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C O N T E N T S

E D I T O R I A L	1
Preach Unity To The Splinters - Not To Us	3
Zambia Against Apartheid	6
Seething Discontent In The Transkei.. .. .	8
The ANC and The Struggle In Zimbabwe (Part II)	9
Press Release	12

THE OLYMPIC DISGRACE

When the International Olympic Committee announced publicly that racist South Africa would be re-admitted to the Olympiad we were not surprised. Two days before the farce of collecting postal votes had been completed our Dar-es-Salaam Office revealed that the decision to re-admit South Africa had already been taken at a secret preliminary vote taken at Grenoble. Our Dar-es-Salaam Office characterised the postal vote of I.O.C. members as "a shameful exercise in deceiving world public opinion". That just about sums it up.

We do not know yet what reasons the I.O.C. will proffer in explaining its volte face. In 1964 the I.O.C. for good reasons rightly took the decision to expel South Africa from the Tokyo Olympiad. Nothing has happened since then to alter those reasons. If anything, conditions are now worse than they were then. Since 1964 apartheid in South African Sport has become intensified; government interference has become more overt with no protest whatsoever from the White Sporting bodies. Yet fascist South Africa will be represented at the Mexico Olympiad.

There can be no doubt that the vast majority of mankind is opposed to associating with racist South Africa at any international gathering. Humanity suffered untold hardships and millions of dead to eradicate racist-fascism in Europe; it is not prepared to tolerate the same inhuman and hideous ideology in South Africa. Unhappily a minority section of the world represented largely by imperialist and colonialist countries has used its economic and technical power to overtly and covertly support South Africa. Is it only a coincidence that these same countries are populated by people of white skin? These economic and racial links between the imperialist countries and South Africa have been allowed to cloud the total brutality and utter inhumanity of racism and fascism.

Last month the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) perpetrated a similar act of vile deceit vis-a-vis Rhodesia. Because African countries had clearly expressed and adamantly stated their complete opposition to competing against Rhodesia, FIFA decided to put Rhodesia into the Asian Section of the competition! FIFA could not bear to kick Rhodesia out of the competition altogether. The reasons that motivated the decision taken by FIFA are basically no different and no less dishonourable than those that motivated the I.O.C. members. The same sort of deceit is practised by the same countries as regards the so-called "sanctions" against Rhodesia, as President Kaunda so dramatically revealed.

It is time the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America together with all progressive forces took a definite stand. There can be no compromise on principles. Progressives must refuse in toto this kind of attempt to browbeat them. So long as such base and treacherous elements control international bodies we can have nothing to do with them.

The American Committee on Africa has already urged United States Sportsmen to boycott the Mexico Olympiad. This is the only honourable and principled stand to take. Africa, Asia and Latin America must withdraw from the I.O.C. and they should call upon all Sportsmen to do likewise

WE ARE SENDING YOU THIS APPEAL TO ENLIST YOUR ACTIVE CO-OPERATION IN ENSURING A SPEEDY DESTRUCTION OF THE PRACTICE OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SPORT.

HELP INTENSIFY THE ANTI-APARTHEID STRUGGLE!!

WITHDRAW FROM THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE - NOW!!!

* * *

**FREEDOM CHARTER:
KLIPTOWN (S.A.)
JUNE 1955.**

"The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life; All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;...

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished".

PREACH UNITY TO THE SPLINTERS - NOT TO US

The "Zambia Mail" of the 13th February, 1968 carried an article purporting to be an interview with our Chief Representative in Lusaka, Mr. Tennyson Makiwane. Such misrepresentation and falsification is not new to us, nor for that matter is there any Liberation Organisation which has not suffered similarly. Normally we try to ignore such calumny and get on with our tasks in the sacred cause of national liberation.

However, there are two reasons why we cannot ignore the "Zambia Mail". First of all, we have been under the impression that the "Zambia Mail" is an organ of independent Africa and, therefore, we do not expect such discrepancies from it. Secondly, the particular interview referred to the question of a United Front with the ~~Pan Africanist~~ Congress. This is a somewhat delicate subject often misunderstood by a lot of well-meaning people. It has also been the subject of several debates in the Organisation of African Unity. As such we cannot allow misrepresentation of our views on the subject to pass unanswered. We will first of all, quote from the article in the "Zambia Mail" of 13/2/68:

" A UNITED front of all South African nationalist organisations is likely to be formed to topple the apartheid regime of John Vorster. The Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa is expected to initiate moves to form the front. The PAC acting president and national secretary, Mr Potlako Leballo, said in Lusaka today that "the most important task before us is to mobilise our people at home". For the African National Congress, Mr Tennyson Makiwane, chief representative in Zambia, intimated in an interview that his party would accept the formation of such a front, if it were officially approached by the PAC. Mr Makiwane complained, however, that the PAC had in the past disapproved of the participation of communists in the national liberation struggle. 'My party accepts help from anywhere, regardless of which country the helpers come from,' he said....

The context of the above extract in no way reflects the actual content of the interview given by Mr. Makiwane to the ZAMBIA MAIL reporter. In an attempt to correct these distortions, Mr Makiwane sought an interview with the News editor of the ZAMBIA MAIL. In the course of this interview, Mr. Makiwane, having verbally corrected the misrepresentations, handed over to the Editor the following letter:

The News Editor,
ZAMBIA MAIL,
Box 1421,
LUSAKA.

Dear sir,

In your issue of February 13th, in an article entitled "United Front Planned to fight Vorster", you have attributed to me comments which I categorically deny to have ever made. You quote/.....

You quote me as saying that my party would accept the formation of such a front, if it were officially approached by the Pan-Africanist Congress. This is blatant falsification only matched by the further report in the article that I complained that the PAC had in the past disapproved of the participation of communists in the national liberation struggle. These are views which neither I nor my organisation hold.

To be sure, the question of the unity of our people in the sacred struggle to overthrow the wicked system of White domination and Apartheid is a question my organisation treats with utmost seriousness. But neither have our people been Rip van Winkles who have been slumbering throughout the decades and have suddenly woken up to the idea of "Unity" in 1968.

Therefore, it will at once be evident that effective and true unity will not emerge as a result of public polemics in bulletins or newspapers.

At a time when our gallant militants are engaged in armed struggle against the enemy, the African National Congress will not permit itself to be sidetracked by armchair detractors settled comfortably in the safety of Lusaka. We shall particularly pay least attention to those who have a long record of perpetrating disunity in our country. To those who sincerely want unity we say; "To the battlefield". That is where united action is needed most.

We granted an interview to your newsman because we have always believed that the Zambia Mail will be capable of steering clear of the pitfalls of sensationalism, common to those journals which are dedicated to misinforming the public.

I beg to remain.

Yours sincerely,

T.X. MAKIWANE
CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE (S.A.)

The Editor intimated to Mr. Makiwane that instead of publishing the letter he would call upon the reporter involved to re-write the interview in a more accurate form. We were quite satisfied with this assurance.

As a result/....

As a result the following article appeared in the subsequent issue (16/2/68) of the Mail:

'THE KIND OF UNITED FRONT WE WANT'

- ANC OF SOUTH AFRICA

"LUSAKA, Thursday. - The African National Congress of South Africa is interested in a united front in the "battle-field" of the liberation struggle. It would expect the Pan Africanist Congress members to join its ranks as ordinary members, chief representative Mr. Tennyson Makiwane said this week.

Mr. Makiwane, clarifying his party's position on the suggested united front to fight the Vorster regime in South Africa, said it was not the first time unity among freedom fighters had been mooted.

In the early sixties, his party had formed an alliance with the PAC, but he blamed the PAC for "sabotaging" that united front. PAC circles, on the other hand, recall that they pulled out because the ANC had begun to strengthen itself at their expense.

Mr. Makiwane said that the reasons which led to the split between the ANC and the PAC - the participation in the struggle of white liberals and communists - had now been removed, since he claimed that the PAC now allowed such participation.

There was no reason therefore for the PAC to continue the estrangement. Their members would be welcomed back to the ANC as ordinary members, he said.

At the moment, the ANC has allied itself 'in the battlefield' with a Rhodesian nationalist movement, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The PAC has not allied itself with ZAPU's rival group, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)."

We are reasonably satisfied with this correction. What puzzles us is that this interview on the question of a United Front was sought from us at the same time as an article on the same subject appeared in the AZANIA NEWS - Organ of the Pan Africanist Congress. Could it be coincidental that a senior member of the PAC is also senior member of the staff of the Zambia Mail? Was the original distortion not a deliberate and malicious attempt to dishonour the name of the only organisation seriously concerned with the problems of national liberation in South Africa? It will take a lot of explanations to convince us otherwise.

ZAMBIA AGAINST APARTHEID

Humanism rejects all forms of racial or tribal prejudice and discrimination; and is therefore in direct opposition to the racist policies of white minority regimes to the south, east and west of Zambia.

That, Dr. Kaunda told UNIP's National Council on February 4th, was the main reason for the offensive carried on by colonialists and empire-builders against Zambia. 'They have realised that if Zambia's non-tribal, non-racial policies should prevail there will be a country very close to them that will show clearly to the rest of the thinking world how wrong they were'.

The colonialists, he warned, had gone over to the attack and were striking back at the forces of progress and fair play. Their agents were plotting to destroy Zambia's good name; while 'the presence of South African troops in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola is the second of this double-pronged offensive'.

Zambia's geographical position and humanism, he pointed out, had placed her in the front line. She could not stand aloof, both for moral reasons and in self-defence. 'We cannot compromise on this issue', the President declared.

For whereas Zambia was determined to mete out justice and fair play to each and every individual within her borders, South Africa practised 'one of the worst forms of oppression' meted out by man against man. The conflict between the two systems involved the world's most explosive factors of race and ideology.

All opponents of apartheid will welcome and applaud the President's brave and unqualified stand against the threat resulting from white minority rule. The danger is real and immediate. It comes from South Africa's armed strength, her financial resources and productive capacity, and her ruthless determination to use her power to suppress all symptoms of revolt in her own territory and in neighbouring countries.

An essential part of her strategy is to negotiate diplomatic agreements, backed by economic inducements and promises of aid, with independent African states. 'What Malawi can do today, Zambia may well wish to try tomorrow', wrote the editor of the Johannesburg Sunday Times (17/12/67), in an article urging South Africa to expand its interests northward in Africa.

All such attempts are bound to fail if the people of this continent are fully informed as to the nature of white oppression and are determined to resist/.....

to resist the spread of South African imperialism.

Let us recall the brave words of Toivo Herman Ja Toivo, recently sentenced with 17 other members of SWAPO to life long imprisonment for allegedly conspiring to overthrow the administration of South West Africa.

'We find ourselves here in a foreign country, convicted under laws made by people whom we have always considered as foreigners. We find ourselves tried by a judge who is not our countryman and who has not shared our background.'

That is the essence of colonialism and imperial rule. It is being practised equally by the white minority against the entire African population of South Africa.

The Whites are digging themselves in for a long and bitter struggle. Speaking to a Nationalist Party rally at Smithfield in the Orange Free State in January last, P.W. Botha, Minister of Defence, promised to step up the production of armaments. 'We must realise', he said, 'that revolutionary warfare, as opposed to conventional warfare, is coming'.
(Sunday Express, 21/1/68).

It is for military reasons that the South African government has redoubled its efforts to reduce the number of Africans working and living in so-called white areas.

Proclamations issued in May 1967 and January 1968 under the Physical Planning Act give the government total control over the employment of Africans in the major industrial areas. No new area may be developed for industrial purposes without the Minister's approval; and no industrialist may hire a new African employee without administrative consent.

Coupled with the notorious pass laws - under which 700,000 Africans are prosecuted every year - these measures are intended to transform the urban African population into rootless migrants, employed under licence, and liable to be imprisoned or deported at short notice to the poverty-stricken reserves.

The Nationalist Party newspaper Dagbreek (28/1/68) predicts that the opponents of apartheid will accuse the government of sacrificing the country's economic progress to ideological doctrine.

Indeed, when considered in terms of economic growth, the policy of regimenting African workers, confining them to low-paid unskilled labour, and preventing the growth of a stable urban population is bankrupt as well as oppressive.

But military needs override all other considerations. Afraid of being overwhelmed, the white supremacists are determined to prevent Africans from taking root in the towns, where they can organise, resist and eventually revolt against their oppressors.

South/.....

South Africa is an armed camp. Three million whites are being organised into an occupying army, which keeps 15 million Africans, Coloured and Indians in perpetual subjection. This is the pattern that racists in the south wish to impose on the rest of Africa.

This is what Dr. Kaunda had in mind when he appealed to African leaders to drop their differences and take note of the very large cloud on the horizon. They must do more than put their own houses in order, he urged; 'they must put the house of independent Africa in order'.

* * *

SEETHING DISCONTENT IN THE TRANSKEI!

"CHIEF JOYI SAYS MATANZIMA A 'SELL OUT': Chief MEMORY MANELI, of New Brighton, Urban Representative of Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima and the Transkei's Chief Minister, walked out of a crowded meeting on Sunday in protest after a speaker said the Chief Minister was a 'sell-out'. The speaker was Chief Jongabantu Twalimfene Joyi of Umtata. He accompanied Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyabo, of the Tembus, who had come to address his people in the area.

Chief Joyi said Chief Matanzima was not a ruler. He was a "boss-boy" who enjoyed better privileges than other Government "boys". He earned more - a remuneration for his services of suppressing the aspirations of his people for the good of the White people. Chief Joyi referred to Chief Matanzima as inferior, even to Malawi Cabinet Ministers who visited the country last year.

Chief Joyi said the Malawis stayed in a White hotel in Umtata, a privilege which the South African Government withheld from Chief Matanzima, in spite of his Chief Ministership.

The audience laughed when Chief Joyi said Chief Matanzima could not go beyond the entrance, of the hotel, which accommodated men as black as he was. Thereupon, Chief Maneli walked out with a group of his followers.

'POST WAS GIFT': "Don't go, gentlemen, you still have to ask me questions" said Chief Joyi. Again the audience burst into laughter.

Chief Joyi said the Transkei Legislative Assembly had made Chief Matanzima paramount chief against the will of the tribe. His promotion was not according to the recognised traditional line of succession. It was a gift from his Government.

Chief Joyi said he would recommend that the position of Paramount Chief for Chief Matanzima be declared vacant at the expiry of the T.L.A.'s term of office. He said the only sources of employment in the Transkei were the Forestry and Roads and Public Works Department for unskilled labourers."

THE ANC AND THE STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE (PART II)

Last time we described the origin of our involvement in Zimbabwe. Briefly the whole point behind it is that the lot of the Zimbabweans is ours. It was created by the White power structure in South Africa. From the start right up to now, South Africa has supported, both materially and ideologically, the wanton and systematic expunging of African rights. Now, since we have a common enemy, our fate is inextricably bound to that of the Zimbabweans.

We must stress that, having unmasked the Settlers' trickery, the Zimbabweans took up arms to regain their lands. Unfortunately, the maxim gun soon decided the issue in the aggressor's favour. This outcome necessitated a change of tactics from arms to petitions and delegations.

But the failure of the 1919 delegation ended this era of delegations. Behind this strategy had lain the assumption that if approached reasonably and as gentlemen, the South African and their British governments would redress the wrongs done to us in Zimbabwe and in South Africa. We assumed that both governments were genuinely concerned about our welfare. After two delegations had returned empty-handed, we knew they were not. Therefore, we formulated the strategy of organised militancy.

Henceforth, pressure was to be applied on the Settler administrations instead of on the government in distant London. There were two stages: parliamentary action and positive action.

The first phase was the use of the ballot, not the bullet. Africans eligible to vote were to be encouraged to register and vote. Others were organised into welfare associations. Thus 1920 saw the rise in Zimbabwe of the Rhodesian Bantu Voter's Association, the Southern Rhodesia Native Welfare Association, and the Rhodesian Native Association. All three were patterned on, and had close ties with similar organisations in South Africa. This came about because Zimbabweans working in South Africa, joined the ANC and other organisations and saw their worth. In fact in 1919 one of them, the Rev. P. Ngwenya, appealed to all Zimbabweans to start their own ANC. Since he made his call from Johannesburg, where he lived, and not in Rhodesia, there was no response. But other Africans returned home, and began to organise.

An important factor here was the 1923 Constitution. A product of kith and kin complicity between London and Salisbury, this arrangement in its provisions on Africans, was like ours of 1909. It left the semblance of power in the hands of Britain while effective power rested firmly in those of the Settlers. It stated that legislation pertaining to "Native interests" was to be reserved for Britain. But in the whole history of Rhodesia did any British Government ever thwart the will of the Settler parliament?/...

parliament? None at all - not even the supposedly pro-African Labourites. Conversant with conditions in South Africa, the Zimbabweans feared that Britain was fast selling out: therefore, they organised, and consulted with the ANC.

As a result by the end of 1923, the ANC had so influenced African politics in Rhodesia that the Settlers became alarmed. In 1923 NADA (Southern Rhodesian Native Affairs Department Annual), one N.H. Wilson wrote after a meeting of African ~~Notes~~ in Gwelo:

"The principal figures at the meeting were, with one exception, natives of the Union of South Africa, not of Rhodesia. There is no doubt whatever that in the Union there is a growing race consciousness amongst the Bantu of all tribes - a feeling of racial solidarity. This feeling finds expression in....the South African Native National Congress." Let us note here the old Settler tactic of attributing political activities to "outside agitators", not to local Africans responding to injustice. But the fact is that at the important Gwelo meeting, the "principal figures", were local people. However, one man did give fraternal greetings from our organisation. Wilson, then, went on to say:

".....it is probable that to some degree the movement to form an association of native registered voters is a reflection in Rhodesia of this feeling of race solidarity which has originated in the Union. It is doubtless the desire of the National Congress to extend race consciousness to the natives in other parts of Africa and the association of registered native voters is.....a means of propaganda to this end." (N.H. Wilson. 'Native Political Movements in Southern Rhodesia.' NADA VOL. I, p. 17).

Wilson was right. Our organisation has never sought a copyright or a monopoly on its methods and goals. Wherever we could help our brothers, we did so. Wherever we could contribute to the formulation of their plans within a Pan-African context, we did contribute. It is now part of history that, having obtained their initial political experience within our ranks, some of them now live in freedom and dignity. We rejoice within them. Others still strive. We strive with them.

To return to Rhodesia: After tasting the bitter rule of Coghlan and his clique, the Zimbabweans again felt the need for their own National organisation/.....

organisation. They sought one open, like ours, to the educated and the unlettered; to the workers and the peasants; to the chiefs and the commoners. Significantly enough in both countries land played a crucial role in the rise of Congress. In Rhodesia, the iniquitous Land Apportionment of 1930 helped blend the Zimbabweans into a national force to be reckoned with. Its sister, the Land Husbandry Act, later speeded up this process. George Nyandoro, Secretary-General of the then ANC of Rhodesia (now represented by ZAPU), is famous for the remark that "the Land Husbandry Act has been the best recruiter Congress ever had."

Therefore, in 1932 Aaron Jacha proposed forming an ANC in Zimbabwe, there was an immediate response; for the need was clear; the problems, grave.

In the 1930's both Congresses were deeply immersed in the political education of the populace and in agitation both in the towns and in the rural areas. In the towns, the workers did not get a square deal. Apprenticeship for skilled job was for Whites only; living and working conditions were generally abominable. Worst of all, strikes by Africans were frowned upon.

While grappling with these industrial problems, both Congresses found themselves facing opposition from an unexpected quarter. The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa (ICU) got into the picture and played its disruptive role. The same ICU spread its tentacles to Zimbabwe through Charles Mzingeli, who now collaborates with Smith after failing to sow discord among the Zimbabweans.

Another important factor in the march of both Congresses was the Second World War. It marked yet another milestone in their history. It ushered in the second stage: the era of positive action.

The African National Congress (S.A.) vehemently condemns the decision of the International Olympic Committee to re-admit racist South Africa into the Olympic Games.

By this action the I.O.C. has violated its own charter which specifically says there should be no discrimination in sports on the basis of colour, race or creed.

The fact that there will be no mixed non-racial trials in South Africa would make it impossible for the South African Olympic Committee to select the best sporting talent of the country. The South African team which may be sent to the Olympic Games would therefore include only token Non-white athletes who might only succeed to discredit the capabilities of Non-white sportsmen.

The I.O.C. decision reflects the evil machinations of international Imperialism who seek to retrieve the South African racists from international isolation.

We hope that anti-Apartheid and progressive sportsmen throughout the world will see through this sham. They have been left with no alternative but to refuse to participate in the 1968 Olympic Games. There can be no surrender nor compromise on this vital issue of principle.

O.R. Tambo

Acting President,

African National Congress (S.A.).

17th February, 1968.