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Yet, at one stage, Bloemfontein was worried about the impossibility of accommodating the thousands of visitors expected at the Games. The State President seeing the empty stadium was moved to say, in Alice-in-wonderland fashion, that it would be tragic if world politics were allowed to destroy world sports. This fascist dare not admit that, in fact, South Africa's racist policies were destroying South African sports. To cap it all, a Mirage jet of the South African Airforce costing K2 million, crashed in flames on its way back from an air display over the stadium. To the fanatical Boer Calvinists this must have seemed like an omen from God!!

The Games have hardly got under way but the inevitable bickering has already started. The day after the opening ceremony the Editor of the Natal "Sunday Tribune" (16/3/69) wrote a special article under the heading: "Its All Such A Pity...." We quote:-

"What a pity the whole thing has turned so completely sour on us.

"What a pity the enemies of South Africa have been handed in one blundering exercise so many opportunities to score points. "What a pity we have chosen to embarrass so many of our friends. What a pity we have sabotaged, hara-kiri-style, our own chances of competing at the German Olympics."

He went on to blame Vorster for having foisted the Games on White South Africa and thus causing a disaster which he should have foreseen. Readers are reminded that the "Sunday Tribune" is an ardent proponent of South African intervention in Angola and Mozambique.

The failures of the Games and White reaction to it demonstrates that international pressure does have an effect. We thank all those who by their positive action frustrated this attempted orgy of White racism. We call upon the world to continue such pressure in every field of human activity. So long as fascist-racism dominates South Africa so long will it be necessary for decent men and women to refuse to have any dealings with it.

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#### FREEDOM FIGHTERS SENTENCED IN PIETERMARITZBURG

For the past six weeks, the beautiful city of Mgungundlovu (Pietermaritzburg) was the scene of a shameful political trial of twelve patriots under the notorious Terrorism Act which brands as a crime, the just freedom struggle of our people.

Eleven of the accused were handed vicious sentences ranging from five to twenty years.

Dorothy Nyembe, the only woman accused, was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. Miss Nyembe was one of the accused in the Treason Trial of one hundred and fifty six A.N.C. leaders in 1956. She has also recently completed a long term of imprisonment after she was sentenced on charges of participating in the activities of the A.N.C.

Lungephi Lengisi was sentenced to 20 years. Bafana Matthews Ngcobo, Themba Lunus Dhlamini, Lawrence Phokanoka, Sindili Mantanyana, Johannes Seleka, Silas Mogotsi, were sentenced to eighteen years each. Daluxolo Luthuli was sentenced to ten years. Also receiving a ten year sentence was Mvuyisi Sigwela. Twalimfene Joyi was sentenced to five years. The twelfth man Sisa Dukada was discharged.

These gallant comrades were charged by the fascist South African court, with conspiring with one another and with other persons and organisations "to commit acts, to foment and encourage discontent, violence and revolution in South Africa.

Listed among the twenty six co-conspirators which the regime named were included the names of Nelson Mandela, O.R. Tambo, Bram Fischer, Walter Sisulu, Duma Nokwe, Joe Slovo, Jack Hodgson and others.

Organisations with which the comrades are said to be connected with were listed as the African National Congress, Umkhonto We Sizwe (the military wing of the A.N.C.) and the South African Communist Party.

Evidence was led indicating that some of the people on trial underwent military training in such places as Ethiopia, Algeria, Soviet Union and China, etc. It was alleged in court that on their return to South Africa these comrades organised training of guerrillas. Some of the accused were accused of aiding the guerrillas.

The Judge R.N. Henning said inter alia that men such as Lungephi and Phokanoka proved that they were dangerous by stating that they were proud of their activities.

SACTU AND THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION

- Anti-Pass.

"The future of the people of South Africa is in the hands of the workers. Only the working class, in alliance with other progressively-minded sections of the community, can build a happy life for all South Africans . . . ." - Preamble to the constitution of the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

The SACTU constitution was adopted more than fifteen years ago. As the preamble shows SACTU saw the role of the working class, not only to agitate for improvements in conditions of work, but also that of being the leading class in the Liberation struggle. The purport of this paper is to examine briefly this constitution.

From its inception SACTU, as the only genuinely non-racial South African trade union federation, unequivocally threw its weight on the side of the Liberation Movement and became a member of the Congress Alliance. SACTU participated fully in all campaigns launched by the Congress Alliance. A large number of its leaders at all levels have suffered banning, imprisonment and exile for the part they played in the struggle. Many, many members of SACTU have been hounded out of jobs. Without doubt SACTU has lived up to the role it set for itself.

The methods of struggle in the '50s took the form chiefly of demonstrations, boycotts, stay-at-homes and strikes under a general policy of non-violence. Clearly the Congress Alliance was largely concerned with demonstrating the strength of the organised body of the oppressed people with a view to bringing about conditions for a meaningful dialogue with the oppressor. Both the method of struggle and, flowing from this, the objective have now changed radically. The main content of the struggle now is laying the basis for a People's Revolutionary war with the objective of a total seizure of power. It is no more a question of talking to the oppressor but of bringing about his complete destruction. This immediately poses the question "who will seize power? Who will come out on top?" To answer this question correctly we must understand the nature of South African society and its composition.

Brief Analysis Of South African Society

(1) The Ruling Class: It is generally agreed that South Africa is an advanced capitalist-imperialist country having well-developed links with international imperialism. The ruling class is, however, not homogenous but composed of an alliance of international imperialism with local monopoly capital on the one hand and the semi-feudal land

barons of agriculture in alliance with smaller business on the other. The latter encompasses largely the Afrikaner (Boer) population and is politically reflected in the ruling fascist Nationalist Party. The former encompasses English and other (mainly Jewish) White interests in alliance mainly with British and U.S. imperialism. The South African White population being largely Afrikaner and given the chauvinistic appeal of the Nationalist Party imperialism/monopoly capital for a time was on the retreat politically as the United Party suffered several defeats at the polls. The rising tide of the liberation struggle in the late fifties saw this element fostering the Progressive Party as a prelude to a possible compromise with the Black majority.

The situation is, however, not static. Afrikaner capital has over the years, especially in the sixties, gained entry into big business partly by the effective use of its control of the political machine and partly because monopoly capital felt it prudent in its own interest to allow such entry. This, to some extent explains the subtle political changes taking place within the Nationalist Party reflected in the "outward-looking" policy of Vorster and in the struggle going on between the Verligte (enlightened) and Verkrampte (conservative) sections of Afrikanerdom. This changing situation also explains the increasing participation of European (mainly West Germany) and Japanese imperialism in the South African economy via close associations with Afrikaner big business and state capitalism.

### White Working Class

The rest of the White population is composed of the working class employed in mining, manufacture, commerce and in the state bureaucratic apparatus. The White workers are a privileged group, a labour aristocracy, paid handsomely as a price for their continued support of the super-exploitation of the Black majority. Their wages are six to seven times those of Black workers and, in the mining industry, as much as twenty times more!! It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the White workers are the most ardent proponents of White supremacy. They have been in front of agitation to restrict the employment opportunities of Black workers. White workers have at times been at loggerheads with the Chamber of Mines over the latter's attempts to open up semi-skilled categories of work for Black workers. It was the agitation by White workers which in 1925 resulted in the so-called "civilised" labour policy which has guided all subsequent governments. The White working class is a direct beneficiary of the apartheid state and it is difficult to visualise it playing any political role other than that of defending White supremacy.

### The Black Majority

The oppressed Black majority, composed of the African, Coloured and Indian ~~accounts~~ for over 80% of the total South African population. An overwhelming proportion of the Black majority are the working masses i.e., the urban and rural working class and the peasantry. The distribution in these three sectors is almost equal in the region of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million people each. The three sectors are, however, not distinctly separate, homogeneous groups for the migratory labour system results in a mobility from one sector to the other so that ideas and levels of sophistication are not greatly divergent. This is an important fact to remember. For, though only a third of the working population is employed on the mines and in manufacture this urban proletariat has an influence greater than its number.

Thus, while the migratory labour system is designed to intensify the exploitation of Black workers, it also enables a free flow of ideas between the different sectors of the Black working population. Caught up in this contradiction the fascist Nationalist Party hopes to turn the clock back by its Bantu Education policy and by the establishment of Bantustans on tribal lines where, it is hoped, tribal wars and attitudes will be fostered.

The African, Coloured and Indian working masses are the backbone of the South African economy. The super-profits and ability of the ruling class to bribe and corrupt the White workers is dependent upon the super-exploitation of the Black workers. The African workers on the mines, industry and farms, the Coloured workers in the vineyards and manufacture in the Western Cape, the Indian workers on the sugar plantations and industries in Natal comprise not only the overwhelming majority of the South African population but also the most ruthlessly exploited and expropriated. They have always been in the vanguard of the liberation struggle for they clearly see that economic exploitation stems from political oppression. The Black working class has inevitably produced some of the most outstandingly dedicated and self-sacrificing leaders of the liberation movement. Many of them are today languishing on Robben Island for their courage in the face of fascist brutality and violence.

A small percentage of the Black population belongs to the middle class, being small shopkeepers, professional men, civil servants, and chiefs. They in common with the rest of the Blacks, suffer the indignities and tribulations showered on them by the apartheid state. They, too desire an overthrow of the colour bar ~~and get the right~~ to participate as equals in the machinery of state. This class, too, has produced some brilliant and courageous leaders in the liberation struggle. But certain changes must be noted.

The Bantustan set-up, side by side with the setting up of Urban Bantu Councils, has..... 7/

Councils, has created job opportunities for this element enabling them to escape, however little, from the worst excesses of the exploiters. Increased opportunities for promotion in the Bantustan civil service, in the police, occupations as magistrates, the sole right to own in/ business in the Bantustans and/urban locations, goes hand in hand with submitting to government policy. The most moderate form of protest carries with it the risk of losing a licence or losing a job. This must, necessarily, dampen the ardour of this class. We must hasten, once more, to point out that this element comprises only a small fraction of the Black population.

### Some Conclusions

We are presently engaged in laying the basis for a Revolutionary People's War for National Liberation. What role will the various sectors of the South African population play in this struggle?

The fascist Nationalist Party and its backers, while in the process of breaking out of their chauvinistic shell, are still the chief beneficiaries of the apartheid state and are certainly its staunchest defenders. Similarly the White workers, concentrated in the urban areas, derive their privileges directly from the continued economic exploitation of the Black majority. It must be expected that they, too, will defend the apartheid state to the hilt.

International imperialism and its local allies also derive super-profits from the exploitation of the Black workers. While seeking to moderate the worst excesses of the fascists because of the international milieu in which they must operate they, too, would like to maintain the status quo. However, one must be fully conscious of the high degree of sophistication of this element. As the world has already seen imperialism, instead of seeking to maintain its colonies by force, has seen its interests in granting formal political independence while maintaining a firm hold on the economic stirrups. As the struggle in South Africa intensifies this group will increasingly jettison the fascists and seek a compromise with the liberation movement. Their guiding star is profit and it flows from this that the kind of compromise they would be prepared to offer might bring some political changes but would keep economic power firmly in their hands. Such a "solution" would be meaningless to the overwhelming majority, the working masses, for it would bring few concrete changes in their conditions of existence.

The oppressed working masses of South Africa, the African, Indian and Coloured urban and rural workers and the peasantry are the most exploited section and therefore, the most concerned with bringing about a change. They will provide the cadres for the People's Army and it is they who will initiate and undertake urban political agitation in



support of the guerrillas. It is they who will fight, gun in hand, and, if need be, die for liberation. In a very real sense they are the vanguard of the revolution in alliance with other progressive sections. To quote once more from the preamble to the SACTU constitution:-

"The future of the people of South Africa is in the hands of the workers."

The working people can have nothing to gain from any compromise with any section of the ruling class. Their interests coincide with the smashing of the present economic-political structure through a People's Democratic Revolution and the total seizure of power. The question "Who will seize power? Who will come out on top?" Is thus self-evident. However, it is necessary to guard against the machinations of imperialism which will at every stage seek to divert and compromise the struggle. It is also necessary not to underestimate the resources imperialism is able to command.

The working people of South Africa must not fight and die and only to find their aspirations strangled at birth. To guard against such a possibility it is essential that our organisation and our programme are openly and clearly revolutionary.

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A MONTHLY CALENDAR OF THE STRUGGLE  
FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA

-by Optimist

Some Memorable MARCH Dates in Our Country's History

(Continued from Vol. 3, No. 5).

\* 1951 - Cape Town was the scene of a mammoth demonstration on the 11th of March against the Separate Registration of Voters Bill, still another nail in the coffin of the franchise rights of the non-White population. The demonstration was jointly supported by the African People's Organization, South African Indian Congress, and African National Congress. After a big mass meeting, over 15,000 people, the majority Coloured, marched through the streets of the city. Soon afterwards there was a successful one-day strike.

\* 1955 - When the for-Whites-only South African Trade Union Council was formed in 1954, barring not only African unions but even those unions which accepted any Africans in their ranks, a minority of the labour organizations which had belonged to the Trades and Labour Council refused to subscribe to the colour bar in the newly established S.A.T.U.C. Instead, thirteen of them joined with the Transvaal Council of Non-

European Trade.....9/

European Trade Unions in 1955 to form the South African Congress of Trade Unions. S.A.C.T.U. was the only South African labour federation to reject without reservation the theory and practice of racial separation - or, more properly, racial discrimination - and the 50,000 predominantly African members of its constituent unions formed the important labour segment of the Congress Alliance of progressive forces.

\* 1960 - On Monday, the 21st of March, the residents of Sharpeville location, about thirty miles south of Johannesburg, in response to a call by the Pan-African Congress for non-violent demonstrations against the pass laws, gathered around the local police station to watch those who were to surrender themselves for being without the required passes. What happened was read with horror by the whole world in next day's newspapers. The following is the narrative a White eyewitness sent in his dispatch to the New York Times:

"We went into Sharpeville the back way around lunchtime on March 21 travelling behind a big gray police car and three armoured trucks. As we drove through the fringes of the township, many people were shouting. But they were grinning and cheerful. Some kids waved to the policemen sitting on the trucks. It was like a Sunday outing - except that we knew there were bullets in the guns...

"There were crowds in the streets as we approached the police station. There were plenty of police etc, too... The crowd seemed orderly. The crowd seemed to be loosely gathered. There were about 3,000 people...

"We heard the chatter of a machine gun, then another, then another. Bodies were falling. Some of the children were shot, too. Still the shooting went on. One policeman was standing on top of a truck and was swinging his sten-gun around in a wide arc from his hip. Two other police officers were atop the truck with pistols.

"Soon there was no longer a crowd and it was quiet."

Shot down in cold blood and without warning, 69 Africans lay dead. One hundred and seventy-eight more were wounded. A methodical police count revealed that 30 of the bullet wounds in the victims had been made in the front, 155 in the back. And that was not the end of the slaughter. There was more at Langa township near Cape Town on the following day, and in other localities. Between March 21 and April 9 in 1960, it has been stated, a total of 83 non-White civilians were killed and 365 injured by police bullets in South Africa.

The African people's answer came swiftly. The inhabitants of the townships in the Cape Town area went on a strike lasting almost three weeks, despite police arrests and harrassment. A one day strike was effective in all the main cities throughout South Africa on March 28th, organized in response to A.N.C. President Luthuli's call for a national day of mourning for the dead at Sharpeville and Langa.

There had been a proclamation in Cape Town prohibiting gatherings of more than twelve persons, but at mid-day on March 30th an estimated 30,000 Africans, led by Philip Kgosana, 21-year-old former student of the University of Cape Town, marched in a mighty column thirty abreast through the city's main streets. At the Caledon Square Police Station, where the throng converged, it was announced to the people that the police chief would heed their grievances and that an interview would be arranged for the people's leaders with the Minister of justice. Then, obeying Kgosana's bidding, the people marched back out of the city to Langa. A military helicopter had been hovering overhead and dozens of armoured cars and loaded troop carriers had been massed for action during the demonstration.

But while this was going on in Cape Town, in Johannesburg, Durban and other cities hundreds of progressive leaders were being arrested in a nation-wide police round-up. And at four in the afternoon, just when the demonstrators had returned to Langa, after having apparently made an impression on the authorities, a national "state of emergency" was declared, effective as of the previous day, enabling the police to arrest and detain for months without warrant or trial some 2,000 political dissidents. These events of 1960, culminating a decade of savage governmental repression experienced by all opponents of apartheid policies, showed beyond question that the traditional tactics of non-violent demonstration and protest must be replaced by other means of struggle to achieve democratic rights in South Africa.

\* 1961 - At Maritzburg near Durban on March 25-26 an All-in African Conference was held to determine how best to make a united stand against the plans of the all-White Nationalist Government to proclaim South Africa a Republic on May 31st. The conference delegates declared that "no constitution or form of government decided without the participation of the African people who form an absolute majority of the population can enjoy moral validity or merit support either within South Africa or beyond its borders." They demanded that "a National Convention of elected representatives of all adult men and women on an equal basis irrespective of race, colour, creed or other limitations be called... (to frame) a new non-racial democratic Constitution for South Africa." And the delegates resolved finally, that if this demand was ignored, they should "undertake to stage country-wide demonstrations on the eve of the proclamation of the Republic in protest against this undemocratic

act," and, further, that they should "organize and unite in town and country to carry out constant actions to oppose oppression and win Freedom." Nelson Mandela made the principal address to the Conference and was elected leader of the National Action Council to organize and direct the nation-wide demonstrations against the proclamation of the Republic.

A couple of days after this Conference there came one of the rare opportunities for African rejoicing: on March 29th the long, dreary ordeal of the Treason Trial came to an end after proceeding for four years and three months, and the last of the accused were found not guilty and discharged. The three judges had called for an adjournment without waiting for the completion of the defense counsel's answer to the prosecution's charges, and, after six days of deliberation, they delivered their 38-minute judgement and unanimous verdict that on the basis of all the evidence it was impossible to conclude that the African National Congress advocated a policy of overthrowing the state by violence.

There were scenes of wild jubilation as relatives, friends and supporters warmly embraced the acquitted defendants and their lawyers as they emerged from the court. It was a great victory for Advocates I.A. Maisels, "Bram" Fischer, V.C. Berrange and other members of the brilliant defence counsel. It was a great victory for the defendants. Above all, it was a great victory for the many thousands of people of all races in South Africa and around the world who gave steadfast support to the long fight to uphold the right of advocacy of racial democracy in South Africa.

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### SPIES IN S. AFRICAN VARSITIES

GRAHAMSTOWN: Between September and November last year 11 students on S. African university campuses reported to their SRCs that they had been approached by the Special Branch to undertake spying activities, writes Duncan Clarke, member of the Rhodes SRC in the student newspaper, Rhodéo. Even with such vehement denials, Mr. Clarke says, the evidence available is enough to show that campus spying is now an integral part of South African student life.