in the future — not only as members of an oppressed people, involved in a national liberation struggle, but also as exploited workers? How do you see them combining these roles, and using their position, as workers, to advance the struggle?*

A. As I have said from the beginning, the workers are conscious. They are very clear that they are not only exploited but also oppressed, and they are clear that the combination of these — that is the demand for economic rights as well as political rights — is inseparable. They are quite capable of carrying both lines of demands up to the end of the struggle.

One point related to this which I want to stress to avoid misunderstanding. The majority of the African people own no land, no property, so in every respect they have nothing to lose. This is one thing

which binds us together more than anything else. Even those who in many ways are regarded as a middle class among the Africans — which the South African regime is now starting to try and build, to create a new division — I'm afraid it is too late.

The question today is, how soon can the black people free themselves, to reach the same position as the people in Zambia, in Mozambique, in Angola — that is the issue facing us. Before this question is solved, all these tactics of reform, of creating a middle class, are going to fail. I think 1976 has demonstrated this point very clearly. The way the people acting in the uprisings, the targets they went for, show that they know where the enemy is and who supports the enemy; people like Maponya in Soweto, who had to run. For this reason, all the confusion that they will try to create, is not going to succeed. The workers are very clear.

The coffin-like 'homes' of Soweto which houses millions of the Black labour force of Johannesburg



Students Conference

The first conference of ANC students was held in Moscow from August 6 to 10. The conference had originally been planned as a summer school, but owing to events linked with the Soweto aftermath and the ever-increasing outflow of young people from South Africa, a large proportion of whom were students from secondary and high schools, the NEC of the ANC decided that the situation required something more than a summer school.

With the selfless help of the Soviet Komsomol, both the Youth and Students Secretariat in Lusaka as well as South African Students preparatory committee in Moscow, it was possible to assemble in Moscow, 76 delegates from 14 centres in Africa, Europe and Canada, as well as delegates coming directly from inside South Africa.

At the opening ceremony messages came from the Soviet Committee of Youth Organisations, the Soviet Afro Asian Solidarity Committee, the Committee of Soviet Women and the Prorector of Lumumba Friendship University. Then the participants settled down to serious work in closed sessions.

A report on the latest meeting of the ANC National Executive Committee held in Lusaka at the end of July, 1977, acted as a guiding spirit during the deliberations and was reinforced by papers presented on behalf of the NEC, ANC Women's Section, SACTU, and the Youth and Students Secretariat, and a paper on the role of the SACP in our liberation

struggles. Papers were also circulated prepared by ANC units in Sweden and Canada. The reports by heads of all the delegations were followed with keen interest and became subject of lively, constructively critical debates.

Delegates dealt with broad issues of strengthening the organisational machinery under direction of headquarters. Information on the heroic struggle being waged by black people and students largely contributed to firm declarations from delegates in support of the liberation struggle led by the ANC, solidarity with those who have been imprisoned, tortured or murdered in South African jails.

Participants made a pledge to dedicate themselves to the struggle of the oppressed South African masses until final victory. They examined in detail the various problems confronting students and youth in their respective areas of residence. Thanks to a generous contribution from the Canadian delegation who brought solidarity T-Shirts for the delegates, a strong feeling of identity and togetherness was generated throughout the conference. This was particularly so when delegates participated in Solidarity meetings organised by Soviet Youth and Soviet Women's Committee to commemorate August, 9th — South Africa Women's Day.

The prevailing atmosphere of serious and profound discussion reflected itself in the resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the participants. There is no

doubt that the conference was timely, fruitful and a resounding success. The foundation for a strong militant ANC Students' section has been laid.

It now remains for the two major interested parties, the ANC Students and the NEC, to play their respective roles in the implementation of the resolutions and recommendations of the First Conference of ANC Student Youth:

We, the Youth and Students of the ANC (SA), realise the absolute necessity for organising ourselves for carrying on the policy of the ANC in the struggle for national liberation and self-determination of the people of South Africa.

We meet at a most crucial stage in the history of our struggle with our people locked in mortal combat with the enemy and displaying heroic and unbreakable determination in the face of a sadistic and murderous enemy. The sustained uprisings in Soweto, Langa, Gugulethu, Bonteheuvel, New Brighton, Ngoya and throughout our land, are a glorious indication that our people will no longer stand the evils of the old order and are prepared to fight until final victory is achieved, whatever the sacrifices.

Conscious of the outstanding role of our revolutionary youth who have written glorious new pages in the history of our struggle; conscious that "There comes a time in the life of a nation when there are only two choices, to submit or fight" we declare:

- a) our unswerving loyalty to our organisation the ANC of South Africa and its tried and trusted leadership;
- b) our complete support for the policy of our great movement and its noble goals expressed in the Freedom Charter;
- c) that we unreservedly place ourselves at the disposal of the ANC and pledge ourselves to be disciplined and dedicated revolutionaries;
- d) that we will strive to constantly rally our youth whether at home or abroad to unite behind the ANC, and to be ever vigilant against all renegades, splitters, opportunists in whatever

form they present themselves, and all those who seek to spread the seed of discontent;

- e) United behind the banner of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe we pledge ourselves to move ever forward against the enemy sparing neither strength nor courage until we have won our freedom.

International Support

The Soweto events crystallised the urgency for further advancing the international solidarity campaigns of the ANC against the racist-fascist regime of John Vorster. The decision of the Lisbon conference is a sign of the growing prestige and international recognition of our movement.

We, the representatives of the first ANC Student Conference abroad, express our full appreciation of the consistent, unwavering and principled assistance and support given to our movement and struggle by the Socialist countries headed by the USSR.

We vigorously condemn the capitalist countries for assisting and maintaining the Vorster regime through investments, trade, sale of licenses and the blueprints of armament production including nuclear technology.

We pledge our solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa in Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front, and in Namibia led by SWAPO. We support the struggle of the people of Chile and Palestine (PLO).

The successes of the people of Angola and Mozambique are of great significance to us and have a direct bearing on our struggle. It is therefore our firm conviction that solidarity, being a two way street is in the interest of our people and the anti-imperialist world.

Tasks of Students

We recognise that we have a vital role to play in international solidarity work and therefore commit ourselves to the fulfilment of this duty.

**A Black student,
demanding
the release of
arrested student
leaders
is himself
arrested
and mauled by
the fascists**



We regard the following tasks as general outlines for the fulfilment of our role as students of the ANC abroad:

- The accomplishment of our studies in service of our country and people.
- The propagation and popularisation of the struggle of our people.
- To ensure the influence and impact of the ANC is felt in all areas of study.
- To defend the ANC.
- To raise moral and material aid for our struggle.
- To display appropriate discipline and behaviour as befitting ambassadors of our people.

In view of the revolutionary role played by the students in our country, and the difficulties they are faced with, arising from their insufficient knowledge of our liberation movement, and a lack of clear political direction which makes them vulnerable to political opportunists, we suggest the following:

- The establishment of close contact between the ANC and students inside South Africa. This will help the spreading of ANC propaganda, policy and programme

and interchange of information between ANC and students in South Africa. The most important task will be to guide and direct the students' political activities inside South Africa.

- The ANC should support the efforts made by people at home to help alleviate their problems. We suggest that the ANC students abroad should assist financially in this regard. The students should take it upon themselves to establish a fund contributing a certain percent from their monthly income.

- That the mobilization and organisation of students in rural areas should be stepped up.

- That we the ANC students abroad, like all South Africans pledge solidarity with the Pretoria 12, Goch Street comrades and all comrades who will be facing similar charges in our country. We reassure them of our firm determination to rescue them out of the dungeons. We also pledge solidarity with our leaders like Mandela, Mbeki, Sisulu and all the others who are languishing in Vorster's jails.

- That the ANC abroad reject with con- 27

tempt, the Bantustan policy and the proposal for so called Bophuthatswana independence. We fully support the national campaign against Bophuthatswana independence.

— That we urge all students and South Africans to condemn and reject the bogus concept of “independent” Soweto, which is designed to isolate and dampen the revolutionary mood of our people, who are fighting for total liberation of the entire South Africa.

— That we the ANC students abroad condemn the detentions bannings, torturing and murdering of our people by Vorster agents.

— We condemn the expelled renegades — the eight — whose propaganda is used by the state in the prosecution of the Pretoria 12.

This conference adopts the NEC report and expresses hope that all the provisions in this report are implemented by the National Executive.

The problem of mobilisation is to a large extent affected by the geographical location of student sections which determines the composition of the student section. In socialist countries we are concerned with students who are primarily ANC members. In capitalist countries we have to address ourselves to both ANC members and nonANC people.

But whatever sections we come from, our primary consideration must be to consolidate and unify our existing youth section and to work towards drawing in new people to the ranks of the movement.

The achievement of both these objectives are totally dependent on the level of political consciousness of our cadres. The greater the understanding of the political issues at stake in South Africa and the ANC's perspective of the struggle, the better the chance of establishing and maintaining a determined, disciplined and unified youth and student section. The continuous process of educating ourselves



Even young girls were not spared the baton of the facists as this picture so vividly demonstrates during a demonstration in Johannesburg

requires every student section to be regularly supplied with as much information as is possible — in particular, present and past publications of the movement together with study group discussion papers that certain youth and student sections have prepared. Attendance at educative and political events like the next world youth festival in Cuba make an important contribution to this end.

A further suggestion is that we should look into the possibility of a youth and student bulletin, where all sections can contribute articles on their problems, experiences, success and on political issues affecting the youth. This facility allows for the sharing of experiences and provides a useful platform for the youth to express their views.

The successful coordination and direction of youth activities is heavily dependent on good two-way communication, between the youth secretariat and all youth and student sections. To ensure the consistent maintenance of communication requires the establishment of formal procedures and structures. Besides having a person who has overall responsibility for the youth and student section, we would like to suggest that the aforementioned structures are permanent, making for regular contact between the various student sections and the youth secretariat. This structure will take responsibility for sending out all necessary directives to the various youth and student sections, and generally servicing the various sections with information, advice, requests and criticism.

The mobilisation of youth and students in capitalist countries poses certain special problems, in that they have an added task of mobilising people who are not ANC supporters. It has been noted that study classes, open to all interested South Africans, provide a useful introduction to the ANC and its policies for these prospective supporters. It is important also, to make the ANC presence felt in these countries by initiation campaigns and demonstrations against the racist regime in the hope that this will attract those South Africans

who have not as yet committed themselves to the struggle.

The whole question of military training has to be looked into seriously, for it is being requested by the youth who have recently left the country, and others. The question is important not only because it affects the struggle in general, but, more specifically, it can make the difference between people being mobilised into the movement or drifting away from it.

There are certain things that can be done to ensure the wellbeing and commitment of the youth section: whenever possible, our students should be called upon to contribute to certain projects. This kind of involvement will give comrades a feeling of belonging and responsibility. Similarly the suggestion that comrades should donate a portion of their stipend for the benefit of the movement is an excellent idea that undoubtedly shows commitment and seriousness of intent in the fight for the seizure of power.

Of great importance also, is that we must do everything to ensure that we maintain our identity. We cannot expect commitment from people who are unable to identify themselves with the culture and traditions of South Africa. It is within this context that we see the importance of holding informative cultural events on South Africa's art, literature, music and so on.

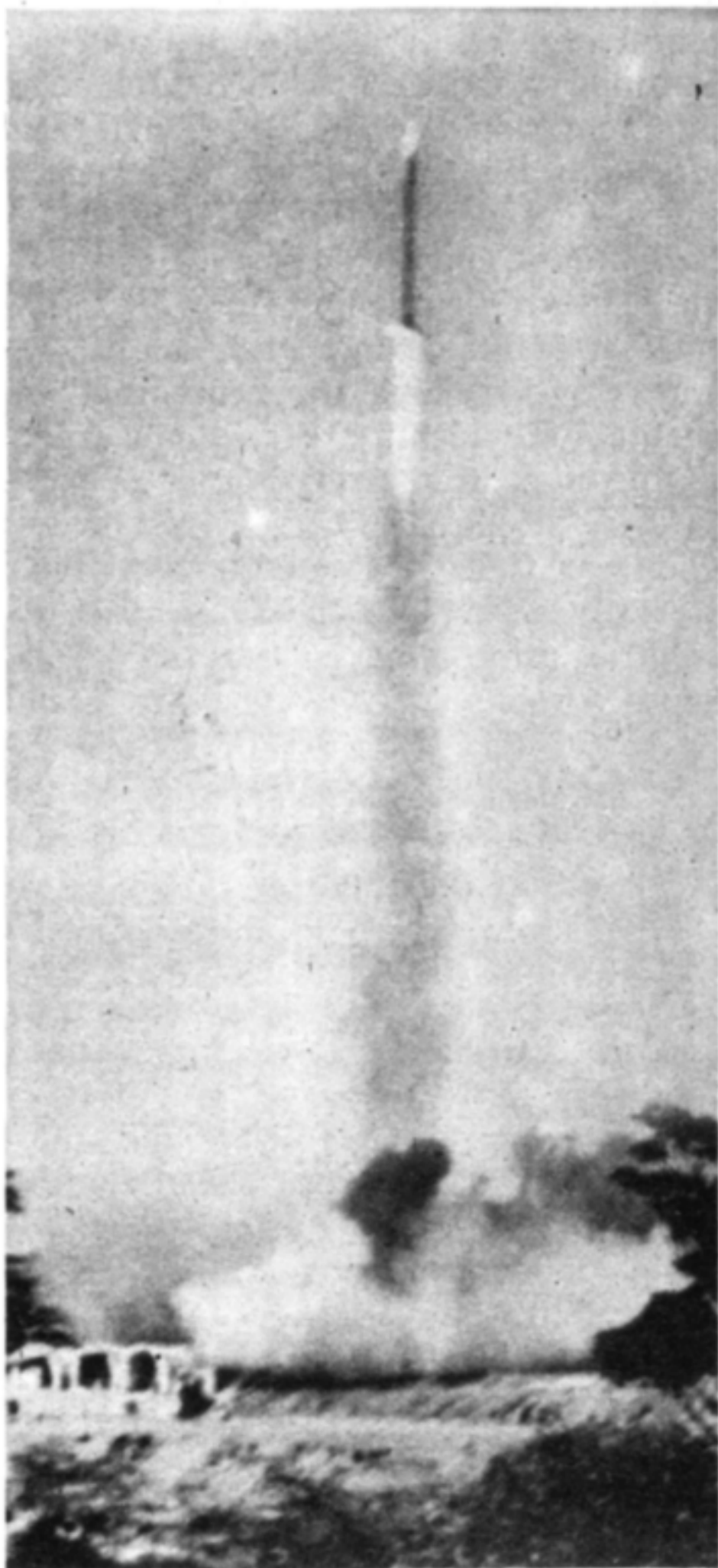
In conclusion, we would like to say that, given the role of the students and youth in the uprisings at home, it is imperative that our student section make serious attempts to forge links with these groups at home. We believe that similar links need to be forged and maintained with the armed wing of the ANC — Umkhonto we Sizwe, for it is the youth and students who must be called upon to swell the ranks of our armed wing, the peoples liberation army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Whether we are working in a capitalist or socialist country we must endeavour to build greater bonds of unity with sympathetic organisations and all progressive forces.

AMANDLA! MAATLA! POWER!

OTRAG:

Implications and Repercussions

OTRAG rocket being launched in Zaire

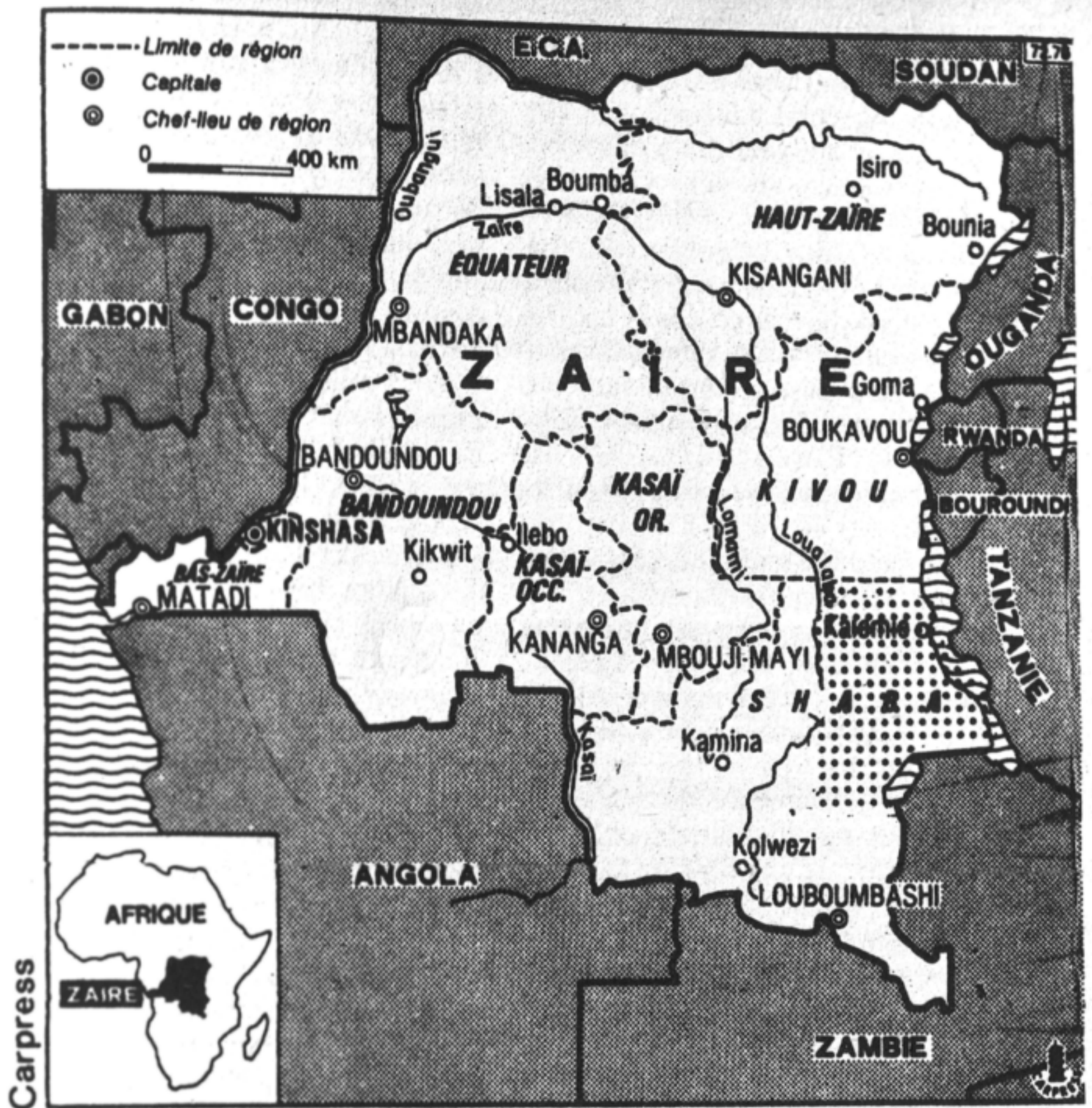


Imperialism has taken different forms throughout its history. In the late nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century, most of what is Zaire today was the property of the notorious King Leopold of Belgium. From the predatory and brutal regime of the "Congo Free State", flowed vast profits for the concession companies and for Leopold himself.

Today, as the final battles against racism and colonialism are being waged on our continent, in an era which has seen the ascendancy of the national liberation movement and the world's progressive forces as a whole, imperialism and its allies are constantly making new efforts to stem the tide of victory. We no longer identify only individuals or even nations as the agents of imperialism, but the huge monopoly companies of the Western world which threaten the peace and social progress of all African peoples.

Recently, the African National Congress revealed the growing military collaboration between the Federal Republic of Germany and the racist regime of Vorster. With the aid of imperialist countries, South Africa now threatens the rest of the continent of Africa with nuclear power. We now learn that a new base of aggression is being created in Zaire which has grave implications for the liberation movements and for Southern Africa as a whole.

A huge centre for testing long range missiles is being built in Zaire. A secret



agreement has been signed by the Zaire Government and the monopoly Orbital Transport und Raketen Ag (OTRAG). OTRAG specialises in the production of booster rockets and is closely connected with the military-industrial complex of the Federal Republic of Germany.

OTRAG has rented this territory for the sum of 800 million marks. The centre spans 250,000 square kilometres of the Kivu province and borders on the states of Zambia, Tanzania and Angola. The agreement cannot be unilaterally annulled under any legal pretext until the year 2000. It gives OTRAG unlimited extraterritorial rights and actually deprives the Kinshasa Government of control over this part of its national territory. For example a part of the agreement reads: "Only such

persons may stay on the territory who are expressly authorised by OTRAG to do so. OTRAG shall be entitled to limit such stay permits to specified zones" and continues, "Upon request from OTRAG, the state must evacuate all other persons". While the companies personnel and their families who do not hold Zairian nationality will be exempt from all kinds of taxes levied by the state and shall enjoy "within the state, the same privileges and immunities as diplomatic missions", the local population obviously has no rights in this venture whatsoever: They may even be evacuated from their land.

OTRAG's blatant disregard for the lives of the ordinary people of Kivu province extends also to their environment. The Mobutu regime agrees to the

following clause in the deal that "OTRAG shall not bear any responsibility for environmental damage caused by the construction and launching of rockets into the atmosphere and into space." In fact OTRAG's rights over this property are almost total, with the one proviso that it does not put the Zairian state's security at risk. To show that the company has this security at heart OTRAG "undertakes to train, as far as possible, Zairian nationals within the sphere of its activities."

Basically, OTRAG's rights of use include "The right to use without restriction the territory for launching rockets, no matter what kind and type, particularly booster rockets, into atmosphere and into space, and to take all measures which, in OTRAG's view, are directly, indirectly or in any other manner related thereto." OTRAG can also modify the natural structure of the province. Examples of this include: "the construction of airfields and all related facilities"; "the construction of any kind of facilities above or under ground (especially launching pads, power supply installations, observation and control stations, telecommunication and radar installations and production facilities of any kind)."

Security surrounding this area will obviously be extensive. Although company staff and their families will be able to fly over the territory without any restriction, and even indulge in aerial photography, this proviso in the agreement does not apply to the Zairian armed forces. No video, written or sound recordings may be made in the area without OTRAG's permission. Under the agreement the Zairian state is obliged "to take and maintain all measures necessary to ensure the security of the entire territory, of the installations located there. Measures to be taken and maintained shall be coordinated with OTRAG provided that such measures are necessary for the activities of OTRAG".

The imperialist powers have secured a new enclave in Africa. The area, safe from any outside interference, is as large as the Federal Republic of Germany itself.

The French journal "Afrique Asie" which broke this story, suggests that this territory will not only have room for missiles but also for camps and centres of subversive activity directed against the progressive regimes of Africa. The whole deal has been kept very quiet since its completion March 26, 1976. One of the reasons for this is clearly the South African connection.

The military collaboration between racist South Africa and the Federal Republic of Germany is complemented by the OTRAG-Mobutu agreement. The implications of the deal must not be ignored. The Peoples Republic of Angola lies a mere 250 kilometres away from the province. The common interests of Zaire and South Africa were exposed when both countries attempted to overthrow the MPLA Government and take away the gains so valiantly fought for by the Angolan people. They failed to change the course of history in Angola. But the whole progressive world is on the alert against renewed attempts to smash people's power. The OTRAG agreement must be seen in this light. The international community must condemn and expose the creation of this new base of aggression within Zaire. This new 'Congo Free State' threatens the whole of Africa.

The victories of people's power in Angola and Mozambique have had a profound effect on the course of our struggle. The South African people have hailed these victories as a prelude to their own. They must be safeguarded at all costs. Our movement, together with SWAPO of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, share a common battle and face a common enemy with the progressive countries of Africa. While the imperialists condemn the fascist onslaught against our people and our movement with words, we judge them by their actions. The OTRAG-Mobutu project reveals once again the true nature of imperialism's strategy in Southern Africa. We are witnessing desperate attempts to halt our march to victory. But we know that our victory is assured.

Apartheid and the Medical Profession in South Africa

An ANC delegation headed by Dr Peter Mfelang attended the regional meeting of the UN World Health Organisation in Brazzaville in September, as observers. The ANC has now been granted observer status in the United Nations and all its agencies, including WHO. The ANC's new Medical Committee is now mobilising and giving guidance to cadres in the medical profession and associated with the health field.

The meeting was attended by about 40 representatives from African countries, with observers from UNDP, Unicef, FAO, and from the OAU. Representatives also attended from SWAPO and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. Dr Mfelang's address was distributed to all delegates as an appendix to the conference report. He had discussions with the WHO regional director and other officials about future UN support for ANC's medical programme and establishments.

In his address to the regional meeting Dr Mfelang announced that the ANC has

now created a Medical Committee of professionally-trained South Africans to work out the specific medical needs of our people in the unfolding situation. The delegation submitted a clearly defined programme for the setting up and maintenance of a health project for the South African people. "We also wish to point out that this is but a start for more projects which we shall submit on the basis of their urgency, after proper consideration and calculations."

Dr Mfelang described to the committee how apartheid and the system of migrant labour is damaging the health of the people: "With her policy of apartheid, South Africa has gone a long way to violate the understanding of good health. For as long as the policy of discrimination prevails in South Africa, the health conditions will not improve. Morbidity and mortality statistics for the indigenous African population are deliberately not published, and those published are totally inadequate to expose the real health conditions of the African people in South Africa.

Factors affecting health in general are occupation, income, housing, education, nutritional levels and eating habits, geographical and physical environment. For the black people of South Africa, every one of these is far below standard. The deplorable conditions to which the black South Africans are subjected cannot but be harmful to their mental health as well. The group that is already discriminated against in the educational, economic, geographical and physical environment, has less access to preventive and curative medical facilities.

More than half of the African population of over 18 million is forcibly resident in the reservoirs of cheap labour, the so-called homelands, which comprise only 13 per cent of the total land area. In the absence of outlets for economic development in these Bantustans, where there are poor and unscientific farming methods, overcrowding, low average rainfall and deteriorating eroded soil, they serve as reservoirs of cheap labour and manpower

for industries and mines in the remaining 87 per cent of the land, which the whites claim for themselves. Thus the African is reduced to the status of migrant labourer. The permanent population of these so-called homelands is made up of women, children and old people. As a result of the migrant labour policy the black African family has no opportunity or hope of even enjoying mental stability and living as a social unit.

The adverse consequences of migrant labour also manifest themselves in the weakening of bonds of loyalty and responsibility in bringing up healthy and responsible members of society. Men often stop sending money home for the maintenance of the children, with the resulting malnutrition retarding not only physical growth but affecting also mental development in children. A man is away from his wife for long periods of their most sexually active life, and not unnaturally the husband may form new relationships in the towns, while the wife may find some small comfort and companionship with someone else. The migrant system deprives the Africans of the harmony of normal family life and creates uncertainty, mental stress and instability.

The sensitive indicators of health levels of any given community are the infant and maternal mortality rates. Most morbidity and mortality results from complications following pregnancy and delivery, and chronic degenerative diseases. Because they are so appalling, the statistics of the African population are hardly ever published, unless by independent research groups. High death rates (or low life expectancy) for Africans are mainly attributable to the effects of malnutrition. Reported infantile mortality rates for Africans in South Africa are among the highest in the world. The rates per thousand live births (according to a recent independent survey) were 24.1 for whites, 54.7 for Asians, 138.8 for coloured people. Again no figures are given for Africans, but an "educated guess" would be 200-250, and in other places, as high as 400. A survey indicated

that half the children born in a typical African reserve in South Africa died before reaching the age of five years.

With the poor living conditions, starvation and unhealthy sanitary conditions, communicable diseases are bound to spread. Communicable diseases and nutritional deficiencies are causes of ill-health and premature deaths.

The overwhelming majority of Africans working in the urban areas get appallingly low wages as compared to their white counterparts. The comparative salary scales for whites and Africans are as follows (as quoted by the Survey of Race Relations on South Africa in 1972):

MINING	
<i>Whites</i>	<i>Africans</i>
R399 p.m.	R22 p.m.
MANUFACTURING	
R357 p.m.	R60 p.m.
CONSTRUCTION	
R372 p.m.	R60 p.m.
RETAIL TRADE	
R169 p.m.	R49 p.m.
(R1 = US\$1.33)	

In the "Bantustans", only 20 per cent of the surface area is cultivable land — there is little irrigation and much soil erosion. Natural disasters such as droughts worsen the nutritional situation. Kwashiokor, marasmus and pellagra occur frequently among the black population. Protein-calorie deficiency and pellagra are, according to the South Africa Department of Health, the most common deficiency syndromes. A report on a special investigation into the matter by the Daily Dispatch, an East London newspaper, stated that in Mdantsane alone, 65 per cent of all children under the age of five are malnourished. A report by the Johannesburg City Health Department revealed that 58 per cent of black patients under the age of 10 in a city hospital suffered from malnutrition as did 80 per

cent of the children up to the age of two" — (A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa in 1976). The full picture is not available since marasmus and Kwashiorkor are no more notifiable diseases. This is another deliberate attempt by the South African government to hide the deteriorating health situation.

Adequate nutrition, health education, improved sanitation and housing, immunoprophylaxis and domiciliary chemotherapy, that is, all measures directed to preventive medicine, would help decrease, or even eliminate the communicable diseases. Of notifiable diseases, tuberculosis is still a major public health problem in South Africa. For example, from "World Health" July 1975:

Diseases: of 55,000 people who died of tuberculosis in 1970 only 824 were whites. Reported cases: *Leprosy*: 750 blacks; 2 whites; 4 coloureds; 1 Asian. *Typhoid*: 4000 blacks; 60 whites; 231 coloureds; 32 Asians. *Sexually transmitted diseases*: 22.4 blacks per 1000; 1.6 whites per 1000

Wages: doctors' salaries — blacks get 61 per cent to 74 per cent of white counterparts; even wider discrepancies exist for other medical personnel — nurses, radiographers, physiotherapists.

Distribution: of the 11,504 medical practitioners in South Africa — the following distribution prevails (according to South African sources): 1 white doctor for every 400 whites. 1 Indian doctor for every 900 whites. 1 coloured doctor for every 6,200 coloureds. 1 African doctor for every 44,000 Africans.

Racial segregation has so permeated the medical services that blood donated at transfusion centres is code-stamped according to the race of the donor — "A" for Asians, "B" for Bantus (Africans), "K" for Kleurling (coloureds) "W" for whites.

Scarlet fever, diphtheria tetanus, typhoid fever, dysentery are other diseases which exact their toll largely among Africans or coloured persons, exposed by lack of adequate nutrition or by inadequacy or non-existence of immunization programmes.

APPEAL to all South Africans in the Medical Profession

The situation in Southern Africa is rapidly changing, with the forces of liberation growing stronger by the day. It is becoming increasingly clear that Apartheid as a state policy is a failure and will forcibly be dismantled and replaced with People's Power.

This means that South Africans from all strata of our society have to gear themselves to play their part in the gigantic task of restructuring South Africa from a society of antagonistic communities into a non-racial, homogeneous nation.

Thus, people in each profession have to start now in mobilising themselves and working out the concrete role they have to play both during the phase of struggle for national liberation and thereafter.

The African National Congress of South Africa has taken the initiative to set up a nucleus of a future South African Medical Association which will live up to the tasks that will confront our people in the field of health, nutrition and sanitation.

A Medical Committee has been set up whose immediate task will be to bring together all those in the medical profession who are truly devoted to the welfare of all South Africans.

This Appeal is for all those involved in Health Services, whether qualified or in training, to give their full support to this Medical Committee and actively participate in its programme and activities. All correspondence should be addressed to:-

The Secretary,
South African Medical Committee,
P.O. Box 680,
MOROGORO,
Tanzania.



Soweto

The above, in a nutshell, gives a very grim picture of the health conditions of blacks in South Africa. But in spite of this, very little is done to combat or reverse the situation. For example, in 1975, of a total intake of 4,759 medical students, only 217 were Africans and at the end of 1975 or early in 1976, 601 whites qualified as doctors compared to only six Africans (See A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa — 1976).

Following the declaration by the UN General Assembly, that apartheid is “a crime against humanity”, the international Red Cross further ruled that apartheid be considered as a “war crime” compatible with Nazism under Hitler Germany. Our people (under the leadership of the ANC), have decided that the only language understandable to the white minority fascist regime of Vorster is to

counter his policy of genocide through armed struggle.

It is now becoming clear, even to the allies of Apartheid South Africa, that the days of white racial domination, oppression and exploitation of the black South African majority are numbered. Today the whole of Southern Africa, particularly Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa itself, can be considered as a war zone.

Our organization, drawing from the experiences of the people of Mozambique and Angola, has embarked on a programme of harnessing our still modest manpower resources in the medical field to prepare for the inevitable problems which have arisen both inside South Africa and the immediate peripheral territories.

The Soweto events, which were in effect a national uprising whose reverberations are still being felt to the present day, are but an indication that we, the oppressed black people in South Africa are geared towards total and complete elimination of racial discrimination and apartheid, with all its concomitant ramifications and consequences, including the deliberately engineered lowering of health conditions of our people.

The Soweto events, and those which took place all over the land have resulted in thousands of young men and women leaving their beloved country. This mass exodus of young people from the country has imposed further responsibilities on the ANC of South Africa (as the vanguard organization in our struggle) to meet the pressing social, educational, medical and other needs of our people scattered all over the adjacent countries. It should be noted that these neighbouring states cannot cope with such big numbers in the light of their limited resources and problems of reconstruction. The new Medical Committee has undertaken to coordinate efforts to procure and distribute medical supplies, build health centres “wherever our people reside in numbers in Southern Africa,” and help to organise further medical training and recruitment.

TRANS- NATIONAL ENTER- PRISES AND APARTHEID

How Multinationals penetrate the South African Economy and bolster the Racist Regime

by Reinaldo Baro
and
Armando Entralgo, Cuba

During the last few years world opinion has shown itself to be increasingly sensitive to the role played by the transnational enterprises in exploiting the economics of the developing countries. The United Nations and other international organisations have denounced and condemned the activities of the transnationals in dominating and controlling material resources and other economic spheres in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is evident that these corporations collaborate in the execution of the imperialist policy of destabilisation of governments that adopt measures in defence of the interests of their peoples. This collaboration was evident in the recent history of the transnationals intervention in the overthrow and assassination of the President of Chile, Dr Salvador Allende.

The most recent studies on the transnationals reveal their growing penetration in the South African economy. This penetration not only has economic implications but also contributes to bolstering the racist South African regime and converting it into a gendarme of imperialist interests in the southern part of Africa. At the same time, by taking advantage of the very characteristics of South Africa for their own interests, the transnationals make possible the continuation and strengthening of the hateful system of *apartheid*.

Transnational enterprises would not go into South Africa if that country did not offer a series of conditions which enable them to operate and to achieve the high rate of profits sought by all international monopolies.

Since World War II, the economy of South Africa has developed at a rapid pace. Between 1946 and 1966 the annual rate of economic growth at current prices was 8.3 per cent. Between 1967 and 1972 the pace rose to nearly 10 per cent. But in the last few years, due to the economic recession that has hit the capitalist world, it has hovered around 4 per cent.

This growth in the South African economy was achieved in the midst of important changes in the structure of produc- 37

tion. Between 1951 and 1971 agriculture, forestry and the fishing industry dropped from 11.6 per cent to 9.9 per cent of the Gross National Product (GNP); mining dropped slightly from 11.6 per cent to 11.3 per cent, while the manufacturing industry and construction rose from 19.6 per cent to 22.6 per cent. Within the manufacturing industry itself, it is possible to note changes. From 1945 to 1963 two industrial groups within the manufacturing sector grew at a rapid rate: the mechanical industry from 6.1 per cent to 16.8 per cent of the GNP and the metals and mineral processing industry from 19.6 per cent to 22.2 per cent.

The slowdown in South Africa's economic development in the last few years is evidence of problems in some branches of industry. Some of the industries in which the rate of growth of production has fallen off are mechanics, chemicals, clothing and paper industries. One of the

causes for this decline in production is growing international competition. The remaining industries, which include the food and miscellaneous products industries (plastic goods, scientific instruments, photographic and optical equipment, etc.) and the metals and minerals processing industry, have maintained their rate of expansion, above all the last, because South Africa's natural resources guarantee a base of raw materials. The coal industry has also been expanding, due to the energy crisis and studies being conducted on converting coal into oil.

The drop in production rates in some industries can be explained further on the basis of two reasons; a) the inability of South Africa to obtain the most advanced modern technology and b) the inability to broaden markets. Foreign trade, on which South Africa is heavily dependent, is very important to its economy. Between 1959 and 1968, South Africa's import-export



"OF COURSE THEY'RE POLICE STATES
—BUT THEY'RE **OUR** POLICE STATES..."

trade represented 51.6 per cent of total products during that period.

Just as in production, there have been structural changes in both imports and exports. Between 1957 and 1970, capital goods imports grew from 30 per cent to 45 per cent of total imports while intermediary goods dropped from 48 per cent to 34 per cent. Consumer goods imports remained stable around 20 per cent. Meanwhile, exports of raw materials (excluding gold) dropped from 65 per cent to 51 per cent while manufactured products grew from 35 per cent to 49 per cent. An analysis of South Africa's foreign trade in greater detail shows that South Africa is fundamentally dependent on the export of nine products, of which five are agricultural, while its greatest imports are manufactured goods.

Between 1963 and 1971, South Africa's balance of payments showed a rise of 150 per cent in the value of imports while the value of exports (including gold) rose only 50 per cent. In other words the country has a growing balance of trade deficit. Historically, South Africa has bailed itself out of a sticky situation because it is one of the major producers of gold. But in 1971, despite the fact that it exported 922 million rands (some \$1,300 million) worth of gold, the balance of trade deficit totalled 430 million rands (or some \$603 million).

An exporter of capital from 1959 to 1965, South Africa has been forced in recent years to stimulate the entrance of foreign capital which it has received in the form of investments and loans, with a view toward financing the large-scale imports required to carry forward its planned development.

To alleviate the balance of payments problem, South Africa has taken measures to broaden its exports. With that in mind, it has attempted to lessen its great dependence on the United Kingdom. Currently, the Federal Republic of Germany is the major commercial associate of South Africa which has also broadened contacts with the United States, Japan, France, Israel and other

countries. In 1947 and 1970 total imports from the first three countries represented 64.1 per cent and 63.0 per cent respectively, while the export figures were 44.5 per cent and 59.7 per cent.

These characteristics of the South African economy have interesting implications for the omnipresent transnationals. In South Africa, the transnationals find an economy in the process of change in the productive area and in foreign trade, an economy hungry for foreign capital for its expansion, and an economy dependent upon modern technology. Moreover, in the present day world in which the developing nations, hitherto classic exporters of low-cost raw materials, are beginning to demand greater participation in the exploitation of their natural resources or to adopt determined policies in defence of them, it has become necessary to look for more secure sources of raw materials to meet any eventuality that may occur. Further, the South African economy offers transnational enterprises an enormous reserve of the most varied raw materials. Next to the United States and the Soviet Union, South Africa has the most and the most varied raw materials of any country in the world: these reserves include gold, diamonds, copper, nickel, tin, manganese, asbestos, zinc, uranium, platinum, chrome, antimony and titanium. South Africa also has great reserves of coal and iron, bauxite and molybdenum. In fact, the one important raw material which South Africa is lacking is oil.

South Africa is viewed within the global strategy of imperialism as its launching pad on the African continent and a supplier of minerals and metals in the face of possible embargos by other producing nations. The characteristic of South Africa that most interests the transnational enterprises and provides an explanation for the increasing relations between them and the South African Government is the low cost of labour, a factor related to the conditions of poverty in which the African majority lives under the *apartheid* system. There is an enor-

mous gap between the wage levels of white and black workers and this gap has been shown to be increasing. According to data published in 1945, the wage for a black worker averaged 25 per cent of that of a white worker; in 1970, this proportion had dropped to 17 per cent.

A wage analysis by sectors indicates that these differences are much greater in certain sectors of the economy such as mining, where the wages of a white worker were 20 times higher than those of a black worker at the beginning to this decade. In the particular case of mining, black workers' wages are depressed because of the South African Government's policy of importing the work force from neighbouring countries where the standard of living is even lower. In 1973, Malawi provided 28 per cent of the miners; Mozambique 23 per cent; Lesotho 20 per cent; Botswana 4.7 per cent; Swaziland 1.2 per cent and South Africa 22.5 per cent.

As recent studies show, the apartheid system has brought in its wake the constant lowering of the living standards of the Africans. The apartheid system means, among other things, that the black worker must accept whatever work he is offered and must agree to be sent wherever it is deemed necessary. Another aspect of apartheid of great interest to the transnationals is the impossibility of African workers to participate in collective bargaining concerning their working conditions, or in strikes, except at the risk of arrest and stiff penalties.

According to a study carried out by the Association of Chambers of Commerce to determine the minimum income level a family needs to live, two-thirds of the African population still falls below that minimum standard. To ensure that the wage system is not radically altered, the apartheid system stipulates that wages for African workers be determined in the following three ways: a) by the Ministry of Labour; b) under the Industrial Conciliation Act; or c) by the employers themselves. In any of the three cases, the African worker will be the loser, as is to

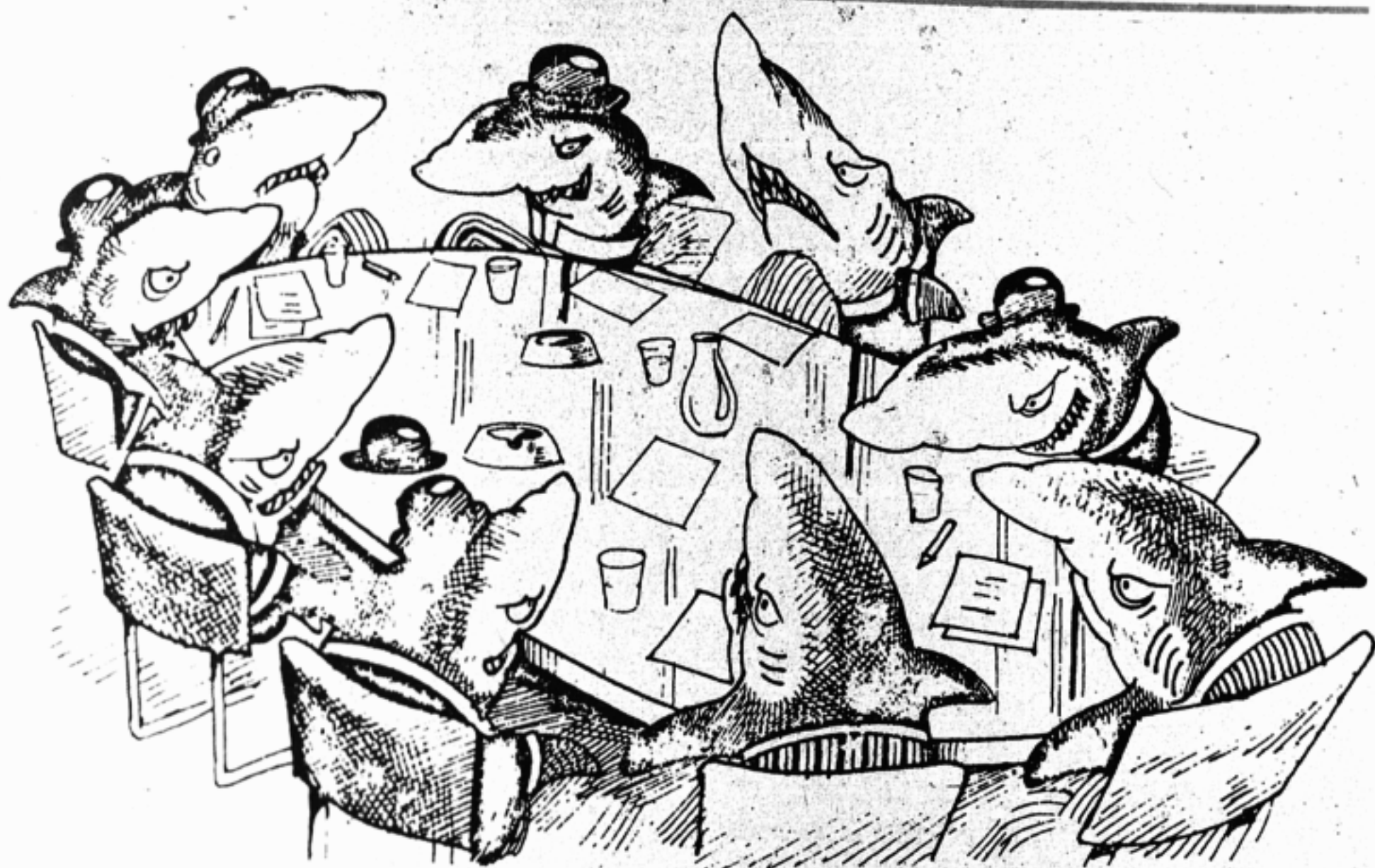
be expected. This situation of holding down costs with cheap African labour is very convenient for the transnational corporations, which are after huge profits.

For the transnationals, confronted with the need to solve the high cost of labour in their own countries, the apartheid system is an attractive characteristic of the South African economy. It is the function of the apartheid system to create for the transnationals cheap labour force that has no possibilities for organising or negotiating its working conditions, and has no job security. These conditions for African manpower explain to a large degree the growing penetration of the transnationals in South Africa. It must also be pointed out that this solves a great problem for the developed capitalist countries engaged at present in the process of industrial restructuring.

South Africa is not only ripe for the introduction of labour intensive industries, but also for industries with slow capital turnover or for those that require major investment in anti-pollution controls. All this is compensated by the superprofits foreign capital reaps.

During the 1960s, capital investment from the United Kingdom and the United States earned, on the average, profits of over 11 per cent and 18 per cent respectively. These figures are unmatched anywhere else in the world. The exploitation of African workers permits the enormous accumulation of capital. Also contributing to this is the fact that goods produced in South Africa have only a small domestic market, as is evident from the previously cited figures on consumer trends.

A comparison of a list of the leading transnationals throughout the world with a list of the foreign enterprises operating in South Africa shows a high degree of duplication. It would appear that the largest international monopolies have flocked there to feed on the special characteristics of the South African economy. According to figures published in 1975, there are a total of 630 British companies operating in South Africa, followed by 494 from the United States,



The EEC "Sharks"

132 from the Federal Republic of Germany, 85 from France and more than 150 from other developed capitalist countries.

Mining was the first sector to attract foreign capital. Anglo-American Corporation, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment and Union Carbide Corporation are but a few of the transnational enterprises operating in the mining sector of the South African economy. However, foreign investment in South African mining has been declining (from 66 per cent in 1936 to 33 per cent in 1960 and at present), due primarily to the expansion of foreign enterprises in the manufacturing sector. It is estimated that 60 per cent of annual investments are now going into the manufacturing industry.

The predominance of United States and British capital is also apparent in the areas of banking and insurance. Early in the 1970s, it was estimated that two-thirds of the shares in South African commercial banks were in the hands of British banking subsidiaries.

Sixty per cent of the automobiles manufactured in South Africa in 1971 were produced by the three leading United States manufacturers: General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. Other major transnational auto producers include the Leyland Motor Corporation (United Kingdom), Volkswagen (Federal Republic of Germany), and Toyota-Rambler and Datsun-Nissan (Japan).

Other areas of the economy in which foreign capital is highly visible include the textile industry (primarily British capital), the oil refining industry (British and United States capital) and the electronics industry (primarily from the United States).

Foreign capital has made impressive inroads into the South African economy in the last few years. According to the South African Reserve Bank, between 1968 and 1972 investments rose from 4,562 million rands (\$6,400 million) to 7,786 million rands (\$10,900 million). The same source lists investments of 1,499 million rands (\$2,100 million) during fiscal 1974-1975. It is expected that in the coming years, 41

foreign capital investments will continue to grow. The South African Government has encouraged this investment because of the need to finance several large-scale projects related to the 1974-1979 development plan.

As for the sources of foreign investment, the major capitalist countries are also major South African associates. British enterprises are responsible for 58 per cent of all foreign investment in South Africa and, in spite of the rapid upswing in investments from other developed capitalist countries, the United Kingdom continues to be South Africa's major investor.

According to recent data, United States investment in South Africa has reached \$1,500 million with an annual growth rate of 20 per cent since 1972. United States investments in South Africa, although not quantitatively as great as those from the United Kingdom, are increasing at a fast rate. Another significant fact is that this investment represents some 40 per cent of all United States investment in Africa. According to *Le Monde* of 24 April 1976, of the \$3,000 million invested by United States corporations in Africa south of the Sahara, 50 per cent is invested in South Africa. The latter also receives more than half of Washington's so-called economic aid to the rest of independent Africa. United States investments in South Africa account for more than 15 per cent of all foreign investments, making that country the second largest investor in South Africa. The United States is also becoming an important trading partner of South Africa. Between 1965 and 1975, trade between the two countries tripled, reaching nearly \$2,200 million, or 14 per cent of all South African trade.

The penetration of capital from the Federal Republic of Germany into South Africa, along with its importance as a trading partner, is also increasing significantly of late. Trade between the two countries grew between 1972 and 1973 an average of 36 per cent and represented 12 per cent of all South African trade, while the latter was the Federal Republic's second major trading partner in Africa.

Capital from the Federal Republic of Germany collaborates with the South African racist regime in a number of important areas such as the military, atomic energy and the electronics industry.

Japan appears destined to become another major South African associate within the next few years. During the 1960s, trade between these two countries grew 500 per cent, jumping from a volume of 71 million rands (\$99 million) to 401 million rands (\$561 million). Japan is now South Africa's fourth largest trading partner accounting for 10 per cent of its trade. More than 70 Japanese firms have opened offices in South Africa, among them Toyota Motors, Nissan Motors, Matsushita Electrical Industries, Hitachi, Tokyo Shibaura Electric, Mitsubishi, Sony, Nippon Seiko and other major Japanese enterprises.

The participation of French capital in the South African economy is relatively small, and is centred in banking and the oil industry, but above all it is concentrated in the military sector. France replaced the United Kingdom as the major supplier of arms to South Africa and has even granted licenses to manufacture certain weapons such as Mirage jets, Panchard armoured vehicles and Cactus land-to-air missiles.

Recent contacts made by the South African Government as a part of its policy of expansion, aimed at breaking through its isolation, have resulted in agreements between South Africa and the Governments of Israel and Iran. Also within this context are the efforts made by the South African Government which have led to closer relations with the fascist regimes of Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile. South African trade with Israel jumped between 1961 and 1975 from \$3 million to \$120 million, and technical assistance agreements have been signed between the two countries. Israel is an important arms supplier to South Africa.

In addition to the characteristics of the South African economy that lure the transnationals, the South African Government has set itself the task of con-



Fascist
terrorists
in
operation
against
striking
workers
in
Durban

verting the country into a paradise for foreign investment. According to a recent report issued by Barclays Bank, South Africa has one of the highest indices of stability for foreign investment. However, Barclays does not reveal in its report that this so-called stability in South Africa is based on the multiple and odious restrictions of apartheid that generate a highly repressive climate for the Africans. Nor

does it point out that behind this stability half the black children under five years of age die of malnutrition; that there are hundreds of political prisoners; that more than 350,000 persons are jailed each year under apartheid legislation; and that South Africa metes out the highest rate of death sentences in the world.

Still another aspect not touched upon in the Barclays report is that South Africa 43

has been engaged in modernizing its military apparatus during the 1970s. With that end in mind it has gradually increased its defence budget, which now is the largest on the African continent. According to *Le Monde*, the South African Finance Minister presented a projected 1,352 million rand military budget for fiscal 1976-1977, which represents a 40 per cent jump over the previous fiscal year and accounts for one-sixth of the total national budget. To deflect attention from this growing militarization, of the economy and increasing repression, the myth is being propagated in the South African press that the country is about to effect major social transformations. To prove this claim, allusion is made to the admission of blacks to a few places previously reserved for whites only; the holding of an occasional multiracial sports event, and the like. In this campaign of so-called social reforms, the foreign enterprises also play their part. Some of them, including Barclays Bank, have begun to admit blacks to positions from which they had previously been excluded. What the propaganda does not state, however, is that blacks continue to be relegated to the lowest-paying posts.

The South African Government as well as the transnational enterprises are primarily interested in maintaining the status quo, ie the apartheid system, which provides such high profits. This identity of interests between the transnational enterprises and the South African Government in maintaining apartheid as a form of superexploitation of the African work force and in obtaining superprofits is seen also in the fact that the foreign enterprises assist the South African Government in recruiting labour in Western Europe. In this way the South African economy resolves its present need for skilled and semi-skilled labour while Africans continue to be relegated to the lowest-paid jobs.

In the final analysis, propaganda issued by the South African regime with respect to alleged social reforms is primarily aimed at trying to reduce friction with

other African countries, to facilitate Vorster's policy of "dialogue", and to gain a breakthrough in the international isolation of the South African regime. With his policy of "dialogue", Vorster hopes to expand South Africa's influence (and with it the influence of the transnational enterprises) to other African countries. South Africa serves as a jumping-off point for the transnational enterprises to penetrate into a number of countries or territories in southern Africa such as Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Zambia and, above all, Southern Rhodesia. Between South Africa and foreign capital there is close collaboration based on the highly important role that the racist regime plays in the policy of maximizing the profits of the large international monopolies that operate in the area.

There is agreement between the South African Government and the transnationals based on support of apartheid which enables both to intensively exploit the African work force. The system of apartheid is not a doctrine peculiar to the Afrikaners but is also a highly important instrument for international capital's operations in South Africa. Thus, it should surprise no one that the transnational enterprises are allied to the racist South African regime and to the system of apartheid. Today, with the oppressed people of South Africa demonstrating their anger and militancy, these companies help the regime to work out a facade of reform, behind which they can continue their partnership of oppressor and exploiter.

It is therefore of utmost importance to devote United Nations resources to the study of the activities of the transnational enterprises and their collaboration with the regime of South Africa. That collaboration must be halted by identifying those transnationals adopting measures aimed at affecting their economic interests throughout the world, and boycotting those enterprises that enrich themselves by exploiting the South African people.

ORIGINS OF THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

A full account of the origins and development of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, and the evolution of the nationalist movement.

The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) is today a mature and dynamic organisation which is the vanguard of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, ZAPU has always had, and continues to maintain a countrywide membership. It commands an ever-expanding, effective guerrilla force. It has a stable leadership tested over years, and has emerged with an ideological position which puts it on the side of the revolutionary progressive world.

It is the experience of humanity that to deal with the present, one must understand the past. Here ZAPU is presented in its historical context. The origins of ZAPU are rooted in the formation of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC), which was started on 12th September, 1957. The SRANC, banned by the settler racist regime, was the forerunner of ZAPU.

The British colonial invasion had never been accepted by the people of Zimbabwe. They took to arms to expel the colonialist invaders, from 1893 to 1900. Several battles were fought in which Zimbabweans distinguished themselves in

their determination to defend their country and their sovereignty. The Zimbabwe nation was welded significantly during this period. King Lobengula's most distinguished commander, Mkwati Ncube led several contingents of his forces up to near present Hartley, some sixty miles west of Salisbury and there, forged a national force with Mashingaidze.

The national force attacked a fort set up by the invaders at Mhondoro, South West of Salisbury on the 17th March 1897. Zimbabwe Day celebrated internationally on this date in solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe. The British colonial invaders finally imposed themselves on Zimbabwe by the sheer technological advantage of their weapons. The people of Zimbabwe, however, continued their struggle in different forms of resistance.

Chirimuhuta became a prominent figure in the formation of the Native Welfare Association in 1911. Sobantu in the formation of the Bantu voters League in 1913, Jacha in the formation of the Bantu Congress in the early thirties and several other organisations such as the Supreme Council of 1950 which was the instrument for opposing the proposed Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The motive force for the British colonial invasion was economic. The financiers of the so-called Rhodesian Exploration were the growing financial, 45



President of ZAPU and Commander-in-Chief of ZIPA Joshua Nkomo addressing his military cadres

industrial and commercial monopolists resident in the United Kingdom. They were, as it were, extending their pipes into the mines, farming and cattle ranching lands of Zimbabwe and sucking Zimbabwe's wealth for themselves and their families not for the ordinary citizens of the United Kingdom, who are also to some extent, within the range of exploitation of these monopolists. The British South Africa Company, a company engaged in every conceivable industrial financial and commercial enterprise, was the spearhead and cover for British colonial occupation of Rhodesia. Rhodesia today is a cluster of British exploiting companies in all walks of life. They have strangled the African economically so that no African enterprise can grow to any distance without eventual collapse. These monopolists are like an Indian Banyan tree; under whose shadow nothing else grows.

Forcibly deprived of their means of living, their cattle and the land, the Zimbabweans were compelled to seek

employment and thus to enter the cycle of the money economy, over which they had absolutely no control. Theirs was exploited labour as workers.

By far the greatest impetus to Zimbabwe liberation came from workers organisations — the trade unions. Masotsha Ndlovu, the greatest veteran of the Zimbabwe struggle, launched the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) in Bulawayo in 1924. From then onwards, trade unions were formed in various establishments to resist exploitation. In the vital areas of mining, farming and domestic servants the racist regimes imposed prohibitions on trade union activity. The conflict was on.

Industrial strikes inevitably assumed the character of political action. In this all active Zimbabweans found expression. The post world war era from 1946 was characterised by leaders of the workers movements dictating the pace of political change. At the time, the political movement, which was the African National Congress, was a feeble effort in structure



The ZIPA in training

and content. It was being towed away from the path of militant nationalist struggle by liberal devices such as the Capricorn Society Welfare Organisations, which were apologists of the order of racist domination. The ANC, then, was led by black clerics, farmers and an elite detached from the masses and oriented towards liberalist bourgeois ideas. The issue of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland brought to the fore a new crop of leadership largely with the background of trade union activity. Some of these leaders died in the heroic path of the struggle, some have deviated, and some are still right on course in the liberation struggle, under ZAPU.

Comrade Joshua Nkomo was Secretary-General of the Rhodesian African Railway Workers' Union. The late Comrades Jason Moyo and Benjamin Madlela were from the Artisan's Union. Comrade Joseph Msika was of the Textile Workers, Francis Nehwati from the Municipal Workers Union. James Chikerema and George Nvandro have since deviated and

destroyed their own past record. To complete the historical link at the time it is inevitable to mention them. They were also linked with their trade unions in the insurance and clerical fields respectively.

The inauguration of the SRANC in September 1957 was a result of a series of initiatives by leaders of the resuscitated African National Congress formed in Bulawayo in early 1955, and leaders of the Youth League, formed in Salisbury at about the same time. These two organisations shared the common objective of constituting a single national movement for Zimbabwe. They succeeded. The chief negotiators from the resuscitated African National Congress in Bulawayo were comrades Jason Moyo, Joseph Msika and Francis Nehwati. Those from the Youth League, Salisbury, were James Chikerema, George Nyandoro and Paul Mushonga.

The point of departure with previous political approaches is that the SRANC enunciated clearly the policy of universal suffrage (one man one vote) as the basis 47

of government for Zimbabwe. It conceived, though tenuously at the time, that socialism was the answer to the politics of oppression in Rhodesia. It believed in exposing the enemy evils, such as the grotesque laws of the Land Apportionment Act, the Land Husbandry Act, and similar laws which were designed to deprive the African of the means of living and the potential to develop economically.

The SRANC understood clearly that organisation meant dynamic contact with the masses. It took to the rural areas to mobilise the peasantry, it took to the streets in the cities to mobilise the proletariat. It expressed the fundamental grievances of the people in the rural areas: such problems as destocking and allocation of infertile and arid land; in the cities, such problems as lack of employment, arbitrary arrests under the Vagrancy Act, lack of schools for the majority of Zimbabwean children, exploitative rents and fares.

The SRANC realised that pleading with the racist regime to change their heart was a hopeless method. It therefore adopted the militant method of defiance of the regime in its application of certain measures, boycotts — where possible — and protest demonstrations such as in the demand for more schools. The national struggle was on. The tide of African nationalism in the entire continent was at its peak when the SRANC came into the scene and the SRANC was part of it. The SRANC immediately sought pan-African connections. The task fell on comrade president, Joshua Nkomo. Ghana, under the leadership of the great son of Africa, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, was the leading pan-African force. Comrade President Joshua Nkomo attended the first conference of pan-African parties and liberation movements convened in Accra by Dr Nkrumah. Comrade Nkomo was elected into the steering Committee of the All African People's Conference. A chain development of international links with governmental and non-governmental bodies followed. Politically it is signifi-

cant that these were links with the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist international forces. Links were developed with the Afro-Asian People's Organisation based in Cairo, with countries of the non-aligned movement (Yugoslavia, India), with the big socialist countries — USSR and China — and with several personalities in the Scandinavian countries, Europe and the United States. All these links were charted, accomplished and consolidated by comrade Joshua Nkomo virtually single-handed between December 1958 and December 1960, having been forced into exile (the first Zimbabwean to live in exile in contemporary times) by the ban of SRANC by the Rhodesian racist regime in February 1959.

The socialist countries, in particular the USSR, proved to be the most invaluable link ever developed for the future of the liberation struggle. It was a discovery of natural allies in the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist cause.

A young ZIPA cadre



By far the most important political move taken by comrade Nkomo internationally was to list Southern Rhodesia as one of the British colonies that had to be the subject of the United Nations decolonisation programme. The United Nations after adopting its programme had demanded colonial powers to submit their lists of colonies all over the world. Britain had schemed to conceal Southern Rhodesia by omitting it from its list of colonies. Comrade Nkomo, working closely with the Egyptian delegation in the Trusteeship Committee of the UN, managed to have Southern Rhodesia listed. The British argued in vain, using their fictitious claim that Southern Rhodesia was a self-governing territory and, therefore, not a colony.

With its demand for one-man one-vote as the basis of Government in Zimbabwe, with its perception of socialism (though tenuous) as the better way of life for Zimbabwe, with its clear understanding that struggle meant expression of the will of the people, with its approach to mass mobilisation and adoption of the militant style, by putting the Zimbabwe struggle in the context of the pan-African and other international progressive links, the SRANC stirred a dynamic mood for liberation among Zimbabweans and laid the policy foundations for the future course of struggle. The course was that of violent confrontation with the Rhodesian racists.

The white racist ruler at the time was Sir Edgar Whitehead. He succeeded the honourable Garfield Todd who, for his vision and liberal approach on the question of race relations had been thrown out by the white racists, as the confrontation with African nationalism was clearly heading towards a collision course.

Rhodesia then was part of a British imperialist structure called the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Comprising Nyasaland (Malawi) (North Rhodesia (Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)). Federal Government was run by Sir Roy Welensky. The struggle in

Northern Rhodesia was being conducted by the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress under the leadership of Dr Kenneth Kaunda. In Nyasaland it was also conducted by a Congress organisation under the leadership of Dr Kamuzu Banda. Dr Kaunda's organisation later became the mighty United National Independence Party (UNIP) and the Nyasaland Congress became the Malawi Congress. Comrade Joshua Nkomo and Dr Kenneth Kaunda coordinated their efforts at struggle and to a considerable extent also with Dr Kamuzu Banda.

On February 23, 1959 the racist regime of Sir Edgar Whitehead descended on the SRANC, banned it and detained the national, provincial, district and branch leadership of the organisation. About 500 comrades altogether were arrested. Comrade Joshua Nkomo, the president, was then on a mission to Egypt. He decided to remain in exile and embarked on an international campaign to rally support for the Zimbabwe liberation struggle. It is this effort that put Zimbabwe in the international anti-colonialist struggle.

The Rhodesian racists went on a spate of passing laws to fortify racism. They passed the so-called "Law and Order Maintenance Act" the "Detention Act" the "Unlawful Organisations Act" and a series more. By these laws the racist regimes were giving themselves more and more powers to suppress the rising tide of the liberation struggle. As events have proved, the white racist rulers were missing the point, not because they did not understand but because they were the tragic victims and agents of capitalist selfishness.

On January 1, 1960 the National Democratic Party was launched at the Cyril Jennings Hall, Salisbury. It was born out of a series of communications between some young men in Salisbury and the leaders of the SRANC in detention in Que Que and Selukwe. Actively involved in this exercise were the late Sketchley Samkange, Willie Musarurwa, George Silundika, Nazario Marondera, Michael 49

Mawema and some others. Those in prison were Edison Sithole, James Chikerema, George Nyandoro and others. A white liberal lawyer, Bowly, acted as communications link.

The National Democratic Party was not a new organisation. It was the SRANC in another name. When it was launched, its leadership was held in trust for the President Nkomo, who was in exile, and for the others who were in prison. Michael Mawema was the NDP's acting President until September 1960, when the National Executive expelled him for impropriety with funds of the organisation.

The development of the struggle under the NDP in 1960 can be roughly characterised as follows:

(a) The vigorous mass mobilisation and party organisation in the urban and rural centres throughout Zimbabwe.

(b) Focussing the solution of the Zimbabwe problem on Britain as against the Rhodesian regime. Notable in this connection was the memorandum to British Prime Minister Sir Harold MacMillan in January 1960 when he visited Rhodesia, and the demonstrations organised during his visit. The NDP delegation comprising Michael Mawema, Morton Malianga and Leopold Talawira, to be led by Joshua Nkomo on arrival in London, to oppose Sir Edgar Whitehead's move to secure the independence for the white racists on Zimbabwe Territory.

(c) The sharp reaction of the NDP through a massive demonstration in Salisbury on June 19th over the arrest of the party leaders and the continued detention of the Congress Leaders. This was instantly extended to other centres, particularly to Bulawayo, from the 21st to the 24th June 1960, where the climax was a violent confrontation with the regimes forces whilst the masses, bare handed, were rallied by the spirit of "Zhil".

(d) The breakout of violent conflict at Harare township in October 1960 over white motorists who recklessly ran over African pedestrians working near Beatrice Cottages.

(e) The National Democratic Party Congress held at the end of October 1960. To illustrate the close relationship with the struggle in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) the NDP Congress was chaired by a representative of UNIP, Nalumino Mewdia.

The least noticed but most significant event for the future of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was the initiative of President Joshua Nkomo to arrange for six young men to receive military training in the People's Republic of China in 1960. This was the beginning of the conception of and preparation for the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. Among these young men were Philemon Makonese and Dr Artheer Musuka.

Later on facilities were sought in Egypt, the Soviet Union, Algeria, Cuba and Tanzania.

The NDP was headed by a national executive of seven. This executive was elected at a Congress held in Salisbury at the end of October 1960, chaired as earlier mentioned by Nalumino Mandia of UNIP. Comrade Nkomo was President, George Silundika, Secretary General, Morton Malianga, Vice-President, Robert Mugabe, Publicity Secretary, Dan Ncube, Assistant Publicity Secretary, Ndabaningi Sithole, Treasurer, and the late Comrade Moyo, Financial Secretary.

It should be mentioned here that the time and message of the NDP had such a ring in the ears of the struggling masses that the Africans who were swept away by the deceit of the so-called multiracial theory started crawling back to the movement of the masses. The NDP became a mixture of various levels of conventions and determinations about the liberation struggle. There was of course a basic common feeling of nationalism. The capitalist — oriented, black, small businessman believed the drive of the NDP was leading him to the same business stature as the flourishing white exploiters. The intellectuals and black pets of white liberals saw in the NDP an opportunity to be showered with favours and special privileges of high posts and pay by the

ruling class. The masses (composed of the proletariat, the workers and peasants) saw in the NDP an opportunity to overthrow the racist oppressors. The slogans of the NDP were "One man one vote", "Nyika Ndeyedu-ilizwe Negelethu" (Zimbabwe is Ours) and "Forward ever backwards never".

The NDP did not only generate the momentum of struggle among Zimbabweans but also exposed the hardened and irredeemable attitudes of white racists who believe that suppression of the black man was the only way of keeping him in his place as less than a dog. The NDP saw the polarisation of attitudes as between the oppressor and the oppressed. The years that followed have seen the rise of the armed struggle.

The NDP contributed to the collapse of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In November 1960 the British Government under MacMillan convened a conference to see how best the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland could be carried forward. Comrades Joshua Nkomo leading the NDP, Kenneth Kaunda UNIP and Dr Kamuzu Banda of the Malawai Congress Party forged a formidable alliance to oppose any continuation of the Federation. It broke up in 1963. Malawi and Zambia moved to Independence, Rhodesia became the fall-back of white racist resistance.

The British Government convened a Conference in 1961. The NDP attended the first part of it in February but comrade Joshua Nkomo walked out of the second session in April. The British and the settlers had now brought in a ten man *delegation of chiefs to overwhelm the nationalist stand* as represented by the NDP. The British Government then wanted to use the pretext of a referendum on the 26th July 1961 to give the fraudulent constitution some pseudo-democratic legitimacy. President Joshua Nkomo immediately responded by calling all Zimbabweans to demonstrate their rejection of the fraudulent constitution by turning up at a referendum conducted by the NDP on 23rd July 1961. The peasants,

the workers and the proletariat turned up massively and rejected the British fraud.

The NDP held its Congress in November 1961 in Bulawayo. The political issue was whether or not to participate under the constitution, despite opposition to it. The Congress decided against participation. It resolved to continue the struggle on a non-collaborationist note.



It is important to note that the faction which eventually became ZANU manifested itself at this Congress by tactics to oust certain leaders on tribal lines. The Congress trounced these elements.

On the 9th December 1961 the regime of Whitehead banned the NDP and confiscated its property. Comrade President Nkomo was on that day on an invitation visit to Tanganyika to attend the independence celebrations. Upon his return he launched the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) on the 17th of December 1961 — only a week after the ban on the NDP. Comrade Nkomo's launching of ZAPU was virtually resuscitating the NDP in an improved form, with an expanded executive of 16, and the creation of the post of Special Affairs. ZAPU combined party organisation with the demarcation of the country into areas for armed struggle. Dr Parirenyatwa, Vice-President of ZAPU, died on his way to Nkai via Bulawayo to fulfil some of these missions.

One ideological battle which ZAPU had to engage itself in was to destroy the infiltration of the trade union movement by the ICFTU, with the concept that trade unions should not be part of a political movement. Reuben Jawela, as President of the Unions, was the agent of this disastrous concept. The membership of ZAPU in the trade union movement and ZAPU itself stood firmly on the revolutionary concept that a trade union movement had to be part and parcel of a politi-

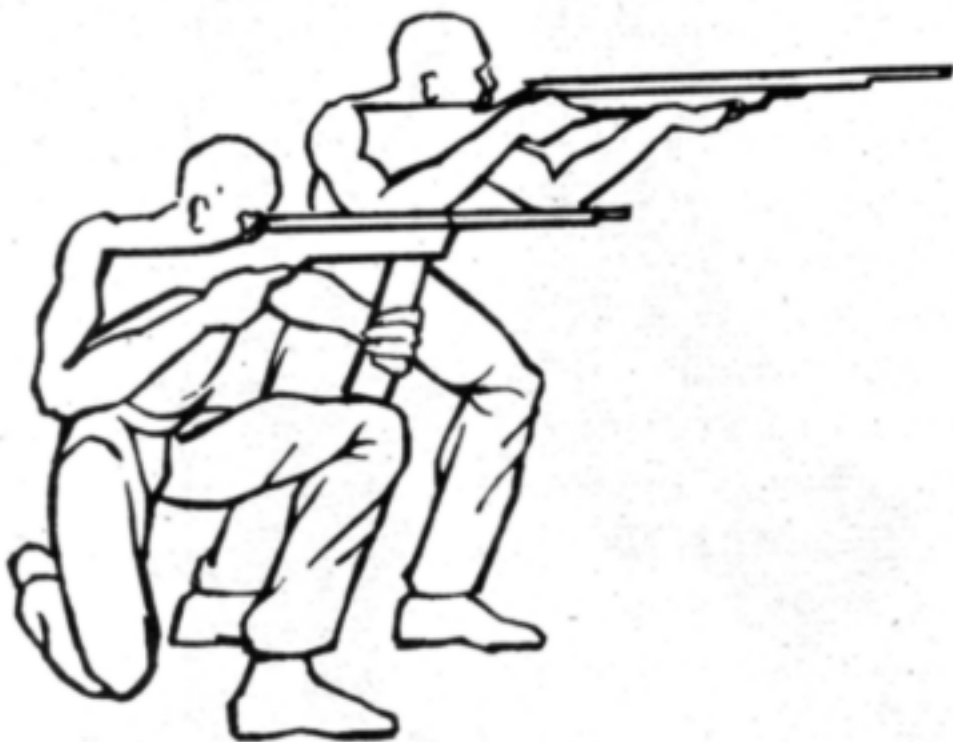
cal movement led by a political party. ZAPU triumphed.

ZAPU was very aware of the intensifying conflict with the racists and therefore anticipated a ban sooner or later. It concluded that to accept a ban by the regime was to concede defeat. ZAPU resolved to continue as ZAPU regardless of any ban.

The ban came on the 20th September 1962. The leadership was arrested, some imprisoned and some detained near their rural homes. Comrade Joshua Nkomo, who had been abroad when the ban came, returned and was restricted at Samukwe, his home, some sixty miles south east of Bulawayo.

At the end of 1962 the regime of Whitehead conducted elections in which it lost to the Rhodesia Front led by Winston Field. Nearly all detainees were released in January 1963. The President, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, was anxious to develop his ideas on the question of the armed struggle. On release he flew to Tanganyika and put to President Nyerere that the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe now needed a base. Despite some initial difficulties, Dar-es-Salaam eventually became a base for the Zimbabwe struggle.

The President led a delegation to the first summit conference of the OAU, which established the Organisation on the 25th May 1963. In June 1963 ZAPU experienced an internal revolt. The Rev Ndabaningi Sithole led a group which made contradictory charges against Comrade Nkomo. They alleged that he was at once a "weak" leader and a "dictator". However it was the external emergence of the same group which at the 1961 November Congress of the NDP plotted to oust leaders on a tribal plan. Nkomo challenged these elements to a Congress of ZAPU (which then operated under the name "Peoples Caretaker Council") at Cold Comfort Farm on the 10th August 1963. Rev Sithole however called a press conference in "Salisbury (Highfields) on the 8th August and announced his formation of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Thus the Rev Ndabaningi



Sithole created a split in the ranks of the People of Zimbabwe. For the last 14 years the energies of the people of Zimbabwe have been split, some against the enemy and some being wasted in interparty differences. Sithole has now returned to collaborate in effect with Ian Smith and the settler regime.

The Cold Comfort Congress on the 10th August 1963 expelled the splitters and also enhanced the authority of the President. A further serious step was taken by this Congress to sharpen the role of the armed liberation struggle. The President and his cabinet were authorised to establish even abroad, such instruments of the party as would intensify the struggle.

On the 16th April 1964 the Rhodesia Front regime swept into detention the entire leadership of ZAPU including the President. The nucleus of leadership left to conduct the struggle from outside was led by the Gwelo division of the Peoples Council, already stationed in Zambia. It comprised of James Chikerema, Jason Moyo, George Nyandoro and George Silundika. They were joined by Edward Ndlovu some few months later.

The National Democratic Party had, for administration and organisational purposes, divided Zimbabwe into eight regions, whose centres were Umtali, Salisbury, Sinoa, Fort Victoria, Gwanda, Nkai, Gwelo and Bulawayo. ZAPU inherited this regional organisational frame with the leadership in detention, the nucleus operational committee based in Zambia maintained this structure and continued to maintain it in all their planning.

The Rhodesia Front regime banned the ZAPU Caretaker Council on the 26th August 1964. All ZAPU political and military activities from then onwards were underground and very vigorous. The armed struggle escalated. The party remained intact.

The Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Smith regime in 1965 and the subsequent feeble attempts by the United Kingdom Government to bring about a

solution through the so-called Fearless, Tiger, Smith-Home Constitutional fraud, and lately the Geneva talks of 1976, are all features of the political struggle. They are not the main issues. The subject is the resilience of the Zimbabwe liberation movement from 1957 to this date under the leadership of Comrade Joshua Nkomo.

It is a historical fact that in 1970 James Chikerema and George Nyandoro suffered the temptation to seize the party, weaken the leadership of Comrade President Nkomo and use the army to impose not only their dominance but also that their tribe, which they mistakenly believed they represented. This adventure was finally crushed on August 21, 1971 in the bush of Zambia. They branched off to form the abortive Frolozi. ZAPU survived, purified and invigorated.

Considering the fact that ZAPU was banned on the 20th September 1962, it is significant in terms of the strength of the organisation that ten years later in 1972 the frame of the organisation surfaced under the African National Council to defeat through the Pearce Commission the attempts by the British and Ian Smith to impose a racially conceived and fraudulent constitution. This is the measure of the success and survival of ZAPU within the Zimbabwe masses as a liberation movement. Bishop Muzorewa rode on the crest of his wave and found himself suddenly looking at the world from its horizons as caretaker of the African National Council. He mistook the storm of enthusiasm over the surface revival of ZAPU (under the ANC umbrella) for personal support. This had an effect on his mind. He was tempted to change the course of history and seize the moment for himself and the opportunists who were pushing him on. The imperialist forces represented by their propaganda media and their political manoeuvrers moved in to catch the moment for their own purposes. They put forward Muzorewa as a new decisive phenomenon in Zimbabwe Nationalist politics, capable of delivering Zimbabwe to independence. 53

These forces desperately needed an immature and inept leader to forge a reactionary neo-colonial deal for Zimbabwe, thus preserving their influence and interests. Muzorewa perhaps as a Bishop, began to convince himself of this messianic role.

This was the psychological state under which unity within the ANC was forged in November and December 1974. Muzorewa was so taken that he could not even understand the strong forces that were using him as a front before the vicious Rhodesian regime, when on the 2nd June 1974 the executive of the ANC (virtually ZAPU) rejected the extremely naive deal he had made with Ian Smith accepting a constitution rejected by the masses as a basis for independence.

With the encouragement of Front Line States, a serious effort was made to weld ZAPU and ZANU in unity under the ANC on the 7th December 1974 in Lusaka. The top leaders of the two organisations had been released on the 3rd December from prison to discuss the possibilities of constitutional solution. Unity thus became a priority.

Instead of acknowledging that ZAPU was virtually the base of the African National Council, Muzorewa took an opportunistic posture, which gave room for regroupings and factional pushovers, making it impossible to maintain the centre. He failed to call the congress envisaged in the unity accord because he feared he would lose to comrade Nkomo. Unity, and his chances to become one of the established leaders through the peoples will, slipped away.

Under the cover name of the African National Council, ZAPU, under the leadership of Comrade Nkomo, led the masses of Zimbabwe to a congress on the 27th and 28th September 1975. Delegates were countrywide numbering 6,000 in all. Eighty per cent of the ANC Executive members that originally served with Muzorewa were for the Congress. The will of the people was thus demonstrated and consolidated. Comrade Nkomo was re-elected president with an executive of



ZIPA militants

68 members. This is how the movement (ZAPU) stands today — firmly on the will of the people.

The stress of ZAPU is the armed liberation struggle. Thus, after the congress of 1975, the external administration of ZAPU under the leadership of the late Comrade Jason Moyo immediately sought to constitute a unified Zimbabwe army, ZIPA (ZIMBABWE PEOPLES' ARMY). This was a welding of the ZAPU army, ZPRA, and ZANU army, ZANLA, ZIPA launched its operations in January 1976. Mozambique had become independent. Because of differing military backgrounds and because of the externally conceived dangerous idea of the so-called "Third Force" hatched in order to oust



the political leadership, the coherence of ZIPA became tenuous. ZAPU cadres under clear political guidance refused to be agitated to revolt against their political leadership. From May 1976, though maintaining the principle of ZIPA, the ZANLA and ZPRA forces have been fighting under separate commands.

The spirit of a single national army and that of political unity in an armed liberation struggle has manifested itself again in forming the Patriotic Front, declared on October 9th, 1976. The Patriotic Front, defined as an alliance between ZAPU and ZANU, has committed itself to unifying the fighting forces and pledged to harmonise its political orientations and programmes as well.

The Patriotic Front represents a qualitative political development within the liberation movement in Zimbabwe. ZAPU and ZANU have had their mutual prejudices pruned down by years of hard march through the jungles of the armed liberation struggle. They have also sobered to the fact that the independence of Zimbabwe cannot be delivered to a divided national army, as comrade President Nkomo has put it.

As democratic people we can afford several political parties but we cannot afford a divided national army. "Hence we must unify the ZPRA and ZANLA forces, now, so that together they should liberate Zimbabwe and as one defend its independence".



New Phase of Struggle in South Africa

by Alfred Nzo,
Secretary-General, ANC

Alfred Nzo – Secretary-General ANC

The situation in the entire southern region of the African continent is in turmoil. Indeed, never before has there been such activity both on the part of the enemies of our people and their friends, on the one hand, and the oppressed masses, on the other, on the scale that it is today.

The defeat of Portuguese colonialism and the proclamation of people's power by the revolutionary-democratic forces in the former Portuguese colonies brought about qualitatively new situations both in terms of the influence on the entire political course of the African continent and in particular on the injection of renewed vigour into the national liberation revolutions for the destruction of the remaining

vestiges of colonial and racial oppression on the African continent.

On the borders of all three territories, that are still under the jack-boot of the most reactionary and oppressive regimes, there have emerged genuinely progressive states that are pursuing state systems that are dramatically opposed to those in South Africa and Rhodesia and whose political parties are loyal and committed allies of the African National Congress and other revolutionary forces of the region. These developments have deepened the crisis that is confronting the colonial and racial systems of oppression and exploitation on the African continent.

Faced with this desperate situation, international imperialism, at the head of which looms the United States, has shed all pretence of sham opposition to the draconian policies of the South African and Rhodesian regimes.

At the United Nations collective opposition to any measures sought by the world community to isolate and weaken the regimes of terror in southern Africa, especially fascist South Africa, has been expressed through a triple veto in the Security Council cast by the three leading imperialist countries — the United States, Britain and France.

A programme of arming and buttressing the regime of terror is being undertaken either through direct agreements with the racist-fascist regimes or through their intermediaries such as Israel, Japan and others. France and West Germany have assigned themselves the task of providing nuclear teeth to the aggressive military machine of the fascist regime of South Africa. It will be recalled that French imperialism, in spite of a determined and united opposition by the Organisation of African Unity and the rest of democratic mankind, is going ahead with the provision of nuclear reactors to the Vorster regime.

The apartheid regime in South Africa is being drawn more closely into the aggressive NATO alliance. At the same time we must note that plans are afoot for the establishment of a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO) which will involve South Africa amongst other countries.

The multinational corporations from South Africa, United States of America and Great Britain have already met to lay plans for buttressing the Smith regime, in anticipation of the acceptance of the British-American settlement plan for Rhodesia. It was intended to take advantage of the lengthy transitional period suggested in the Kissinger plan to ensure the strengthening of the Smith Rhodesia regime and increase its capacity to resist any meaningful change to majority rule especially if the new regime would not

suit the tastes of the US and South African imperialist circles.

On the politico-ideological and diplomatic fronts imperialism has vigorously renewed its efforts to isolate the national liberation movement of the newly independent and non-independent African peoples from their most reliable friends and allies, the socialist countries. Even though the rest of the African continent has fully accepted and recognised the new People's Republic of Angola, fairy tales are still being told about the catastrophic mistake which the MPLA made in asking for and accepting the fraternal assistance from the Soviet Union, Cuba and other progressive forces of the world to repel imperialist and South African aggression.

At the same time, the CIA assistance which was given to the defeated counter-revolutionary FNLA and UNITA and the aggression committed by the South African fascist regime against the people of Angola was supposed to have been in the interests of the people of Angola and Africa as a whole. It was supposed to have saved Africa from the so-called dangerous communist penetration.

Imperialism has intensified its efforts of seeking allies from within the African national liberation movements, whilst at the same time seeking to divide and split the Organisation of African Unity by pitting so-called moderate African states against what they term militant pro-communist African states.

In South Africa it was hoped that the defection of the counter-revolutionary "gang of eight" who were subsequently expelled from the African National Congress would weaken the revolutionary forces of our country headed by the African National Congress. It should also be noted that having failed to project successfully the Bantustan stooges and placemen as the alternative leadership of the oppressed African people in South Africa, serious efforts have been intensified to seek out others from within the Black consciousness movement. Everything is being done to divorce the heroic 57

efforts of the young generation of our country from the mainstream of the revolutionary national liberation movement and project the current upsurge of school children and youth and its leaders as worthy successors of the African National Congress and the world-renowned leadership of our people, now locked away on Robben Island. Those who swallow this bait are becoming fewer and isolated.

Experience which the heroic youth of our country is gaining in the field of battle against the Vorster regime has taught its most advanced elements to seek out the African National Congress whose revolutionary programme for the overthrow of fascist oppression they have fully accepted. This development was inevitable.

Here, we should summarise the objectives of the Kissinger "shuttle diplomacy" which has been clothed in the very dangerous garb of the so-called new US policy of supporting African majority rule. Its real aims, however, are as follows:

(a) It seeks to cut the umbilical cord directly linking the national liberation movements of the African peoples to the world socialist system, especially the Soviet Union, Cuba and the progressive forces of the world.

(b) It seeks to ensure that the outcome of the heroic revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples in southern Africa will be neo-colonial, pro-imperialist regimes which will ensure the protection of the vast economic and strategic interests of imperialism in this region.

(c) Kissinger, the foremost representative of US monopoly capital sought to create favourable conditions for the penetration of US neo-colonialism into the countries of Africa.

(d) Whilst the plans for the imperialist grand coup-strategy have not yet matured, international imperialism is proceeding to fortify its most aggressive bulwark and task force — the fascist regime of Johannes Vorster. This is done through devious diplomatic manoeuvres which seek to project the aggressive Vorster regime as an important element for the

peaceful solution of the problems confronting the peoples of southern Africa and Africa as a whole.

In the process, even the most heinous genocidal crimes of the Vorster regime against the people of South Africa during the current uprising are passed over in silence. So is the repeated aggressions by the Smith regime against the independent and sovereign People's Republic of Mozambique.

Such are the highlights of the dangerous imperialist conspiracy against the continent of Africa.

The current development in southern Africa demonstrate with crystal clarity that the masses of the oppressed peoples are determined as never before to destroy the oppressive racist-fascist regimes using all means at their disposal, with armed revolutionary struggle as the chief weapon in their hands.

In South Africa, never has the determination of our people to destroy the fascist apartheid regime been demonstrated with such heroism and singleness of purpose as has been witnessed during the current sustained uprising of the masses of our people, especially the young generation.

Whilst the initial brutal blow of the enemy against the unarmed school children of Soweto on June 16th (1976) was intended to demonstrate the capacity of the fascist regime to maintain "law and order" for the reassurance of the white minority section of our population and also as a means of mass intimidation of the oppressed population against any further acts of resistance, the results achieved were the direct opposite and will have a permanent impact on the South African political scene.

The mass anger of the South African population, especially the black community, aroused by the horror and unbelievable brutality of the Vorster regime spread like wild fire all over our country. The Soweto events were immediately followed by solidarity actions and in a short space of time covered the entire country and everywhere

the main feature was the mass heroism of the participants in the uprising. Soon the indestructible solidarity of the black community (African, Coloured and Indian) was sealed in the blood of the participants in the unequal but heroic battles against the enemy in the streets of black ghettos all over the country. The white university youth, especially of the Witwatersrand took to the streets during the early days of the uprising protesting alongside their black counterparts against the brutality of the fascist regime.

A significant development during this uprising of our people has been the ~~unprecedented political struggle by the black~~ working class protesting against the crimes of the regime and demanding the release of those who have been arbitrarily arrested and detained.

The strikes have affected almost all the principal industrial areas involving thousands of the black working class. It was inevitable that the entry of this important section of the oppressed and exploited population into battle should evoke reaction in the board-rooms of the multinational corporations thousands of miles from South Africa.

It should be noted that after the initial stages of open demonstration, emphasis is now placed on more effective forms of resistance. From stone throwing the revolutionary masses are now moving on to more secretive forms which are intended to add more teeth to the peoples resistances. Reports have filtered through pointing to the more sophisticated methods of destroying some of the targets which our people have singled out for attacks. The level of organisation is growing in scope and strength.

The reaction of the Vorster regime to the current situation has been characteristic. Hundreds of our people mostly school children have already been murdered by the fascist thugs. Secret burials are taking place almost every night in some cemeteries in an effort to hide the continuing murder trail by the regime's paramilitary forces. Thousands of our people have been arrested and many have already been

murdered in police cells. In this situation hundreds of parents are no longer sure whether their children have left the country or are in detention or have been brutally murdered by the police. In spite of it all, the revolutionary morale of those who have already reached the external mission of the African National Congress is very high. Thanks to the heroic efforts of our underground machinery the numbers of those reaching us are growing all the time.

On the other hand, the Vorster regime is intensifying the mass mobilisation of the white minority section of the population into one branch or the other of its military machine. This mass mobilisation is accompanied by an increasing crescendo of enemy propaganda directed against the so-called communist danger and building up all sorts of horror stories against the African National Congress and its revolutionary ally, the South African Communist Party. The only positive side of this fascist propaganda is the fact that our enemies constantly remind the oppressed population that the African National Congress and its military wing "Umkhonto We Sizwe" lives among them and this has helped to boost the morale of the fighting population.

What then are the root causes of the deepening crisis confronting the Vorster regime?

The new political situation that has arisen in southern Africa in the wake of the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the growing revolutionary onslaught of the oppressed people are emphasising with particular clarity the impending doom of the racist-colonial system in southern Africa. The Vorster regime has reacted by imposing more repression on the people through an ever-tightening net of repressive legislation and stricter administrative control of the overwhelming majority of the South African population, the black community.

The deepening economic crisis facing the country aggravated by the generalised worldwide economic recession sweeping throughout the imperialist world has 59

imposed a heavier economic burden on the black community. Economic ruin stares the majority black population in the face. Unemployment is rising.

The combined resistance of the African National Congress and its revolutionary allies working under conditions of naked terror and illegality has contributed to the current mood of mass revolt. The spirit of "no surrender" by the revolutionary forces and our constant distribution of illegal propaganda and agitational material using various methods helped in raising the fighting mood among the people to high levels.

An event of particular importance in recent times was the defeat of the fascist South African army by the revolutionary masses in Angola led by the MPLA. This shattered forever the myth of the invincibility of the white minority army of aggression.

The African National Congress totally rejects the notion that is currently expressed in certain circles that the struggle of our people is aiming at reform within the apartheid system of oppression. This view is closely allied to the concept of Bantustan "independence" which has long been rejected by the overwhelming majority of our people.

What then is the objective of our struggle? Simply stated it is seizure of power by the people which power our people will use to bring about radical political-economic, social and cultural transformation of the South African society.

We have a vision of and we fight for a South Africa in which national oppression will be abolished once and for all; in which racism in whatever form it will rear its head will be suppressed with all the might of popular power. We fight to restore power to the hands of the people.

We fight for a South Africa whose wealth will be shared equitably. We fight to abolish the system which obtains in our country today and which concentrates all productive wealth in the hands of a few whilst the vast majority exists merely to enlarge that wealth.

We call upon the progressive support groups and other progressive forces in the western imperialist countries, Japan and everywhere else:

— to mobilise all-round support for the revolutionary struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress.

— to build powerful people's lobbies to oppose the growing economic collaboration between South Africa and the ruling circles in Great Britain, USA, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan and other countries.

— to bring to the attention of the public the dangers to world peace and security inherent in the growing military collaboration, especially in the field of nuclear technology, between South Africa and imperialist countries, especially West Germany and France.

— to oppose any plans for the recognition of the Transkei and other so-called independent Bantustans, which may be set up in the future.

— to place their progressive news media at the service of countering the pernicious propaganda put out by various South African information centres in western countries.

— to give maximum support to all resolutions and actions by the international community aimed at the total all-round isolation of the apartheid regime.

— to mobilise international public opinion for the unconditional release of political prisoners and all political detainees and to curb the racist murder wave against those detained.

The African National Congress fully supports the struggles of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia through the Patriotic Front and SWAPO. We support the PLO and all other forces in Africa, the Arab world and elsewhere engaged in the struggle against colonial and Zionist oppression.

**We Shall Win:
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MATLA KEA RONA!!**

ANC Voice of Distant Observers

FROM PROTEST TO CHALLENGE by
T.Karis and G.M.Carter (General Editors)
Vol 3 and 4 by T.Karis and G.M.Gerhart
Hoover Institution, Stanford, California
94305

“At the present moment it is insufficient to say that we plan to make government impossible.” Thus Nelson Mandela in a press statement on June 26, 1961.

A great deal of ink has been spilled in analysing the purposes and objectives of the wide range of demonstrations, protests, strikes and acts of violence by historians anxious to recreate two stormy decades in South African history. Many of these efforts have been motivated by a desire to interpret and place into a particular context, campaigns which in themselves seemed to be somewhat below the level of action which, in retrospect, was required by the conditions obtaining at the time. Looking back, historians seem to have asked, what was the point of this or that action? What could pass burning achieve? Or a protest meeting! Or even a national strike?

This book, by virtue of the broad compass it covers, and because it presents the documents in the original, comes close to giving some sense to the history of the liberation struggle in that period. It shows that even while the movement raised certain limited demands and objectives there was an underlying belief, at least in the late 50's and early 60's, that these could

only be won by creating a situation in which the government could no longer govern. And while the issue of power was only raised when sabotage was well under-way, the destabilisation of the government was a fundamental aim behind Congress strategy.

Only this awareness draws into a coherent whole this vast book of documents and commentary which covers so much ground. The book reveals the great fertility of the 50's as the liberation struggle rose and fell in desperate efforts to break down white domination. We find documented here the piquant record of the Congress of the People as recorded by a police shorthand writer. There is the Call to Africans to attend the All-In African Conference in March 1961 where Nelson Mandela made so powerful an impact, and which laid the basis for the next militant phase after the Emergency of 1960.

Also recorded, is the historic statement by the ANC in April 1963, “our fundamental aim in the liberation movement is not just the repeal of individual laws, but the liquidation of the whole status quo. In other words, our object is the *seizure of political power* which is now the prerogative of the white minority.” The statement goes on to stress that the emphasis remained on mass political action as the basis for military operations by Umkhonto we Sizwe. Every ANC activist should read these documents to see how the leadership viewed these strategic objectives at that time.

In so rich a tapestry it is difficult to make selections, the history must be read as a whole and preferably in the light of the fascinating documents contained in the earlier volumes of the series. It is a long read, but extremely enlightening.

One is bound to say something about the approach of the authors. My view is 6

• BOOK REVIEW •

that a serious attempt has been made at a fair account with the balance of doubt generally given to the ANC. For example, whereas some historians have made the PAC's demonstrations in the Sharpeville period look like the beginning of a new revolutionary phase this book puts these events into a proper perspective:

“If police had not shot into the crowd of demonstrators that gathered at Sharpeville location outside Vereeniging on March 21, 1960, the day might have marked just one more abortive campaign in the history of African protest. Contrary to the expectations of the PAC's leaders, response to the PAC's call was almost negligible in Johannesburg ...” (p 332 Vol 3)

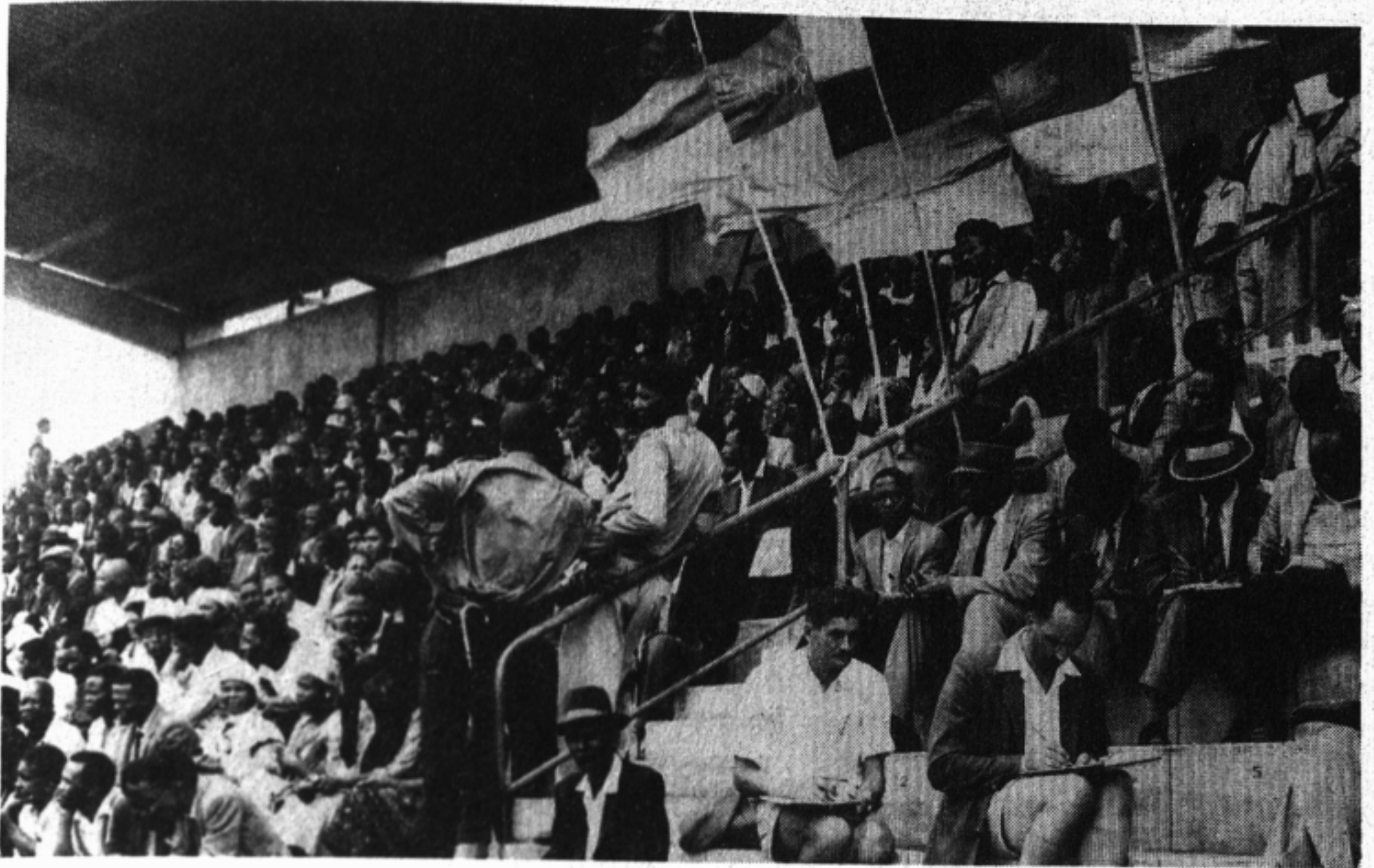
Judgements are also made about the numerous criticisms of the ANC leadership and the authors try to maintain a sense of objectivity. In a footnote (p93)

where the authorship of the Freedom Charter and the Call is discussed, the authors say, “This possibility (that it was written by Bernstein) has little relationship, however, to the unrealistic and undocumented charge of Jordan Ngubane that “the bosses of the underground Communist Party were ‘the real originators of policy’ in the Congress alliance.” Similar smears are treated with equal caution at various other places in the book, especially attempts to identify ANC leaders as Communists. It seems that the authors have sensed that these efforts are primarily motivated by a desire to minimise the popular national character of the ANC and instead characterise it as a conspiracy of a handful of Communists. On the other hand the contribution of the S.A. Communist Party to the struggle is not dealt with adequately.

The footnotes reveal the enormous and painstaking research put into unravelling

Spectators giving Power salutes outside the Old Synagogue in Pretoria where 12 accused are appearing on charges under the Terrorism Act. The Trial is continuing.





Opening of ANC National Conference at Curries Fountain in Durban 1959. Note members of the Special Branch copiously taking notes

the events of this period. Yet, it must be said that it remains a work written from the outside, in the sense that the authors were not part of the struggles they describe and in that they have to gather much of the material outside South Africa. They have sometimes had to rely on the afterthoughts of participants, on court records, and on only those documents which the movements themselves did not destroy. The authors are handicapped by the perennial problem with histories of illegal movements, that the real thoughts and policies were often not recorded in the interests of security. As for the reliance on court records, it would be unrealistic to expect speeches in court to ignore the need to protect comrades still at large or the need to safeguard the survival of the movement itself.

The inadequacy of a narrative which depends heavily on court records is most apparent in the last section of Volume

Three where there are only a few documents to support the commentary. This part of our history will have to be written by a participant.

Finally, one cannot but be struck by the persistent questioning by the authors why the movement chose particular methods at various times especially the transition from non-violent to violent means. This kind of debate may have been of interest some years ago, but in the South African context, and in the light of the developments in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, this has become a non-issue. Armed struggle is the cornerstone of the liberation and the argument about its validity is now a thing of the past.

Volume Four contains a fascinating storehouse of biographies of the personalities of the struggle and will remain a source book for a long time to come, thus concluding a valuable project.

Mark Weinberg

Mark Timo Weinberg, son of Violet and Eli Weinberg, was born in Johannesburg on May 16, 1942.

He wrote the accompanying poem in 1960 when his parents, along with hundreds of other South Africans of all races, were detained during the State of Emergency. It is a remarkable and beautiful poem; but then Mark's love of justice and life made a remarkable impression on all who had the privilege of knowing him. He was active in the Young Democrats and later the Congress of Democrats in Johannesburg. He helped organise and

lead the famous demonstration of the "children of the detained" outside the Johannesburg City Hall during the Emergency.

Mark's sudden death on September 3, 1968 was a tragic loss to his immediate family and to his larger family — our liberation movement. Both his parents were in prison at the time and were not permitted to attend his funeral, but the time will soon come when his family and his many comrades and friends will assemble together in a Free South Africa to honour his short but meaningful life.

Build high build wide your prison walls . . .

Build high build wide your prison walls
That there be room enough for all
who hold you in contempt
Build high build wide till all the land be
locked inside

Though you have jailed the valiant few
Whose glory cast a shade on you
How can you now go home in ease
Jangling your heavy dungeon keys

The laughing stream still running strong
The birds that still insist on song
The swaying trees the mountains too
Like fists are in contempt of you

The parents dreaming still of peace
The happy children the wild geese
The sky unclouded high and blue
All all are in contempt of you

When you have jailed both man and sun
And then the poems one by one
And trapped each trouble-making breeze
Then you can throw away your keys

Build high build wide your prison walls
That there be room enough for all
Who hold you in contempt
Build high build wide till all the land be
locked inside

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OBITUARY



P. J. "Jack" Hodgson

The African National Congress of South Africa regrets to announce the tragic death in London of P. J. "Jack" Hodgson, a prominent leader of our movement.

Born in August 1910 in South Africa, Jack Hodgson started work as a miner at an early age. He later worked in the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia – now Zambia – and in 1938 participated in the strike of the white miners. Jack was involved in the white labour movement, and became a socialist and later joined the then legal Communist

Party of South Africa. It was his involvement in the latter organisation that brought him and others to the realisation that the liberation of the working-class in South Africa is closely tied up with the struggle for national liberation of the African people and other nationally and racially oppressed black communities of our country.

From then onwards Jack was involved in all campaigns of our movement. He has been arrested, tortured, banned and house arrested. His wife, Rica, was also house arrested at the same time with him and that meant they were not supposed to talk to each other.

Jack Hodgson was one of the founder members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, and in 1963 was forced to leave the country and came to Britain. His health deteriorated until his death on Saturday, 3rd December 1977.

Jack has left us but his spirit is with us. He lived with indomitable courage and a fighting spirit until his death. His total dedication to the liberation of our people and his refusal to give up under any circumstances gave confidence and inspiration to all those who knew and worked with him.

The ANC dips its revolutionary banner in honour of this hero. We pledge that we shall continue the struggle to which Jack so dedicated himself and the best way to honour him is to continue the armed struggle in South Africa.

In honour of Jack and in condolence with his wife Rica, his son Spencer and close relatives, the ANC organised a memorial service in London on Sunday, December 17, 1977.

In our next issue of SECHABA we shall report fully on the memorial service.

HAMBA KAHLE, JACK