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E D I T O R I A .

With the overthrow of the fascist Coetano regime last year racist South Africa found herself friendless and isolated in the African continent. Mozambique and Angola, up to then staunch allies of the racists, fell into the hands of the African Freedom Fighters led by their vanguard liberation organisations.

No more could white South Africans look to Europe for inspiration; Vorster found that the strategic situation had changed so dramatically that it was now necessary to project South Africa as an African country and the whites as Africans. Rhodesia ceased to be of much value as the Zambesi lost its significance as the frontier of white baaskaap; similarly, and for the same reason, Namibia became negotiable.

Using Rhodesia and Namibia as bargaining counters and throwing in large amounts of money as bait Vorster unleashed a concerted diplomatic offensive to win friends in Africa and to get South Africa accepted as an African country. In the event, one must marvel at the astonishing success of this diplomatic campaign - South African envoys have over the past year, visited an amazing number of African countries and Vorster himself has visited some; quid pro quo Cabinet Ministers and envoys from numerous African countries have visited South Africa. In terms of white South Africa's interests Vorster's strategy has been a success story and nearly all shades of white opinion have a word of praise for him; yesterday's enemies pat him on the back to-day.

But what of the 20 million oppressed and exploited Black People? Their condition of life is no different from colonised people elsewhere in the world and they see the white man as the coloniser who has grabbed their land and super-exploits their labour - they are without rights in the country of their fathers and they suffer constant humiliation and degradation. Vorster goes round Africa proclaiming himself an African; at the same time he rejects the oppressed Africans from the mainstream of South African Society and seeks to eject them into the limbo of fraudulent Bantustans.

And while Vorster's emissaries are dialoguing with African States who consults the 20 million Blacks of South Africa, who asked them about their needs and aspirations, their hopes and ambitions? The African National Congress is regarded both by the OAU and
the . . . 2/

the U.N. as the authentic representative of the oppressed Black majority of South Africa. But in all the goings on between white South Africa and African States nobody has bothers to consult us.

We ask why?

We know South Africa, we know and have to live under racist oppression, we know the oppressor and his methods.

We, too, have a few things to say about South Africa. We would like to speak about the continued exploitation and humiliation of our people; we would like to speak about our children who die of disease and starvation; we would like to speak of our wives and mothers who are not allowed to live with their menfolk; we would like to speak of the thousands and thousands of our brothers who are imprisoned daily for infringing the Pass Laws; we would like to speak of our comrades and fellow Freedom Fighters who are detained, tortured and dehumanised by the dreaded Security Police; we would like to speak of our continued poverty, poor health, humiliation and degradation, of the daily violence done to our human dignity, to our physical bodies and to our spirit. We would like to speak of so many other things. Vorster makes peace in Africa while he continues to inflict violence on us.

The African National Congress has from the very beginning pointed out that detente a La Vorster is for external consumption only - inside South Africa oppression and regimentation is being intensified. Winnie Mandela, wife of our jailed leader, Nelson Mandela, was recently allowed to speak publicly after more than a decade of restriction and harassment. It is not coincidental that the first thing she said was to expose Vorster's detente as irrelevant in terms of apartheid and white racism.

Winnie Mandela used the occasion to let Africa and the world know what Black South Africans think about detente. It is a voice that needs to be heard and heeded, loudly and clearly.

THE HORROR OF "RESETTLEMENT"

In the last issue of Mayibuye we described, albeit very briefly, the miserable conditions of congestion and squalor in which urban Blacks are compelled to live out their lives. How is it, then, that, despite such conditions, Blacks anxiously stay on in the urban areas? How is it that they trek into the white towns in their thousands to seek employment knowing the conditions there? How is it that so many thousands continue to stay 'illegally' in the urban slums constantly risking harrassment, blackmail and arrest?

It is a damning indictment of apartheid South Africa that for Blacks there, the misery of the urban townships is something to be sought after; it is a shocking commentary on the depth of degradation of rural existence. We do not intend to discuss the rural areas in this article except to point out that these are the very poverty-stricken areas which the racist regime is projecting as future independent Bantustans. We have already pointed out the fraudulent nature of the Bantustan scheme in Mayibuye Vol.1. No.1. - 15/2/75) - they are but one of the many pillars of apartheid.

But, having foisted Bantustans on the Black population, the racist regime went on to declare the rest of South Africa (over 85% of the land) as the sole property of the three million whites (12% of the population). It was made clear that only those Blacks required to work on the white man's mines, factories, farms or houses would be permitted to remain in the so-called "white" areas. The rest were declared "unproductive" or "superfluous" and they were to be "resettled" in the Bantustans. Similarly, there were numerous scattered "settlements" in this so-called "white" area where for generations communities of Blacks had eked out a subsistence

existence, tilling the soil and keeping cattle. These were henceforth designated "Black Spots" from which the population had to be moved to the Bantustans. Figures are not available as to how many such Black Spots have been declared but they are not less than 500 comprising over three million people.

The apartheid regime calls superfluous or unproductive widows, children, the aged, the sick, the handicapped, the disabled, those not gainfully employed, etc. Systematically, they have over the years, been hounded and expelled from the urban areas. Equally systematic has been the clearance of Black Spots. The purpose has not only been to expropriate their land but also to throw them into the pool of labour where the white economy can draw on them as and when required. Thus millions of people have been rounded up like cattle, from their traditional homes and moved to what are "euphemistically called "resettlement" areas.

The people are neither consulted nor do they have a choice. Resistance is not possible as such removal of people is accompanied by bulldozers to knock down their homes, armed police to deal with recalcitrant, trucks to load them and their meagre belongings and cart them away. . . .4/

away. Men, women, children, the old, the sick - they are human beings but in the eyes of white South African law they are merely pawns, appendages to be dealt with and shifted around as the authorities see fit. Whenever such mass removals are carried out, the press is strictly forbidden and most times the world does not know about it.

Such callous removal of hundreds of thousands of settled people, in pursuance of the crime of apartheid, is horrifying enough. What is even more horrifying are the distant, isolated, barren areas to which these communities are driven and then left there to fend for themselves. The resettlement camps are a nightmare. The world has heard of a few of them because of the publicity they received such as Dimbaza, Limehill, Soda, Kuruman, Ilinge, etc. But there are hundreds of others and, in the vast majority of cases, conditions are tragically similar.

The resettlement areas are barren land, with no houses, no sanitation, no water, no schools, no shops, no health facilities, no employment - in fact nothing. People are merely herded into trucks and dumped in the open veld far from other centres of settlement. The people are initially bewildered, often even their meagre possessions are damaged by the elements. Eventually they begin to construct make-shift habitats and toilets; food is scarce and the water often unfit for human consumption. Starvation is a constant companion as is the misery of a bleak existence: the poor sanitation and the unclean water bring diseases such as typhoid and gastro-enteritis. The resettlement camps are identifia-

ble by the row upon row of headstones in the cemetery. It is as if Blacks must die to expiate the god of apartheid.

Resettlement camps are so many that we cannot go into them here. We refer the reader to Cosmos Desmond's book "The Discarded People" for a detailed account of this modern form of slavery and genocide. Desmond first came into contact with resettlement camps when he visited Limehill. We quote from his book:-

"Limehill is a wretched and desolate place. There is not enough water and not enough land for even a meagre subsistence farming. There is no industry and no work with in daily reach. The inhabitants struggle against disease on the edge of starvation. It is impossible to say whether the physical degradation or the mental torture of living in such a place is the more terrible".

In 1968, 14000 people were moved to Limehill. When they arrived there were no homes, no water.....but we repeat ourselves because this is the common story. Within months there was an epidemic of typhoid and gastro-enteritis; whole families went down and there was no family which did not have at least one affected. In typical fascist fashion the fascist government denied there was anything wrong claimed that the people had moved to Limehill voluntarily and were happy there, and insisted that the stories of disease and death were lying propaganda of 'agitators' and 'inciters'.

But what else can one expect from the perpetrators of such inhumanity5/

inhumanity and indecency. Their immorality is on a par with that of the Nazis in Europe and the Americans in Vietnam. Resettlement camps murder our people; infants who will never know the joys of childhood; children who prematurely acquire the mien and ways of adults who are old before their time. And for all of them death is a constant companion which nudges them every day. Vorster claims to be bringing about reforms in what is called 'petty' apartheid. Blacks can now use some parks and park benches - of what value is this to a man who has no time to relax? Some hotels are now open to Blacks - of what use is this to a man who does not even have the means to stay more than barely alive? Certain theatres are now open to Blacks - of what use is this to a man whose whole life is a drama, tragic and nightmarish?

On resettlement, we quote the words of a member of the all-white South African parliament

"...the mass removals of people in South Africa is a VIOLENCE; the contemplated removal of 3.8 million superfluous appendages - to quote the Hon. Deputy Minister of Justice - is a VIOLENCE; the thousands upon thousands of Africans in resettlement areas, leading hopeless and helpless lives of poverty and unemployment, is a VIOLENCE; the very way in which those removals have taken place is a VIOLENCE..."

(Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P.
17 June 1969)

(Emphasis supplied - Ed.)

APARTHEID IS A CRIME OF VIOLENCE. It is a violence which Blacks suffer from the cradle to the grave. It is a violence which distorts their minds, warps their bodies; makes their living a shame on the conscience of decency and humanity. Let those who counsel patience to us; those who counsel non-violence and a peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa; those who oppose economic sanctions against the racist regime on the sanctimonious and dishonest ground that sanctions would hurt the oppressed people most; those who oppose isolation of the racists on the spurious ground that it is only by more frequent contacts that it is possible to influence and change the fascist-racist mentality; those who oppose the armed struggle on the pretext that bloodshed must be avoided; let them note, the apartheid regime is a violent regime of terror, brutality, exploitation and murder; it is more violent than any revolutionary war, Genuine peace, harmony and prosperity will only come to South Africa through a People's War of Liberation.

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THE SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION AND THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

Since 1948 when it came to power, the South African Government has persecuted, harassed and terrorised organisations and individuals who oppose it. It has used all methods: torture, blackmail, imprisonment, banishment, murder and smear. This time its victim is the Christian Institute.

On July 4, 1972, the racist government decided to appoint the "Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organisations" which, because of the name of its chairman, became known as the "Schlebusch Commission". The terms of reference of this Commission were set out as follow:

1. To inquire into and, taking into account the evidence, memoranda and exhibits which were submitted to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Certain Organisations, report on:-
 - a) the objects, organisation and financing of the National Union of South African Students, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the University Christian Movement, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa and any related organisations, bodies, committees or groups of persons;
 - b) the activities of the forementioned bodies, organisations, committees or groups of persons and the direct or indirect results or possible results of those activities;
 - c) the activities of persons or in connection with the aforementioned organisations, bodies, committees or groups of persons and the direct or indirect results or possible results of those activities; and
 - d) any related matter which comes to the notice of the Commission and which in its view calls for inquiry.
2. To make recommendations if, in view of the Commission's findings, it appears to be necessary to do so".

From the outset it was clear that the Commission was expected to do a "thorough job". A striking feature about this Commission's composition is that the United Party served on it and thus identified the so-called "Opposition" with the Government.

COMMISSION AT WORK

The Commission worked diligently; in December 1973 the Report on NUSAS—a massive document of 641 pages including numerous appendices — was delivered to the Government and published in August 1974. It is important to note in this connection that even before the Report was published, the racist Government presented to Parliament in February 1974 the so-called "Affected Organisations Bill" which proposed a law which forbids any organisation or individual who is declared "affected" to receive funds from overseas. The Bill became an Act in March 1974. In November 1974 the Commission completed7/

completed its investigations on the activities and affairs of the Christian Institute. Now we know that the Christian Institute is an "affected organisation" because it has been declared one!

It is not our aim to reproduce the contents of the Report of this Le Grange Commission (named after the Chairman who took over from Alwyn Louis Schlebusch); our immediate concern is the thinking behind the Le Grange/Schlebusch Report. According to the "Ecunews Bulletin" (June 4th, 1975), the mouthpiece of the South African Council of Churches the Government view of this action was contained in a broadcast in the news-commentary of the South African Broadcasting Corporation which demagogically stated:

"The Christian Institute is not being found guilty as already being suggested, merely of criticising the Government of this country. Nor would its guilt lie if it were the purely ecumenical body it professes to be in obtaining funds from abroad. Nor for that matter, does its guilt lie in being politically orientated.

The unanimous condemnation of the Institute rests on the finding that the Institute is basically a political body using foreign funds to promote aims which endanger the very state itself".

Die Transvaler, a Nationalist mouthpiece, stated that the Christian Institute was receiving 90% of its funds from "enemy countries" and Die Vaderland took the matter a step further by suggesting that the expulsion from the Ned. R. Geref Kerk of the two of the senior executives. Dr. Beyers Naude, the Director of the Christian Institute and Rev. Roelf Meyer, the Editor of the Institute's journal, Pro Veritate.

ORGANISED SMEAR

This organised smear, with the active participation and connivance of the so-called "Opposition" has been condemned by many churches inside and outside the country and by leading church figures including Dr. Beyers Naude.

One of the charges against the Christian Institute is that it is no longer active in ecclesiastic matters only but is also "moving into the social and political spheres". It is further alleged that Dr. Naude, former Moderator of the Ned. Ref. Kerk has, after falling out with his own church, turned to the outside world for support and now stands in opposition to the "existing order and all that goes with it" and his defiance is leading to a "church-state confrontation". Dr. Beyers Naude's other 'crime' is his good contacts with NUSAS, South African Council of Churches and - This makes his 'crime' even worse-his relations with independent African Churches especially those which preach Black Theology, Black Power and Black Consciousness. These churches which preach 'social liberation' and not 'personal redemption' have been influenced by the now-banned and exiled Dr. Basil Moore8/

Basil Moore who is described by the Report as "the father of Black Theology in South Africa". The Report goes on to accuse the Institute of committing the 'crime' of working closely with the World Council of Churches, an organisation which has - according to the Report - experienced a shift in power since 1961 "when the Russian Orthodox Church was admitted as a member".

The Report then quotes extensively from Pro Veritate the organ of the Christian Institute, which is accused of spreading the "Social Gospel", the "Gospel of the Leftists". Pro Veritate is accused of propagating in a disguised form and 'behind the shield of the respectability of Christian Theology', ideas and objectives of "MARXISM" and these find expression in the attack on Apartheid and a demand for a "radical change" in South Africa - something which is interpreted by an unnamed "expert on Communism" as 'Neo-Marxist'. This Christian journal is being attacked not only for supporting black aspirations, especially the "Hammanskraal Resolution", but also for its own activities eg the Bible Study circles. The Report has this to say on this:-

"...these so-called Bible Study circles leave no doubt that they are intended to be a propaganda campaign against the existing order on the one hand and to promote the ecumenical idea on the other. Furthermore, the Black man is to be made aware that he has the right to oppose the existing order and to rebel against it. In the light of these objectives it is not surprising that Bible Study discussions are often dominated by social and political questions rather than a discussion of the scriptures".

BLACK CHRISTIANS - a dynamic force

The Report of the Le Grange/Schlebusch Commission on this young Christian Institute - it was created in 1963 - is full of faults and distortions, half-truths and inventions, malicious lies and ridiculous assertions.

The truth of the matter is that Vorster's Government and the Dutch Reformed Church - Dr. Koot Vorster, the Prime Minister's brother is a former Moderator of the N.G.Kerk - are afraid of the growing popularity of the Christian Institute among the Black masses. This growing popularity explains the frank utterances and militant positions taken by its Director Dr. Beyers Naude, whom the Boers can never forgive for the 'crime' of 'deserting' the Broederbond in the '50s. Dr. Naude's stand is an expression of a slow but important process of polarisation within the "granite wall" of white domination. It is our revolutionary duty to widen the crack. This small body of deeply concerned Christians committed no crime at all all that they fought for was "racial justice". Even this is too much for Vorster. The World Council of Churches Commented ironically:-

"The present action to harass further the Christian Institute is a clear indication of the fact that the so-called detente with Independent Africa implies increased9/

increased repression of all those forces like the Christian Institute which are working for Racial and Social Justice".

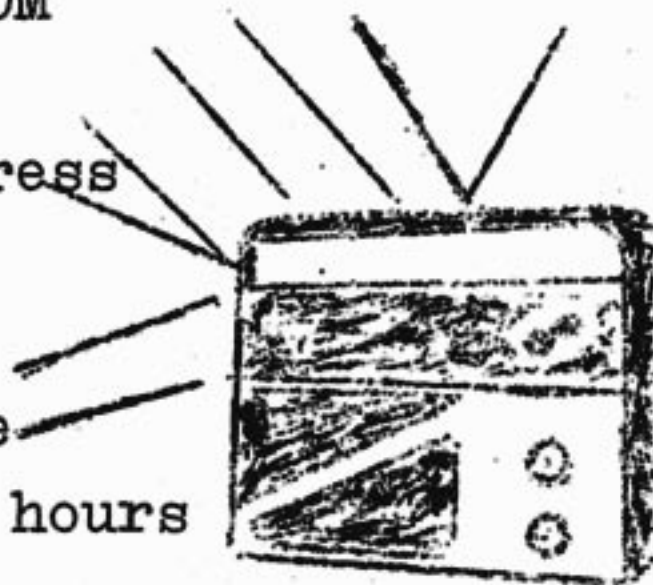
This incident of the Christian Institute shows the hollowness of Vorster's boast that his regime is a christian regime as if countries in this world are divided between Christian and non-christian. It also shows how the South African racists shiver at the thought of having to face people who are imbued with the genuine Christian ideals propagated by the World Council of Churches - an organisation which supports our movement and has as senior officials people who were persecuted by Vorster.

It is important for our movement to draw the necessary lesson from this incident: the Christian Community in South Africa is a dynamic force which, if mobilised, could contribute tremendously in strengthening our united front of all patriotic and democratic anti-imperialist forces led by the African National Congress.

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ON COMRADE DINGO

The cruel hand of death has struck once again. One of the stalwarts of the entire national liberation movement, the hero, the father-figure of our organisation has left our militant ranks.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon on the second of May, 1975 Comrade Govan Hashe, alias Dingo Lamani went to sleep but forever. The heart whose radiant warmth was felt by all of Dingo's closest comrades and colleagues, by all the members of his family, by his next of kin, a heart which knew how well to hate the enemy - racist monster and international imperialism - ceased to beat, and comrade Dingo who had never before deserted the fighting ranks and his own particular post, no matter how hard it was, by the organisation to which he was supremely loyal, dedicated and for whose cause he had vowed to sacrifice his very life.

Govan Hashe was born more than 60 years ago at Middledrift - Exest. Because of the well-known legacy of the twin evils of landlessness and grinding poverty that constantly knock at the doorstep of African households in the rural backyards of our country. Comrade Dingo was forced to leave his home in search of work in the economic metropolis of South Africa - Johannesburg. There, Comrade Dingo was confronted by the evil common to wage workers all over the world - Capitalist Exploitation, which in its concentrated form in our country is intensified under the Apartheid system which imposes on an African worker, a particularly unique form of super exploitation.

It is only natural therefore that Comrade Dingo chose the road of revolutionary struggle to rid the South African society of oppression and exploitation.

Comrade Dingo was a member of the African National Congress of long standing. As a member of the revolutionary movement of our country, he participated in all the major campaigns that rocked every edifice of the Apartheid system of exploitation particularly during the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's. He was a leading member of the Orlando East branch of our organisation. His supreme dedication and unflinching loyalty to our organisation and its policies endeared him to all who had the good fortune of working close to him.

Govan Hashe was the founder member of Umkhonto We Sizwe the military wing of the African National Congress and the entire revolutionary movements of our country. Even long before the dramatic campaign of sabotage all over the country on the 16th December 1961. Comrade Dingo had been engaged with his colleagues in the building up of the first clandestine

UNITS of the young military wing.

Govan Hashe did not believe in getting other people carry out the dangerous tasks of the movement whilst he himself stood in the periphery looking on. He was always amongst those who carried out the most dangerous assignments. Towards the last days of preparations for the December 16th, 1961. Sabotage Campaign, an explosive device which he himself was to use almost exploded in his hands. His quick wit and fast action prevented a major disaster and few members of the household knew what had happened as this drama was taking place in his backyard. This is but one incident amongst many in Dingo's rich revolutionary life.

Following the passing of the Sabotage Act with its notorious 90-day Clause which was to become one of the most drastic weapons of our enemies in their arsenal of reaction in the 60's, a large number of leaders and activists of our movement were arrested, kept in solitary confinement for lengthy periods and tortured as a device to break them down completely and turn them against the revolutionary movement. Some of our people weakened, turned traitor to the movement and people; others braced themselves and resolved to absorb whatever punishment and torture - psychological or physical - the enemy administered. Some of our comrades suffered lasting adverse effects on their health as a result of the barbarous conditions to which they were exposed during their detention.

Comrade Dingo was arrested early in 1964 and put under 90-Day detention whilst the Gestapo were concocting charges against him. One of the people also arrested at the same time was Dingo's son who in the course of detention was coerced to betray his father. The son's arrest was also intended to break our comrade Dingo. Such are the cruel tactics of fascism, but these all failed in their objectives.

Comrade Dingo's health deteriorated as a result of his detention. This however did not deter him from pursuing his revolutionary tasks even under the most-difficult conditions. It was only a man of Dingo's calibre who would have been prepared to stay-on at the base which we commonly refer to as the 'bush' in his poor state of health. No assignment was too dangerous or too strenuous for him to carry out. Indeed, even the final assignment which he carried out again successfully, came shortly after a grave illness as a patient at the University Teaching Hospital, Lusaka.

As a leader of our revolutionary struggle, comrade Dingo was intolerant of any activity whose effect would be to divide and weaken the ranks of our revolutionary movement. He regarded the unity of all revolutionaries irrespective of racial origin in our country 12/

country as an important prerequisite for effectively mounting a powerful onslaught against the enemies of our people, the fascist apartheid regime and the blood-sucking capitalist class in general. The victories in the former Portuguese colonies irreversibly have tipped the balance of forces in favour of the revolutionary movement of the peoples of Southern Africa.

It is this favourable revolutionary situation which Comrade Dingo has tirelessly helped to bring about. It is now up to us complete the root of the enemy as a fitting monument to his life - long revolutionary activities. We are bound to win.

HAMBA KAHLE DINGO!