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ANCSWA

REVOLUTION AND REVOLUTIONARIES

Oh no! Not again! This was one's first reaction to the news of the military coup which overthrew the government of President Modibo Keita of Mali. A moment of deep, deep despair intermingled with frustrated anger. How was it possible?

How could a progressive government be overthrown with such apparent ease? More particularly, how could a progressive government not learn to protect and defend itself after the experience of so many other progressive governments? Why cannot Africa learn to defend its Revolution and its leaders? Even Dr. Nkrumah who was aware of the intrigues of the imperialists and neo-colonialists, who agitated vigorously for unity, who talked of socialism, who warned Africa of the dangers - even he was overthrown by a coup. And here have been so many other occasions, so many similar reactionary coups that all progressives have some reason for bitterness and fury.

But a gospel of despair cannot be the ammunition of the revolutionary. Progressives and genuine African revolutionaries, though understandably enraged and discouraged, must begin to analyse and to understand these altogether too easy counter-revolutionary coups. We must know why these things happen if we are to find effective answers. Where are our mistakes? Where are we going wrong? For the failure is largely ours. It is not sufficient to blame the enemy, to attack imperialism and to point to its agents in Africa. No enemy, no matter how powerful, no matter how cunning and devious can destroy or win over a State and a government which has deep roots among the masses, which has awakened their consciousness and which has taught them how to defend the revolution. Examples abound in history. The most recent and perhaps the most heroic being the little island of Cuba and the peninsula of Vietnam. Facing the mightiest military machine the world has ever known, backed by the cunning duplicity and double-dealing of the CIA both Cuba and the valiant people of Vietnam have been able to hold U.S. imperialism at bay and even inflict defeats on it. This is possible precisely because the consciousness of their peoples has been roused. They have been instilled with a will to fight and above all they have been steeled in the broad, all encompassing struggle for genuine liberation and total independence. To quote Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba:-

"What defends the sovereignty of a country, what defends a just cause, is a people capable of feeling that cause as its own, of cherishing a deep conviction as to the justice of that cause and the decision to defend it at any price. That is precisely what protects our Revolution, and what protects the sovereignty of our country...."

And so/.....

And so it is in Vietnam. The leaders of the N.L.F. and the Government of President Ho Chi Minh have worked among the people and are aware of their willingness and determination to fight. This is why all the bombs and napalm of U.S. imperialism have not succeeded in undermining the struggle and have failed to shake their confidence in ultimate victory.

Perhaps Africa must begin to look for answers in this arena. It is not enough to win political independence without at the same time deeply involving the masses in the difficult but urgent task of winning economic independence. Perhaps it is not enough merely to inherit the State institutions of the former imperialist masters but to destroy them completely and rebuild afresh new institutions genuinely immersed in and representative of the masses and of the Revolution.

In theory, of course, all revolutionaries are aware of these fundamental truths. President Modibo Keita, himself, showed an awareness of this as far back as 1955 when he said: -

"We speak of the masses, but have we penetrated the masses so as to know their way of life, so as to have sensed their vital needs and measured the extent of their ability to resist oppression? How many comrades agree to enter a dark and smoky hut, to sit on a mat which in colour and crust resembles the earth, to dip by hand, without the slightest repugnance, into the doubtful platter of....rice, to carry to lip and drink without the slightest fear the milk on which swims a thin layer of dust?"

Though somewhat roughly worded this, in essence, is what we are talking about and what revolutionaries have for so long been saying. It is time for African Revolutionaries to take a long and searching look at themselves. It is time for Revolutionaries to begin practising their theories. Revolutionaries must not fear the masses; they should arm them and only then will the Revolution be permanently defended. Power to the People, not the armies and police forces.

* * * * *

QUOTES:

"Without the Party, the Cabinet is powerless, without the People, the Party is powerless, without the Party to direct them the people are powerless in this age of technological development."

- ANTHONY WEDGEWOOD-BENN AT THE 1968
BLACKPOOL LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.

COMMENT: Power belongs to the People; the Party is its instrument.

* * * * *

OUR TOWNS

- Veteran

With breath-taking impudence, Afrikaner Boers, who robbed us of our independence, land and way of living, now tell us that we are 'foreigners' in our own country! We must look, they say, for our 'nationhood' to those bits and pieces of land called 'reserves', like the game parks 'reserved' for the wildebeest, the baboon, or the lion.

The Boers are now quarrelling among themselves about what is to be done with us. A group of Calvinist clergy at Potchefstroom, spiritual home of apartheid, has told the government that it must undertake to drive us out of the 'White country'. Every African, man, woman and child, must be sent to his or her 'bantustan'.

If the government refuses, say the Calvinists, they will withdraw their support for 'small apartheid': the influx controls, the pattern of racial discrimination, the segregated ghettos and segregated transport of the towns.

That is dangerous talk, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development declared two weeks ago. It might arouse 'unnecessary expectations' among urban Africans. There would always be Africans living in "White areas" under 'our conditions of temporary residence', and the government would never relax or remove apartheid measures.

The success of separate development policies should not be measured, he argued, by numbers - so many Africans here, and so many there. The proper test was the strength of the ties between urban Africans and their 'national units', and also the extent to which they were segregated in White areas.

Verwoerd used to call us 'temporary sojourners' in the towns - travellers of a kind, who are only passing through, and who must work, for White boss - naturally, in order to earn their keep. Now we are told that we can never hope for more than this under White man's rule.

That is what the Calvinists are objecting to - under pressure of their fellow religionists in Holland and elsewhere. They are trying to force the government to declare a policy of total apartheid; and the government is showing signs of buckling under the pressure. The new war against domestic servants is an attempt to silence the critics who demand immediate action.

Do we Afrikaners need two servants to bring us morning coffee while we lie in bed? Asks Dagbreek, which claims to have made a survey of the position. Terrible things are heppening, the paper complains: servants who bath and clothe the children of their madam, while she is in the house; servants who are given the house key, so that they can waken

madam/.....

madam in the morning and bring her coffee; servants who wash and plait madam's hair; African men who make up beds, handle madam's nightie, and wash and dress madam's aged parents; servants who assist madam's children to do their homework. 'And these people are 'frikaners'!

Carel de Wet, the Minister of Mines and Planning, told Afrikaans business men in Johannesburg a few days ago that influx controls should be extended to include domestic servants. There were 128,000 African domestic servants in the big towns, as compared with 140,000 employed in the retail trade and 185,000 in factories. Domestic service, he complained, was the biggest single cause of the 'blackening' of the cities!

With typical hypocrisy, the Boer intellectual has suddenly 'discovered' that it is un-Christian to make servants work on Sundays, when they should go to church, or to house them in the backyard of the employer's residence, where they are on duty 24 hours of the day and have no social life. That was the finding of a one day conference called by SABRA, the ideological instrument of apartheid, in Johannesburg at the end of October to discuss the 'spiritual, moral and social welfare of domestic servants'.

Delegates agreed that Whites must give up the 'luxury' of keeping their servants close at hand, to serve coffee to the household in bed and to wash up at night after the guests have gone. Servants should live in the ghettos, work regular hours, and mix with their 'own' people after work.

But their 'own' people will not include wives and children, if the government of apartheid has its way. Piet Koornhof, former secretary of the Broederbond and now Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, has said that the time is ripe to allow only 'labour productive' Africans in the towns. Johannesburg, he warned, would have to find an outlet in the 'homelands' for its large African population. Workers should be made to live in a 'homeland', from where they would be transported to work in the city once a week.

The government has another card up its sleeve. This involves putting the responsibility for influx controls on the African authorities in the reserves. Each authority is compiling a register of workers and workseekers, whether in the homelands or in the towns, and will be expected to issue work permits to its 'nationals'. The permit or 'passport', as it is now being called by government propagandists, will entitle the holder to enter into a labour contract for a maximum period of 24 months, after which he must return to his 'homeland' and remain there for at least six months before being allowed to contract himself for another spell of work.

One purpose of this proposed legislation is to strengthen the claim that Africans are nationals of their own tribal groups, and not of South Africa. We will not be allowed to sink our tribal differences in one nation, one people, as the African National Congress has urged for more than half a century. By dividing us, the Boer hopes to rule us for all time.

Secondly, the chiefs and their hangers-on will become the White man's tools in our enslavement. They will have the power to issue or to withhold permits to seek work, and will be able to discriminate against our leaders who call on the people to struggle against oppression. More than ever, the chiefs will be the agents of oppression.

Having robbed us of our birthright, the Boers want us to be a party to our own enslavement. Our answer is clear. We reject the notion of a Zulu, a Xhosa, a Tswana, a Tsonga or Venda nation. We know only one nation in South Africa, and that is a single nation of all the people of South Africa, regardless of language, birthplace or origin. And we claim the whole of South Africa for ourselves. The towns and farms, the hills and the valleys, belong to us, and we shall never rest until we have freed them from White oppression.

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A MONTHLY CALENDAR OF THE STRUGGLE

FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA

- by Optimist

Some Memorable NOVEMBER Dates in Our Country's History

* 1884 - The first African newspaper published to advance the political and social interests of the Black people of South Africa was printed in Kingwilliamstown and the first issue appeared on the 3rd November 1884. It was edited by John Tengo Jabavu, then only 24, and was called Imvo zabaNtsundu Bomzantzi Afrika (African Opinion or literally "VIEWS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA"). Its aim, as stated in the first issue, was "to give untrammelled expression to the feelings of the native population before the Government and the European public." When the paper took a firm stand in 1887 against the disfranchisement of Cape Africans, Prime Minister Sprigg attacked it in Parliament as "seditious." Though not always consistently progressive in its views, Imvo did at times boldly voice African feelings. In one editorial (23rd June 1925), for example, it declared: "This is certainly the age of White supremacy over all the Black communities of the world, not by virtue of any quality of higher moral standard and civilization which the White man, in every part of the globe, arrogates to himself, but because it is the age of the mighty gun power - the demon of White

supremacy/..

supremacy. Modern democracy.....is a democracy only of White skin peoples of the world, and its philosophy is that of brazen spoliation and the violation of human rights of all peoples whose colour is black...."

Following Jabavu's paper there appeared other African-edited journals, among them being Inkanyiso (The Enlightener), published in Natal in 1893, and Dr. John L. Dube's Ilanga lase Natal (The Sun of Natal), which appeared at Ohlange, near Durban, in 1906. The most influential and most widely circulated of the African newspapers that came on the scene before World War I was Abantu-Batho, organ of the African National Congress and founded in the same year as the birth of the Congress, 1912. It carried articles in Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana and English. Dr. P. ka I. Seme was the first editor; others who were regular contributors or editors included Mveli Skota, Saul Msane, R.V. Selope Thema and D.S. Letanka. It was Abantu-Batho that first gave wide currency to the slogan "Mayibu'iAfrika!" (Let Africa come back!).

* 1892 - Parallel with the development of an independent African press came the growth of an independent African church; both owed their origin to the demand for African self-assertion. In 1884 the Rev. Nehemiah Tile, rejecting European supervision and resigning from the Wesleyan Church, founded the Tembu National Church, usually regarded as the first independent African church in South Africa. Eight years later, in 1892, the Rev. Mangena M. Mokone resigned from the Wesleyan Church, in which he had been an ordained minister. In association with a score of other Africans who had walked out of a missionary conference held in Pretoria in November of that year, because of their resentment of the discriminatory differentiation made between White and Black missionaries, Rev. Mokone founded the Ethiopian Church. "They called themselves Ethiopian because they interpreted the prophecy, that Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God, to refer to African races." In 1896 the Ethiopian Church became formally affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church (an independent church movement organized in 1787 among Afro-Americans in Philadelphia) and was thereafter known by that name. The separatist church sprang up in many other African countries and was everywhere commonly labelled "Ethiopianism" and branded as dangerously subversive by government officials.

* 1926 - An African Conference, held in Pretoria in November 1926, assailed a package of legislation proposed by Prime Minister Hertzog aimed, among other things, at further curtailing the political representation of Africans in Parliament and making the Africans' land rights, already infringed by the Land Act of 1913, still more uncertain. The Conference voted for absolute rejection of these proposed measures.

* 1936 - Thirteen hundred Africans employed on the Rustenburg Platinum Mines went on strike in November 1936 in protest against their miserable working conditions and the brutality of the mine police. Twenty-eight of the strikers, arrested and charged with "absenting themselves from their work," were given prison sentences of from two to six weeks with hard labour.

* 1942 - The first conference of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions was held in Johannesburg in November 1942. The 87 delegates present represented 29 affiliated unions. Gana Makabeni was named Chairman and D. Gosani was Secretary. The Minister of Labour, Walter Madeley, addressing the Conference, said that many difficulties stood in the way of official recognition of African trade unions. Undaunted, the Council went forward with its organizing work. And by 1945, when J.B. Marks, then Secretary of the African Mine workers Union, was elected Chairman of the Council, it claimed to speak for 150,000 African workers organized in 119 trade unions in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, East London, Cape Town, and Kimberley.

* 1949 - A violent clash between Africans and the police occurred at Krugersdorp, a town near Johannesburg in the Transvaal, on the 3rd of November 1949. Africans there had declared a general strike in protest against the municipality taking over the administration of service contracts. As the police moved in to break the strike, the people fought back. The climax came when at nightfall, according to a press report, "the police in battle formation and armed with revolvers, rifles, and a sten gun, moved into Munsieville location, firing volley after volley."

* 1950 - The South African Government's policy of herding Africans into so-called "reserves," where the land is poor and inadequate, has sown deep discontent which has often exploded violently. Such an explosion occurred in the Witziesshoek Reserve toward the end of November, 1950. For fourteen years the people had petitioned in vain for more land. A government agricultural officer attested that the land was "overstocked, overpopulated, denuded." The Government proposed solving the problem not by providing more land but by reducing the cattle population, eliminating the inferior stock. Naturally, the people objected. Police came to break up their protest demonstrating and enforce the culling order. In the fighting that ensued, 17 persons were killed, four of them policemen, and many more were injured. Aircraft were enlisted to aid police patrols search for the inhabitants of the area who fled into the hills.

* 1952 - In the latter part of October and early November, 1952, at the height of the A.N.C. Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, the police in a number of South African cities, apparently acting in concert on orders from Pretoria, entered upon a particularly savage

campaign/.....

campaign of violence against the African people. In the space of about three weeks, from 18th October to 9th November, police actions resulted in 11 persons, including four Whites, being killed in Port Elizabeth, three killed in Johannesburg, 14 killed and 34 injured in Kimberley, and 11 persons, including two Whites, killed in East London. It should not be forgotten that during the first four and a half years of Nationalist Party rule, down to the 15th November 1952, - long before the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, - there were 29 major outbreaks of violence in South Africa involving Africans and the police, with a total of 238 persons killed and 1,146 injured (as reported in the N.Y. Times, 3rd January 1953, page 60).

* 1959 - Government authorities in November 1959 attempted to deport Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, militant leader of the branch of the Food and Canning Workers Union in Paarl, a town 30 miles from Cape Town, to a remote area in the northern Cape. Thousands of Africans and Coloureds in the Paarl township of Huguenot staged protest demonstrations. Even bands of children, shouting "Afrika", took part. When the demonstrators refused to disperse, the police went at them with their batons and pieces of rubber hose. Shots, reportedly fired by White civilians, added to the tension. The police armoured cars were summoned to the scene. When order was finally restored, the authorities discovered that their intended deportee, Mrs. Mafekeng, had escaped by motor car to Basutoland (now Lesotho).

* 1962 - Following Sharpeville, many Africans turned to the adoption of new forms of struggle better designed to match the Government's tactics of open murderous repression. One of the secret organizations to emerge was in the Western Cape and was called POQO. (The name was interpreted to mean "We go it alone", and it was said by some to be derived from the name of a religious sect in the 19th century which completely rejected any association with the White man). On the night of 21st November 1962 a band of Africans, armed with only makeshift weapons, marched from the Mbekweni township bent on seizing the police station in Paarl and releasing seven of their number imprisoned there. Driven off by police rifle-fire, which killed two of the Africans, the band turned to doing what damage they could to European property, setting fires and smashing windows. In the course of the rioting two White persons and five Africans were killed. Sweeping arrests of hundreds of Africans followed. At the trial, with the help of testimony for the State by some of those arrested, three men were identified as POQO leaders and sentenced to death, while 13 others identified as members of that organisation were given jail terms of three years each.

* 1964 - On the 6th of November three Africans, all members of the African National Congress and of the National Executive Committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, - Vuyisile Mini, Wilson

Khayingo/.....

Khayingo, and Zinakile Mkaba singing freedom songs, went bravely to the gallows in Pretoria Central Gaol. They were executed by the Verwoerd Government after being found guilty on charges of alleged sabotage and of allegedly conspiring to murder an African who was to have been a State witness in various sabotage cases.

Vuyisile Mini had been Secretary of the African Dockworkers' Union in Port Elizabeth, a prominent leader of the A.N.C., and one of those arrested and charged at the start of the Treason Trial in 1956. Shortly before his execution the police visited him in his death cell and offered him the chance of saving himself from the gallows by giving evidence against a fellow African. Mini rejected the proposal.

The execution of the three men was carried out in spite of worldwide protests against the sentence. In the United States the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and other organisations appealed in vain to the State Department to intervene to save the lives of the condemned men. The World Federation of Trade Unions cabled Verwoerd denouncing as a crime the impending execution. Other protests and appeals for clemency came from His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, President Nasser on behalf of the Conference of Non-Aligned States, from the African member-states in the U.N., from the U.N.'s Special Committee on Apartheid, and from U.N. Secretary-General U Thant, who appealed to S. African Government "to spare the lives of those facing execution or death sentences for acts arising from their opposition to the Government's racial policies." All pleas were ignored; one more example of the S. African rulers' Nazi-like defiance of world opinion.

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CORRECTION:

In the previous issue of Mayibuye (Volume 2, Number 38) we published an article by one of our contributors entitled: "Contradictions in Western Democracy". Under the sub-heading "Africa and the West", the writer of the article included the following sentence which we regret:

"Look at Cuba and the U.S. - engineered Bay of Pigs. Or Berlin and Russia's attempt in 1948 to end the existence of West Berlin by blockade."

The inclusion of this portion in the article was due to an editorial oversight. The sentence as it stands is a non-sequitur and is completely irrelevant to the main theme of the article. But it constitutes what in our view amounts to a grave theoretical error and a misrepresentation of the historical situation in Germany following the end of the Second World War.

West Berlin lies wholly within the territory of the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.). The international status of West Berlin can be summed up as an area which does not fall within the jurisdiction of any single member of the Allied Powers who assumed control of the four zones into which Germany was divided at the end of the war.

The United States, Britain and France together with diehard Nazis in West Germany used the territory of West Berlin to conduct the Cold War. Many hostile Nazi agencies and espionage and sabotage groups still operate against the G.D.R. from West Berlin. One of the causes of Soviet action to safeguard the G.D.R. is the separate currency introduced in the other three Western zones of Germany on the 20th June, 1948. This currency was contrary to that which operated as legal tender in West Berlin and the G.D.R. But the Western Powers extended it to West Berlin in defiance of the law and mutual agreements on this question between the Four Powers. The Soviet Union as was within its legal rights took stern measures to prevent this economic sabotage by the West.

The history of West Berlin is closely linked with the Cold War. Suffice it to say that the G.D.R. Government and the U.S.S.R. have stated their readiness to negotiate the normalisation of the status of West Berlin as a NEUTRAL FREE CITY.

ALFRED KGOKONG
Director of Publicity &
Information

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n e w s i t e m s

TOP DOCTOR TO LEAVE S. AFRICA

CAPE TOWN. - A senior doctor and university lecturer has decided to leave South Africa for good because he can foresee no change in the country's apartheid policy.

Dr. Hymie Gordon, 42-year-old senior medical lecturer at Cape Town University, said: "I am sorry to be going, but my conscience gives me no alternative." Dr. Gordon is also a senior consultant physician at Grootte Schuur hospital where the world's first heart transplant was performed.

He said he will migrate with his family in the new year to the United States, where he will take up an appointment in Rochester, Minnesota.

Dr. Gordon said he had long pondered whether to leave or stay in South Africa. "I decided to stay in the hope that the racial situation would change for the better," he told reporters.

He had/.....

He had now come to believe that the government would make no significant change in its separate development policy and he had no alternative but to leave.

"One is faced with two choices - either to accept the situation, live with it and become part of it, or go. When I reduced the argument to this level, I saw I had no choice but to go."

Dr. Gordon said South Africa was making totally inadequate use of its human resources, and becoming scientifically backward.

"We draw on only a small proportion of the total population - the three-and-a-half million Whites - to train our doctors and scientists, and they simply cannot cater for a population of 18 million people," he added.

TIMES OF ZAMBIA (Lusaka)
November 19, 1968.

FREED - THEN HOUSE ARREST

JOHANNESBURG. - Mrs. Violet Weinberg, 52, of Johannesburg, one of the women who helped Bram Fischer while he was in hiding, was released from jail after serving a sentence of two years and three months. She was placed under house arrest and served with banning orders.

Two years of this time was for a conviction under the Suppression of Communism Act when assisting Fischer while he was "underground." The three months was for refusing to give evidence in the trial against Isaac Heyman and Michael Dingake.

During her imprisonment Mrs. Weinberg's son, Mark, and her sister, Mrs. Dolly Sachs, died. She has a young daughter. Sheila Weinberg.

On her release from jail Mrs. Weinberg was served with house-arrest orders which confine her to her house from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. She is staying with friends in Johannesburg.

Mrs. Weinberg was also served with stringent five-year banning orders which restrict her to Johannesburg and prohibit her from meeting more than one person at a time. She must report daily to the police.

SUNDAY TIMES (Johannesburg)
November 17, 1968.

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CORRECTION:

The previous issue of Mayibuye (Volume 2. No. 38) was inadvertently dated 8th September, 1968 instead of 8th November, 1968. Please correct accordingly.

- EDITOR