

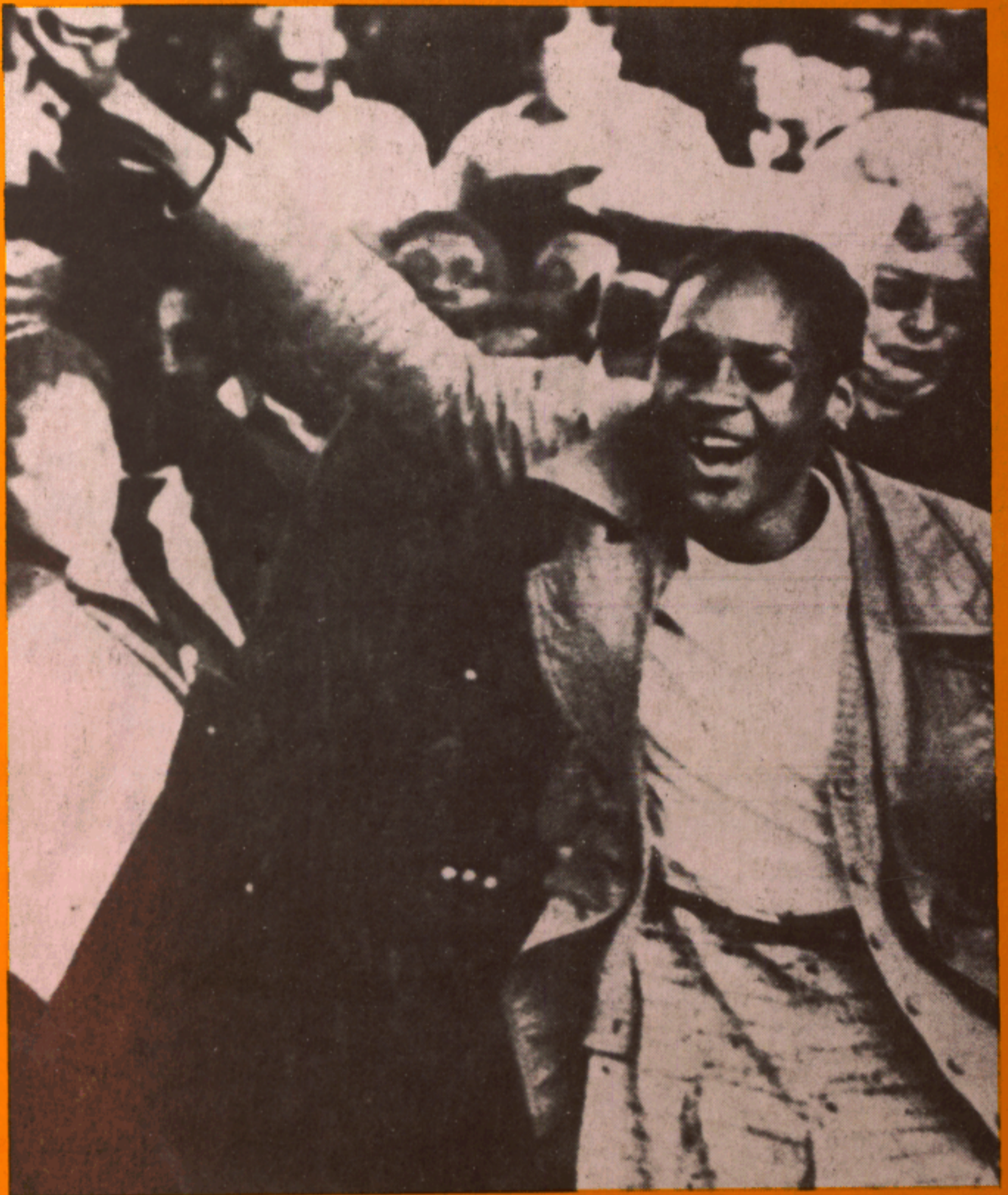
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SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa

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Ms. Paulina Mamgotla Mohale clenches her fist in a Black Power salute as she arrives at the Pretoria Old Synagogue to face charges under the Terrorism Act

SECHABA

Fourth Quarter 1977

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and Umkhonto We Sizwe
on the External Service of
Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam
on 15435 Khz, 19 Metre Band
Sundays & Wednesdays
at 10.00 p.m. SA time
Mondays & Fridays
at 0.30 p.m. SA time

SOWETO ANNIVERSARY

Once more the people show their fist

The sharp wave of repression unleashed by the racist regime in response to the heroic struggle of our people is still being sustained. Despite the continuous and merciless onslaught, the fighting people of South Africa remain defiant.

In January of this year the regime's "Justice Minister", James Kruger told the all-white parliament that the worst was over and that what he termed "the hard-core members of the ANC" had been caught. The regime's vast increase in military spending shows that Kruger is well aware that his terrorist tactics have not crushed the people's fighting spirit. As one black from Alexandra declared in June last year: "In our country the time has come for bursting out. The unrest will continue, there might be a lull, but people are going to get more organised."

Of course the racists can clearly identify their enemy. They have launched a vicious attack against the African National Congress in a bid to uncover our underground machinery. Kruger has boasted since 1960 that he has smashed the ANC only to be proved wrong time and time again. Our policy will always be No Surrender. In the words of our Secretary General, Alfred Nzo, "South Africa can never be the same

again after the events of June 16, 1976. The only true course open before our country is one which leads inevitably and irrevocably to the ultimate victory of our revolutionary struggle for the seizure of power."

1977 — The struggle continues:

Building up to the first anniversary of June 16, there was considerable activity on the part of the oppressed people. The following reports indicate the response of the apartheid authorities to nation wide organised resistance:

14th April, Umtata, Transkei — Students from the Jongilizwe College for chiefs' sons protested against the presence of student spies. 71 were arrested and charged. 40 were sentenced to cuts and the rest remanded.

27 April, Soweto — A protest march against increased rents was broken up by the police. 47 people were arrested.

24/25 May, Soweto — A pupils school strike to mark the 1976 boycott of Afrikaans ended in police violence.

12 June, Soweto — Police arrested 20 student leaders. A few days before the Soweto Students Representative Council

COUNTRYMEN! WORKERS! PARENTS, TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND YOUTH! LET US STRIKE A MIGHTY BLOW FOR FREEDOM!

STRIKE! STRIKE! STRIKE! STRIKE!

JUNE 16 to JUNE 18

DOWN WITH BANTU EDUCATION, BANTUSTANS, GROUP AREAS AND ALL FORMS OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT!

DOWN WITH PASS LAWS, JOB RESERVATION, HIGH RENTS, RISING PRICES AND TRANSPORT COSTS!

DOWN WITH POLICE BRUTALITY, MURDERS, TORTURE AND IMPRISONMENT!



FREE NELSON MANDELA, WALTER SISULU AND ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS!

AFRIKA! AMANDLA! MATLA! POWER!

Pass this leaflet on. Spread the word. Organise for JUNE 16 to 18!

THIS LEAFLET IS ISSUED BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

issued leaflets calling for a day of mourning on June 16th asking people to stay at home or go to church.

13 June, East London — A demonstration against a "homeland election" was broken up by Vorsters thugs who shot seven people and injured others.

14 June, Soweto — Riot police arrested 8 students during a meeting outside Orlando High School. An ANC leaflet was distributed in all Soweto schools. ANC leaflets were distributed throughout the length and breadth of South Africa.

PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA
Remember Soweto, remember the June massacres, the murder of our children, the brutal torture of prisoners, the assassinations by the police!

We call upon you: **STRIKE!**
STRIKE! STRIKE! June 16 to June 18
Stay at home — do not go to work — strike in honour of our brave children and youth — strike for freedom!

From June 16 in Soweto last year, to this day all over our country, the apartheid regime has been murdering and assassinating our people. They have died bravely for our freedom. We must avenge their deaths in the struggle to liberate our country from white domination, oppression and exploitation.

The apartheid economy rests on our labour. Let us withdraw our labour! Vorster and his murderous gang tremble in fear at the might and anger of our people — the might of our urban workers, our workers on the farms, in the mines and dockyards, and our children in the schools. The stirring revolutionary events which started in Soweto and spread throughout the country shook white South Africa to its foundations. **WE MUST CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE!**

In the whole of Southern Africa, including our own country, the people's

struggles for national liberation are growing more powerful and are winning one victory after another. Our struggle is supported by the whole African continent, by the progressive forces of the world, and by the majority of mankind.

Vorster, with his imperialist supporters, hopes to halt the tide of freedom by terrorising our people into submission, by divide and rule tactics, by throwing a few miserable crumbs and concessions to a handful among us. Let us deal Vorster and his gang a decisive blow this June 16-18!

Let us continue to build the unity of all our people and reject with contempt efforts to divide us through useless concessions, dummy institutions and Bantustan frauds. Let us organise better, in secret to defeat the spies and informers. Let us co-ordinate our struggle in the



towns and the countryside throughout South Africa. Let us harass the enemy, his police, soldiers, officials and spies wherever we can!

Heightened methods of resistance

On June 15 in Durban, a serious explosion occurred on the Durban-Umlazi railway line at 3.45 am, about 40 metres from Lindokuhle station. The bomb blasted 86cm of line and dug a hole one metre square. Police were placed on full alert and all vital installations were put under guard.

On June 16, in Soweto, two more bomb explosions occurred on railway lines in the townships. Throughout the country there were demonstrations, stay-at-homes and commemoration services for the heroes of the struggle.

Police brutality has not been tempered by the world outcry against the Soweto massacres of 1976. Our people are learning new tactics to fight the fascist onslaught. Protective clothing to defeat the "sneeze machine" (teargas) of the police appeared on the streets within hours of the first use of the gas. Throughout this year the South African press has carried reports of the mass exodus of our youth across the borders to join the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto We Sizwe. The racists know that in the not too distant future they will face a highly organised enemy which will not just be armed with stones.

Torture and show trials

The heightened resistance of our people is even evident in captivity. The trial of the Pretoria Twelve clearly emphasises our prisoners and detainees heroic stand. Crowds of people have flocked to the court to show their solidarity with the accused.

On May 10, 1977, 12 people entered the Pretoria Supreme Court. The eleven men were wearing leg irons. They were not subdued despite the torture they had undergone. They greeted the public gallery with shouts of "Amandla Ngawethu!" They were charged with being members of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party or Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC. The State alleged they were variously involved in the recruitment of people, taking them out of the country for military training and returning others into South Africa, together with arms and ammunition for the purposes of sabotage. The eleven men and one woman have pleaded not guilty to all charges.

Among the accused are veterans of the struggle: Joe Gqabi (48), Martin Ramokadi (67), Petrus Nchebeleng (50), and Michael Ngubeni (42), all of whom have served long prison sentences on the notorious Robben Island. It is clear that the Vorster regime is launching a vicious attack against all known former ANC militants. Ngubeni was released after his 12-year sentence in September 1976 and immediately banned. Within months he was back in detention at the mercy of Vorster's torturers. When he appeared in court with the rest of the twelve, he had been so severely tortured that his defence council requested he be sent for mental observation. While in detention Michael Ngubeni had said that he felt as though he had "a great worm in his head."

The state's policy of systematic torture was further revealed when the chief state witness said he had been repeatedly assaulted by the police, before making a statement, and that he had lied in evidence. Mr Rwaxa asked the judge to make an order protecting him from the police. The judge said he had no power to give such an order. This is apartheid justice.

Free the Pretoria 12



Eleven men and one woman are on trial in Pretoria, South Africa for allegedly assisting the underground organization of the African National Congress.

Under the Terrorism Act they face a minimum sentence of five years—the maximum penalty is death.

FREE THE PRETORIA 12

In the Pretoria Supreme Court, South Africa, 11 men and one woman are on trial for allegedly assisting the underground activities of the African National Congress. This trial is regarded as the most politically significant in South Africa since the Rivonia Trial in 1964, when Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the African National Congress were sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island

The accused include veterans of the South African liberation struggle, some of whom have already served long sentences on Robben Island, together with youth from Soweto. They appear in court in chains. There is dramatic evidence that they have been viciously tortured. Even the chief witness for the state has described to the court how he had been tortured, and admitted that he had lied to the court because the police had threatened to kill him if he refused to cooperate.

The Pretoria 12 are being tried under the notorious Terrorism Act. It is alleged that they 'conspired to overthrow the Government of South Africa by violent means'. The minimum sentence they face is five years – the maximum death.

It is not the Pretoria 12 who should be on trial – it is the apartheid system.

In 1964 international campaigning saved the lives of Nelson Mandela and the other Rivonia trialists. Join the campaign NOW to free the Pretoria 12.

ACT NOW!

- Protest to Prime Minister Vorster
Union Buildings, Pretoria, South
Africa
- Join the post card campaign
- Ask your MP to support the
campaign
- Write to Dr Owen urging British
Government action
- Invite a speaker from the
campaign to any organisation
you are active in

The Accused:

- Nelson Diale, 41
- Joe Gqabi, 48
- Elias Masinga, 24
- Paulina Mobale, 26
- Simon Moblanyaneng, 23
- Lele Motaung, 44
- Petrus Ncbabeleng, 50
- Michael Ngubeni, 42
- Martin Ramokgadi, 67
- Jacob Seatbolo, 47
- Mosima Sexwale, 24
- Naledi Tsiki, 21

For further information contact: Free the Pretoria 12 Campaign, Anti-Apartheid
Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ Tel 01-580 5311



Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, addressing the World Conference in Lisbon

ANC President Explains the Struggle

Oliver Tambo, interviewed after the important summit meeting in Luanda between Southern African liberation movement leaders and presidents of front line states . . .

Q. How did the Luanda summit go?

A. This has been a very important meeting for a number of reasons. The consultations of British Foreign Secretary David Owen on Southern Africa are of great interest to the whole world, to the African continent and especially of course to the peoples of Southern Africa. They are of as much interest to South Africans as to Zimbabweans. And it has been a matter of concern what positions the front-line states are taking in this matter. On Zimbabwe it is more the position taken by the Zimbabwean leaders that is of importance and in the ultimate analysis it is

what the people of Zimbabwe want for their country that influences the position taken by the front-line states.

For that reason there has always been something odd about the fact that consultations over Rhodesia should be seen to require the involvement of Vorster, who certainly does not represent the majority of the people of South Africa, least of all the black people. At the same time, however it didn't seem necessary to involve the leaders of the people he oppresses, those he treats as foreigners to his regime. I think to a great extent this irregularity was corrected in having the Luanda meeting of the front-line states, attended by

the leaders of Zimbabwe, the leaders and members of the Patriotic Front, but also by the Namibian leadership and leaders of the African National Congress. I think this balances out the picture — these are the people who are concerned about the what is happening in any given part of Southern Africa.

But (the Owen) consultations have started and are going on, and the final results are not yet known. Our position, of course, is basically that any settlement must reach the full demands of the people who have sacrificed their lives in the struggle and of those who continue to sacrifice their lives. These sacrifices should be fully rewarded. The settlement should not be intended to reassure those who have been withholding power and have made armed struggle a necessity.

It is also important that the summit was held in Luanda. We thought it strange that the British Foreign Secretary should think it necessary to visit all the heads of the front-line states except the President of Angola. In the end of course he did

come. But the omission had struck us as being perhaps significant.

This summit was also important because there is a very obvious attempt to treat the situation in South Africa not only as being different from that in Zimbabwe and Namibia, but even as a settled situation that calls for no radical change except "improvements" here and there in the area of human rights, fundamental human rights. This line is being pursued by the imperialists with very great vigour and the objective is to isolate the oppressed in South Africa, to perpetuate the status quo and to focus world attention on Zimbabwe and Namibia as being the final problems that await resolution. But in fact the situation in South Africa is inseparable and is not different from the situation in the other two territories.

And the meeting of the five heads of the front-line states with the leaders in what we call the "internal front-line", comprising the liberation movements who are fighting within these three countries, emphasises the indivisibility of the

Student demonstrations in Soweto



struggle, the identity of the issues except for matters of emphasis. Therefore, there was the necessity to talk, in relation to all three, in terms of the intensification of the struggle. This was the mood at the meeting.

So all in all we think it has been a great achievement. It certainly underlines the fact that the front-line states must now regard and place South Africa firmly on their agenda. But we've also sought to make the point that there are two front lines, as I have indicated. And the front line at which we are involved is not less important than the front line that involves the independent states. On the contrary, the independent states don't expect us to look to them for leadership. They expect us to give leadership. We intend that this point should be emphasised as we develop the struggle towards the attainment of our objectives.

It is also important that this eight-country meeting should be held at this time — and this in spite of the intense topicality of the Zimbabwe situation alone.

Q. It looks as though the Western strategy is to say to Vorster, "See reason over Namibia and Zimbabwe and we'll leave you in peace"?

A. Precisely. It's always been like that and is still the Western thinking. But it is not true at all that Vorster is actually pressuring Smith. We have been fed this story, but it's not true. At the beginning it may have been that they had consultations and the most Vorster probably did was delay his opinion on what was in the best interests of the Smith regime and the South African regime. They have worked together for a long time. UDI was declared, so said Smith, on Vorster's assurances that he would stand by him and support him — and he did. There has never been any quarrel among them. There's no reason why Vorster should want to persuade Smith to grant majority rule when there is a demand in his own country for majority rule. The arrange-

ment is therefore precisely as you put it — if Vorster is seen to be among the states which are seized of this problem of Zimbabwe and they, all of them together with him, reach 'majority rule', Vorster is entitled as one of the participants in this great achievement to expect some consideration for his role.

The whole exercise is to get the world to accept the Vorster regime as having fulfilled its tasks on Zimbabwe. He then hopes he can reasonably be left to introduce necessary changes at his convenience over a period and, of course, he's not going to grant — he might have to give — but he's not going to grant majority rule in anybody's lifetime — not in anybody's lifetime.

We're not surprised by this of course. We expect the traditional allies of the South African regime to continue to protect the status quo, to defend apartheid in spite of their speeches to condemn racism and apartheid itself. In practice we know they have gone out of their way to insure there will be no meaningful change in South Africa and no undue pressures on Vorster. By their calculation, there will be no majority rule in South Africa.

But I'm very clear in my own mind that anyone that makes that kind of statement is a racist, pure and simple. Because it is to be a racist to say that a country of 25 million which is ruled by not just a minority, but by a minority of white people, should exist, just because they are white.

Why do we talk about majority rule in Zimbabwe if we can't speak in the same terms in South Africa? What makes it different? It's precisely the racism for which the Vorster regime is being condemned. There is no conceivable basis on which we could accept that thesis.

We do not accept that our country just belongs to white people. On the contrary, the ANC says South Africa belongs to all who live in it. We would have been excused for saying it is a Black Man's country. It would have made a lot of sense. But we don't think that kind of thinking serves the interests of the future.

We deliberately say it belongs to all the people who live here. And therefore the retention of political power and the arrangement whereby the wealth of the country is owned and benefits only the white people cannot conceivably be acceptable to us.

The myth propounded by the racist regime is you have the whites as one unit — never mind that they consist of Afrikaaners and English speakers, they are one. On the other side, they say, you don't just have blacks, you have different nations. This is dishonest.

Q. If the Turnhalle (phoney independence) solution for Namibia goes through, will the Western countries' hypocritical attitudes be further unmasked?

A. Yes. I think the interesting thing is that in spite of declared Western opposition to the Bantustans, you still find Transkei able to enter into trade agreements as Transkei, with countries which say they don't recognise it as an independent government. This betrays the true positions of the Western countries. If an interim government is established in Namibia it would proceed to enter into trade agreements with everybody. There would of course be resolutions of condemnation. But any proposed effective action would be resisted at the UN level — any call in Security Council to take further action to prevent the installation of the Turnhalle regime would be defeated "out of court". Ultimately, therefore, the answer rests with the people who have seen the situation as calling for the sacrifice on their part. A situation where we have got to prove our point with our lives.

In South Africa the whole of last year the issue was this one. At the very least, majority rule was the demand. Those who say there will never be majority rule in South Africa omit to say that during all the time when there is no majority rule there will be bloodshed in the country. And that of course can go on as long as there is human life within the boundaries of our country. But no one should make

the mistake of thinking that we in South Africa are going to accept what no-one else has accepted: to be dominated forever. We started a long time ago. It is impossible to imagine we would suddenly fall back into waiting patiently as we did in 1912, in 1913.

This is not the position, there has been a great transformation and the people have discovered their power — and we do have power in South Africa, power to ensure that we shall have majority rule. And this is placing our demands at the lowest point. A large section of the South African population, the white population, has been living in peace. We have not. They have been thriving on an economy we carried on our shoulders and we've sweated. We are not going to be carrying the economy on our shoulders to ensure our perpetual domination.

So what the ANC is doing is to make the position abundantly clear that we want political power in our country to be placed in the hands of the majority of the people, and we are careful to say that majority is not just all black. We don't talk about races, least of all tribes. We are also clear that it's a wealthy country; thus, when the people have their political power we will ensure that the wealth is distributed fairly. This is the very least we can do. But there will be no racism.

Black Consciousness movement

Perhaps at this point we should deal with the question of black consciousness as the situation tends to be projected in South Africa. In one sense, in the racist context, it is perfectly natural to be conscious of being black. You are reminded of this everywhere you go. Everything reminds you, where you live, where you work, the right to be there to work. You are there to be ruled. The whites are made to be conscious of being white. There is black consciousness as much as there is white consciousness.

That doesn't make black consciousness a movement, however, except that people recognise their separateness. When the



people decide to fight for their rights as blacks, as the most deprived, people are reacting to a situation created for them. But they are not going to stay in that situation all the time, because they are fighting for human rights basically. They are not fighting white people as white people. They are fighting a white system, but not just because its white, although it is presented in that form. But, basically, the struggle is for justice, for human rights. And because it is a struggle for justice, it is capable of being supported by all human beings who support just causes irrespective of what race they belong to. There, it should be possible even in South African situation for many whites to participate and to join and to sacrifice in a struggle to ensure the majority rights.

Now at that point, what is called black consciousness begins to change and increasingly assumes the form of what we have been talking about all the time in the ANC — the struggle for a nonracial South Africa.

In a way we started from the point of black consciousness too, we formed the ANC from just Africans — because the British had delivered themselves of a constitution which cut us out of power. They transferred power to the white settlers and

we had to organise ourselves to defend our rights. But we have not stayed there, we have developed to the position where we expect all the people in South Africa to form part of the movement for the transformation of the social, political and economic situation. Black consciousness, looked at from this point of view, is thus a phase in the struggle. It is not outside the struggle for human rights — on the contrary — it grows into the mainstream which has been set by the African National Congress.

There is no question in our struggle of black on one side and white on the other. We've passed that stage, the world has passed that stage. There are communities where there is no separation. The world is not a black versus white world. And we have never been fighting for a South Africa in which the white people will be driven into the sea. If you are being objective then you must accept that what you are doing is to mobilise and unite all people for justice.

But of course there are attempts to create a movement rival to ANC and to keep this movement different. There is talk about a black consciousness movement which is not the same as the ANC and which has got somehow ultimate

objectives different from those of the ANC. If there were such a group it would have no future. But, in fact, many of the leading young people who have been associated with what has been called the black consciousness movement are themselves growing. They are learning politically, they are in ANC and they have broadened their vision of the issues in South Africa. And their understanding is very clear — they are no less determined to win not just gradual changes in South Africa, but radical immediate changes, under the banners of the ANC.

We think it is necessary to unite our people — the African people, the workers, are the worst victims of that system. But we also consider it vital to be clear about our objectives so that potential friends and supporters should not resist these demands, because they are in the interests of everybody. There should

not be so much black consciousness as a consciousness of the rights of man, about the existence of a regime that oppresses and also those who are opposed to racism, to white exclusiveness. We seek to unite all those who think in South Africa that we should live as fellow citizens and not as at present, with white citizens and black "foreigners".

What you do now have are organisations which have been described as embracing black consciousness. For example, you have the South African Students Organisation (SASO), Black People's Convention and the Black Allied Workers Union — these three are wings of the black consciousness movement. You have other wings. We have had what we called Congress Alliance — a basis for coordinating activities of different organisations created in opposition to the South African regime at the time. Now you have what is called the black consciousness movement, but what you have in the final analysis is a group of organisations which, it is hoped by some, will be the counterpart, the alternative to the ANC.

ANC and PAC were banned. So they began to react to the system and to operate politically when they had started out as civil rights organisations. SASO has begun following the same road. They started out as a body for student affairs and once they became engaged in serious political activities they began getting arrested and persecuted. So they came closer and closer to ANC. They are legal, but their leaders are hunted down and get arrested like everyone else. And so they get to a point where they can't get any further and do what they have to do on their own. So they join the ANC. Members of ANC in South Africa obviously can't admit that they are. When it comes to the serious question of organising and fighting, as opposed to making speeches, then they want to prepare to defend themselves and we have had many join our ranks and cease to be different after all. All these organisations that get formed: if they are innocent they are allowed to operate without their members



being picked up. But if their members are seriously involved in the struggle and want to fight for their rights, the organisation is declared illegal and its members are arrested.

There is a tested path the ANC has followed. Over the past 50 years, the last 10 years were a very violent decade in which the ANC was compelled to advocate publicly the policy of nonviolence. But either we restrained our people or there would have been bloodshed and we would not have been prepared for it. We can say that at that stage we did more than most organisations in resisting the things that drove us to violence.

Ultimately we couldn't resist in this nonviolent way any longer. No one else can find an organisation in South Africa unless they follow the path we have taken. And there's no better definition of the objectives in South Africa than the program of the ANC. As you become more and more serious about what you are saying and what you are doing, you can identify the objectives and your methods of struggle the way we are doing. And that is why from the early days of what is called black consciousness you have the young people moving into this stream of the ANC. And that is why we are taking such a hammering, because I think it is an objective truth that we do constitute a threat to the regime. We have to be worth our name. We are responding to history — the world has a history and South Africa is part of it. It is those who seek to reverse the flow of history who will fail.

Q. How much are the black trade unions, although without rights, able to play a role in the struggle?

A. In spite of the drastic action taken against trade union leaders, the organisation of trade unions, although they are not recognised — side by side with labour organised into recognised unions — has made our workers very class conscious. They are very politically conscious and they understand their despicable lot — the



O. R. Tambo during his visit to the USA

slave wages they continue to earn is due to the fact that they can't influence the centres of political power.

The South African regime is feeling its growing isolation. They are beginning to feel greatly outnumbered and can see this as a threat, so they are beginning to recruit from the underprivileged, offering them privileges and political acceptance in terms of the tribal institutions, now elevated to the level of so-called independent states. This is part of the aim of cushioning themselves off from the general offensive. This has also happened in the economy — here they are encouraging black businessmen in the black areas and in the bantustans through trying to create the puppet regimes. Militarily they have started training blacks to form part of their defence forces to be used again as a shock absorber. Militarily, economically and politically they are creating a "defence line of blacks".

Their motives should be seen for what they are. They refer to these blacks in the army, to the few businessmen emerging in the bantustans, as part of the South Africa that is fighting communism. The

issue is not between whites and blacks. The blacks like Matanzima have their "independence" and they have their bottle stores. And the issue is the fight against "terrorists" who are inspired by communists, and behind them is a big power that is called Russia. But of course they can't change the reality.

Q. What is the strategy now of ANC, regarding armed struggle?

A. There is more reason for it now than ever before. There have been many objective factors which have slowed down our progress, but there are a lot of improvements and we are pursuing this objective very very vigorously. There is no alternative, the history of this part of the world demonstrates that. All the new talk about abolition of petty apartheid is the product of the struggle of the oppressed in this part of the world including in our country. The history of half a century of ANC trying with resolutions, explaining and complaining — that could have gone for another half a century.

All the evidence, all the facts point to armed struggle as not being just a choice but an absolute necessity.

But we haven't started on anything like the scale in South Africa which we will have to in order to change the system. But there is no stagnation, there is progress all the time. Any attempts to eliminate the armed struggle in Southern Africa cannot succeed because the attempts are in themselves to prevent change.

You behave in a certain way because you are committed. Armed struggle involves violence and defiance of death. Therefore, the Soweto action shows that the stage has been reached when people are choosing this method of struggle, which is in the South African context only the beginnings, the really humble beginnings, let alone the brutal slaughter by panic-stricken police that we have seen. That is only the beginning in terms of the scale in which the conflict is bound to develop. The very violence with which the Soweto and other uprisings were met, itself ensures that conflict on a bigger scale is bound to happen.

A Black South African demonstrator being manhandled by white fascist policemen



IMPACT OF THE UNDERGROUND ANC

Edited extracts from a statement to all South Africans, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Soweto uprising, by Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC.

On June 16, it will be one year since the current uprising of our people began in Soweto, and during which the cries of "Amandla Ngawethu, Matla Ke A Rona, Power To The People" and other powerful slogans expressing the aroused determination of our people were heard throughout our country.

Much has been said and written of this glorious chapter of the revolutionary struggle of our people. It has now become evident to all honest assessors and observers of the political situation in our country that the eventual solution of the deep crisis facing South Africa needs a new and radical approach in the interests of the entire people and not just those of the privileged white minority section of our population. Honest and upright representatives of this section of the South African population boldly admit this fact. It has now become totally unrealistic to expect that any solution can be imposed on the oppressed population through naked brute force or via the grand illusion of Bantustan "independence".

Indeed South Africa can never be the same again after the events of June 16. The only true course open before our country is one which leads irrevocably to the ultimate victory of our revolutionary struggle for the seizure of power.

At the beginning of these events it had seemed as though the tried and tested revolutionary vanguard of our struggle, the African National Congress, had for once in its glorious history let the oppressed masses of our country down. Voices were heard proclaiming the African National Congress dead and irrelevant to the situation.

However, as events were developing and with the passage of time, it became impossible to remain deaf and blind to the truth of the powerful impact of the underground African National Congress. Certainly, the regime could no longer afford to lull the white minority section of the population to a comfortable sleep by minimising the challenge posed by the African National Congress and her revolutionary allies. Further evidence of the ANC's role in Soweto and elsewhere is provided by powerful interviews by student leaders, Tebello Motapanyana, Secretary General of the SA Students Movement, Nkosazana Dlamini, Vice President of the SA Students Organisation, and Sikosi Mji a leading member of SASO, which were published in the previous issue of SECHABA our official quarterly organ.

With consistency, especially towards the end of last year, James Kruger, the Minister of Police, made banner headlines in the South African press when he placed the responsibility for every effective counter action against the regime's brutality at the doorstep of the African National Congress and its allies. This includes the reports on the discovery of



Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC

certain quantities of explosives and other materials with which the people were preparing to defend themselves and advance our struggle. This discovery has forcefully emphasised the new stage of preparations reached by the underground ANC to go on an all-out armed offensive against the brutal regime in our country.

Faced with this desperate threat to its existence, the fascist regime in our country has responded in characteristic fashion. Hundreds of our people are presently detained under new "security" laws and some of these like Lindiwe Sisulu, daughter of our former Secretary General, Walter Sisulu, now serving life on South Africa's notorious Robben Island, have spent over a year in continuous detention; scores of our revolutionary compatriots have already perished in Vorster's jails, murdered in cold blood by the thugs of the fascist regime. These include revolutionary leaders of long standing such as Lawrence Ndzanga, Joseph Mdluli, Elmon Malele and many others. A countless number have been

murdered in the streets of our black ghettos in many parts of the country since the beginning of the current uprising.

On the other hand, international imperialism, worried over the rising influence and prestige of our organisation have intensified their search for a viable alternative to the African National Congress. They are doing this because they are convinced that the *fascist regime* cannot possibly withstand the onslaught of our people indefinitely, despite their continuing support.

Having failed to project the Bantustan traitors as the only acceptable and true leaders of the oppressed African majority, attention is now focussed on sections of the Black Consciousness Movement to provide new allies for imperialism. This has intensified after the Soweto events of June 1976. Some of those who only yesterday were hailed as the new revolutionary upsurge inside our country are now important allies of imperialism against the African National Congress. They have totally lost sight of the real enemy.

It should also be pointed out that attempts to knock together a viable "united front" — bringing together the confused mess of reactionary political groupings who call themselves "liberation movements" — has intensified. At the centre of this attempt is found the counter-revolutionary "gang of 8" who only yesterday, when they were still within our organisation, were vocal then, in describing some of their new friends as counter-revolutionary, pro-imperialist saboteurs of the revolutionary struggle of our people. Powerful circles in the imperialist camp have combined with certain international organisations in this crusade against the African National Congress, using all the skill and experience they have accumulated in subverting progressive movements of the people.

The National Executive Committee and its Working Committee have, during all sessions held after the outbreak of the current upsurge of our people, laid

emphasis on the urgency of implementing our plans for the armed confrontation of the enemy of our people.

To this end appropriate directives have been issued to the Revolutionary Council of our organisation to subordinate everything to this central task. Events of the past few months — as reported even in the enemy press — have borne out the advanced level of our preparations. At the same time it is evident that the tempo of mass political actions can still be re-galvanised to high levels, especially if we take cognisance of the recent massive demonstration in Soweto marking the culmination of activities planned for the week of the anniversary of March 21st.

The National Executive Committee welcomes the magnificent actions of practical solidarity displayed by all sections of the black community (African, Coloureds and Indians) during the mass uprisings in 1976. These were joined by the white students in certain parts of the country who demonstrated alongside their black compatriots against the tyranny of the racist regime. The significance of this development can never be over-emphasised.

The participation of large detachments of the black working class in many successful political strikes, especially during the second half of 1976, brought fresh worries to the domestic and international capitalist supporters of the fascist regime. International monopoly capitalists are beginning to show some uneasiness on the way in which their gendarme, the apart-

heid regime, is handling affairs in South Africa. They are beginning to feel that if the present trend of events continue they run the risk of losing their grip on the super-profits they have been reaping so far.

The progressive movement in our country must give all the necessary assistance to its labour wing, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in its efforts to strengthen the trade union movement.

The African National Congress pays constant attention to the strengthening and consolidation of the international solidarity movement with the struggle of our people.

One of the urgent tasks the international solidarity movement should undertake is the building of a powerful campaign for the release of political prisoners and to intensify the campaign to isolate racist South Africa in every sphere; economic, cultural and sporting.

The task of making these positive developments irreversible, rests with the African National Congress and her revolutionary allies, and the other progressive forces throughout the world. Our organisation and all the progressive forces in our country stand poised, ready to execute their share of responsibility — the destruction of the fascist regime and the seizure of power by the people.

Amandla Ngawethu!
Matla ke Arona!
Power to the People!

SA Students in a defiant mood



SOUTHERN AFRICA IN A STATE OF WAR

Statement by Stephen Dhlamini, on behalf of the ANC of South Africa,
at the International Conference in support of the peoples of Zimbabwe
and Namibia, held in Maputo in May

We are here to renew our bonds of solidarity with the brother movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia, the Patriotic Front and SWAPO to declare once again that the African National Congress and the struggling people of South Africa as a whole are pledged to fight side by side with the peoples of these countries for their immediate and genuine national independence.

On the day that this conference began, I had the good fortune to experience for the first time in my life, the exhilaration of stepping on free African soil. I trust that the great people of Mozambique, the militants of their vanguard party, FRELIMO, under the consistently revolutionary leadership of Comrade Samora Machel and his colleagues will accept as sincere our statement that we are deeply moved that at last we have been able to breathe the air of freedom together with them in this historic city of Maputo.

For one who for sixty years has lived every day in fascist bondage and inevitably lived through periods of long imprisonment, solitary confinement and torture, this is an unforgettable moment.

The peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia are today shedding their blood that their countries also should be like Mozambique — free and dedicated to the creation of a new society of genuine equality in all aspects of social life. All those who uphold these ideals owe it as an inter-

nationalist duty to come to the aid of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, to support the positions of the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, to render them the material aid which will enable them to carry out their historic mission of restoring the independence of their respective countries.

Among the ranks of the international movement of solidarity with the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, we consider that the African National Congress and the struggling people of South Africa occupy a unique position which places special responsibilities on our shoulders.

If South Africa is the head and the body politic in Southern Africa, then Zimbabwe and Namibia are the limbs. To amputate the limbs would leave the body paralysed, but to behead it would be to destroy it once and for all. That is why imperialist strategy continues to treat the region as one integral whole. World imperialism is striving to perpetuate the status quo in this region so that it should be able alone to determine the pace and direction of change.

Imperialists try to do this by further entrenching their positions in the region politically, economically and militarily. They have also resorted to an intensive and diplomatic propaganda campaign designed to shift the hopes of the masses of our peoples away from the liberation movements to the very imperialist coun-

tries that are our oppressors and exploiters.

These efforts will, however, not change the realities of the situation in Southern Africa. One of the principal realities is that the only agents of genuine change in the region are the authentic, I repeat, authentic liberation movements. Ranged against them and locked with them in combat are the fascist and colonial regimes acting together in concert and in alliance with the imperialist countries.

Another principal reality in the region is that the masses of the people demand such liberation and independence as will at the same time lead to a radical transformation of the old societies for the benefit of the masses of the ordinary working people. Furthermore, they demand liberation now and not eventually and in the long term.

A third principal reality is that the whole region is in a state of war. The peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa have taken to arms and in other ways stand in mortal confrontation with racism, colonialism and imperialism for the seizure of power, for the forcible transfer of power from the fascist minority to the democratic majority.

Peace will be restored in Southern Africa as a direct outcome of the armed victory of the liberation movements. The peaceful solution of the socio-economic problems that are the essence of colonial, fascist and imperialist domination, will only then become possible.

Southern Africa constitutes one theatre of struggle, with its heart and pivot in South Africa itself. It is because of this that the African National Congress and our struggling people of South Africa have a special responsibility to make it more difficult for the Vorster regime to maintain its colonial hold on Namibia. It is our duty to reduce the capacity of the Vorster regime to aid Ian Smith. For us this means that we must step up the armed offensive against the *apartheid* regime, the common and deadly enemy of the peoples of Southern Africa.

Words will not persuade the racist



Black miners in Johannesburg

regime in South Africa that it must not stand in the way of the genuine and immediate independence of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. The current talks between Vorster and the five western countries, and those which began today between Vorster and the United States vice-president are, despite protestations, not directed towards this objective. Rather they are designed to formulate a programme of action to defend the common interests of the imperialist world by imposing puppet governments in Zimbabwe and Namibia and introducing

meaningless reforms in South Africa. And to ensure the preservation of South Africa as an imperialist outpost on the continent the new Zimbabwe and Namibia are to serve as protective belts.

The attempt to present the Vorster regime as a future liberator of Zimbabwe and Namibia is aimed at legitimizing that regime, breaking its international isolation and negating the decisions of this very organization which has declared *apartheid* a punishable crime against humanity, and which has affirmed the legitimacy of our armed struggle for the seizure of power. In the end, therefore, these imperialist manoeuvres are designed further to enable the Vorster regime to carry out its mission as the gendarme of Southern Africa and the protector of the super profits of the international monopolies.

The deliberate attempt to characterise our struggle as one for civil rights forms an integral part of this strategy. It aims to disarm our people and to force them to move backwards historically to an earlier phase of our struggle, a phase of futile dialogue with the racists for meaningless reforms.

The central issue of our struggle is political power. Again we must repeat that we fight for the seizure of power through armed struggle. We have come to that position at the end of a long evolutionary process of struggle, as a result of the militant experience handed down to us by such giants of our South African liberation movement as Mahatma Ghandi, Chief Albert Luthuli and Eduardo Mondlane.

Those who are still persuaded to dream of a peaceful solution in Southern Africa as a whole, those who seem so acutely concerned with the saving of lives and property, should seize this opportunity to impose economic sanctions and mandatory sanctions against the Vorster regime.

The massacre of Soweto is fresh in our minds. As I speak many parents are still searching for the bodies of their children. Yesterday, our comrade, Winnie Mandela was banished from Johannesburg to the

isolation of the South African countryside. Today, one of my colleagues, Nelson Mandela, who is serving life imprisonment was charged with the violation of prison regulations in Robben Island and discourtesy to those who hold him in bondage. Nobody knows what the sentence will be — starvation, more torture. Whatever the outcome, our people have said, enough! They have risen as never before. In taking our destiny into our own hands, we have ensured our commitment to armed struggle and guaranteed inevitable victory.

We ask the peoples of the world who love freedom to continue to struggle for the total isolation of the Vorster regime; and to continue to render us more material and moral support, to increase our striking power.

'Those who are still persuaded to dream of a peaceful solution in Southern Africa as a whole — who seem so acutely concerned with lives and property, should seize this opportunity to impose economic and mandatory sanctions against the Vorster regime'

The steadfast solidarity of the peoples of Africa, the socialist, non-aligned and Nordic countries and the democratic forces in the West is a necessary component part of our struggle.

It is our fervent hope that the Conference in Lisbon in June and in Lagos in August will help further to consolidate the international solidarity movement with our people and produce new initiatives to defeat the imperialist counter-offensive.

For our part we pledge to step up the struggle to liberate ourselves, and by so doing extend practical solidarity to the brother people of Zimbabwe and Namibia and rid Africa and the world of the threat to peace and international security that reposes in the racist South African regime.

Victory is certain! Power to the People!
A Luta Continua!

MPLA and FRELIMO

Perspectives on the struggle Southern Africa

Extracts from speeches by President Agostinho Neto of Angola, and Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, at the June meetings of the OAU Liberation Committee in Luanda

PRESIDENT NETO

We are aware of the fact that the great European capitals were built primarily through the blood and sweat and patient work of millions of exploited people in our continent, as well as that of the natives of America and Asia. Capitalists at a certain juncture could not continue to exploit the resources of certain countries, so they started to export their capital, so that, in one way or another, they were able to continue to dominate and exploit people. This is the essence of the contradiction which our world is facing today. The principal problem does not lie, nor has it ever lain, in the colour of the skin, nor in the social status of the person. The principal problem lies in the opposition between exploited and exploiters, and dominated and dominators. The contradiction lies between those who own the



President Agostinho Neto of PR Angola

means and those who produce the material goods.

We are living through a historically decisive moment in the liberation of southern Africa. Our continent is not yet completely free from colonialism. In some areas there still is social and economic domination on the part of European and American powers who need to export their capital and their technology.

The struggle in Zimbabwe — what is its character? What are the objectives that this struggle aims to accomplish? It is obvious that only the people of Zimbabwe can give adequate answers to these questions. Nevertheless, there are facts which we cannot hide. In Zimbabwe there is exploitation; there is domination and abuse on the part of a certain social class against the people of Zimbabwe. This people can no longer accept slavery. This is the reason for the violent confrontation.

Who exploits and who dominates? It is the British. The leaders of the oppression in Zimbabwe are British, not Africans. Those who control the economy are British, or a British ally. Those who dominate the social scene, as happened here in Angola with the Portuguese, are British. The organizations of defence and repression — the army, the police, the security — are British. We have no doubts in saying that those who control political power in Zimbabwe at the moment are the representatives of the British ruling class — this means, representatives of British capitalists, allied, of course, with the racists of South Africa, with French and German reactionaries, as well as with the whole imperialist machine.

In Zimbabwe, there still is a colonial situation. To solve this situation, the British colonialists, disguised as Rhodesians or not, must relinquish power and the people of Zimbabwe must take full control. We here in Angola view with great reserve certain definitions which point to a path of demands, elections for a black majority, even if this is done just

as a tactic of struggle. This tactic of misleading the people will not lead to any results. What is necessary is for the British, and their middlemen who live in Rhodesia, to relinquish power and hand it over to the Africans ...

Namibia is occupied by the South African army, which also means that there is economic occupation by South Africa. The people of Namibia should be free from the South African racist to develop in freedom ...

In South Africa itself, one of the most serious class confrontations in the history of the African continent is now taking place. And there is no doubt that it will be the South African working class which will assume power. This is the one goal we should support — to liberate the millions of the southern part of the continent. The problem is not, nor has it ever been, one of race alone. Race is just an excuse used for the domination of one class by another. We, here in Angola, refuse to accept that the main problem of Africa is one of race.

It is up to the peoples to remain vigilant. It is up to them to demand complete independence and liberty and to choose the socio-political system that each feels is most suitable. The colonialists are very busy setting up commissions, working groups and conferences to try to reconcile certain interests between their groups and the dominated peoples, especially to reconcile the interests of the future leaders of the dominated countries and their own monopolies.

One must not forget the need for armed struggle in any area in which the enemy exists. We believe that only through armed struggle will it be possible to defeat the oppressors in this world. It will not be through negotiations and conferences that people will become independent. There is a struggle of interests, a struggle which is carried out today by imperialists, and the interest of one social group to dominate all others.

It was armed struggle which brought into the limelight the problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia. It is necessary,

then, to intensify this armed struggle. And, in our view, it is necessary immediately to intensify support for the liberation struggle of the people of Southern Africa, because the people of these brother countries are without doubt the ones who have suffered most the humiliation caused by social segregation — political segregation — imposed by one class on another. They are the ones who feel more intensely in their flesh the fascist claws. Armed struggle clearly provokes reaction on the part of the enemy, violent reaction and unjust reaction. But that is reality. Mozambique and, to a lesser degree, Botswana and Zambia have been attacked. They have been attacked by racists who are still offering resistance in order to maintain their supremacy in every country in southern Africa.

Angola is not at the moment speaking on behalf of the frontline states, but is speaking as a frontline state to say that our support for the countries of Southern Africa will not be merely a collection of words, but concrete acts which will express our solidarity with the peoples of other countries.

At this meeting the delegates will take decisions. May the comrades who are still fighting for independence and liberty, who need arms, training camps, food, uniforms, boots, caps, money, blankets, rucksacks, tents, be able to collect these material goods from every African country. And if we independent Africans philosophically understand these problems of liberation, what can we do from a material point of view? Let us contribute to the liberation of our continent in a concrete way. At least Angola is politically able to give not only material aid, even if this means sacrifices for the Angolan peoples. We are going to make a material contribution to the other peoples of Southern Africa. Each African country has internal forces able to bring about revolutionary change. Nevertheless it is necessary to speed up the transformation, our duty to contribute to this magnificent process of liberation through which we are now living.

I hope that this meeting will make a genuine contribution to the advance of the liberation struggle in Africa — in armaments, in air and land transport, in food — a contribution which will be budgeted for by every African country. In this way we will be worthy of ourselves.

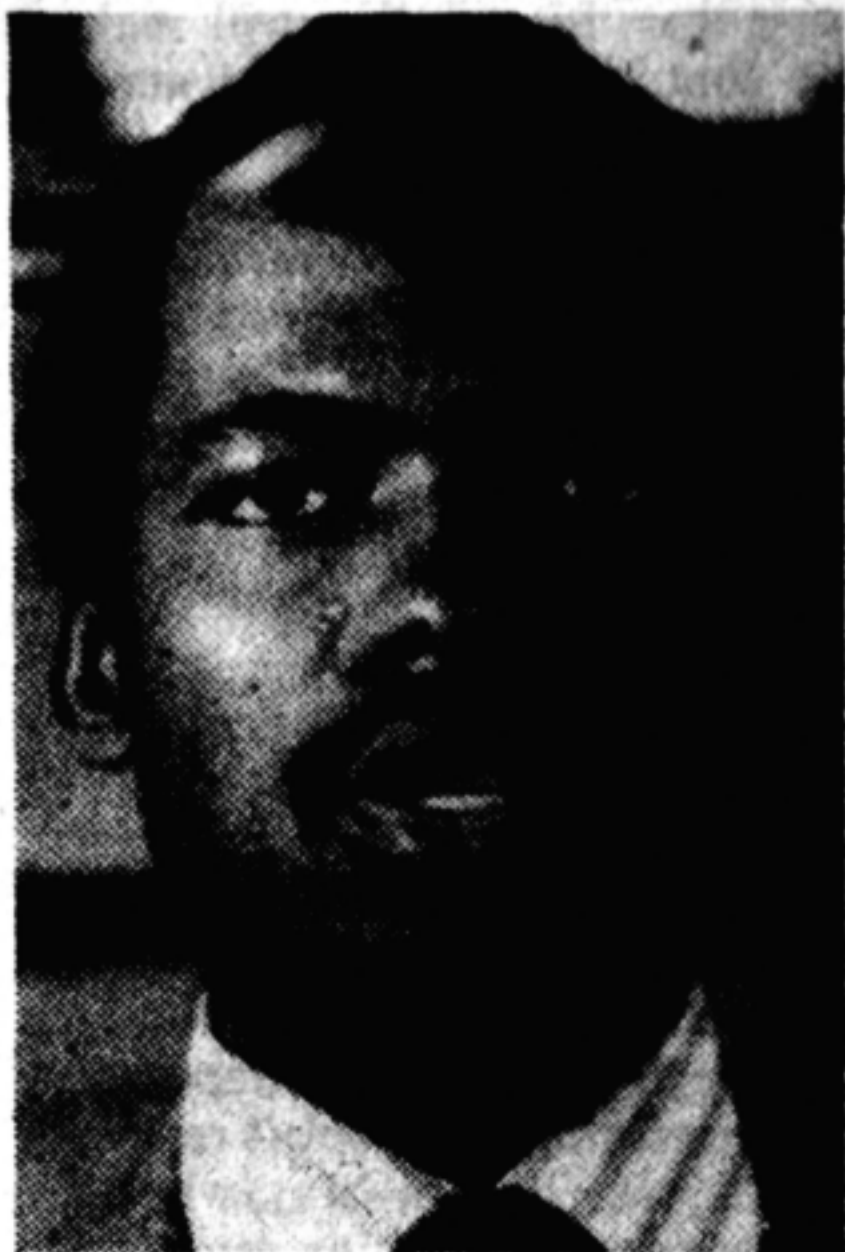
The struggle continues! victory is certain!

Joaquim Chissano

Comrades; we are meeting in Luanda, capital of the PRA, at a moment when, with their weapons still in their hands, the Angolan people, led by the MPLA, are fighting the manoeuvres of imperialism aimed at destroying the people's regime of Angola. It was on 27th May when the preparations for this meeting were in full swing, that splittist individuals, controlled by international imperialism, tried to divide the people, to weaken the Angolan people and remove the esteemed leader of the Angolan people, Dr Agostinho Neto, and thus remove people's power from the Angolan working masses.

Long experience of struggle of the Angolan people against colonialism, internal reaction, external aggression and mercenaries once again enabled the MPLA to unmask the manoeuvre and neutralize reaction. The MPLA and the Angolan Government knew that this imperialist manoeuvre was not only confined within their borders, but was aimed at destabilising the independence of all independent African countries and obstructing the achievement of total independence of the peoples in southern Africa. It was thus that despite sacrifices, despite the practical difficulties of a country which has just freed itself from the colonial yoke, and despite the difficulties created by imperialism, the MPLA, Government and the Angolan people spared no effort to create these superb conditions for our meeting.

Comrades, the best way to thank our brothers for their sacrifices would be by



**Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano
of PR Mozambique**

adopting correct positions at this meeting. We must decide here to support, in a positive manner, the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe at this moment under the Patriotic Front, the freedom fighters in Namibia under SWAPO — the legitimate and only representative of the Namibian people — and the fighters in South Africa.

We are already fully aware that our liberation struggle is a struggle against imperialism. It is a struggle of the exploited against the exploiters. It is a class struggle. Any hesitation, any excuse intended to retard support for these movements in their struggle for liberation would put us on the side of the manoeuvres of the imperialist powers. The imperialist powers intend to divide the classes, to weaken the liberation movements and hamper the conquest of power by the popular masses in Zimbabwe, in Namibia and in South Africa. Not satisfied with this manoeuvre, the imperialists resort to destabilising sovereign states in Africa by using every means from economic sabotage — creat-

ing conditions conducive to under-production — to armed aggression.

Thus, while the PRA was faced with an attempted coup, the People's Republic of Mozambique was once again attacked in an unprecedented manner by the combined forces of the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. This is a challenge to the liberation movements, to the Coordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa and to the OAU in general. We must not let the enemy intimidate us. We must not let the enemy continue to gain time to consolidate his manoeuvres of Turnhalle and of the so-called peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian problem.

These settlements do not satisfy the interests of the popular masses of those countries. The international conference, which was jointly organized by the UN and the OAU in Maputo in support of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, drew up the masterplans of action which the international community must implement to speed up the process towards the achievement of independence by these people. Our committee, which is meeting here, must take much more energetic measures. The Committee must not make unnecessary compromises, neither must it compromise itself to the detriment of the African revolution.

The eloquent speech of President Agostinho Neto, has given us clear guidelines for our proceedings. We hope to be able to draw profitable lessons for these valuable thoughts, because they come from a leader who has been tempered in the struggle and whose internationalist solidarity is known by all of us here.

We reiterate our renewed determination to continue to give our unqualified support to all the peoples fighting for their liberation, regardless of the sacrifices to the People's Republic of Mozambique. We are sure of victory.

Long live the liberation struggle of the African peoples; long live the African revolution; long live the OAU; long live the Angolan people; long live the MPLA. The struggle continues; victory is certain!

An Afro-Panian Tall-Order

*Poem by one of the young militants who left South Africa
for further training after the uprisings of 1976*

A liar tells me to tell the truth;
A dishonest man counsels me honesty;
A brute advises me non-violence;
A robber reminds me: "Thou Shalt Not
Steal";
An aggressor encourages me modesty!

How can I love a man
Who robbed
And raped
The Khoi-San?

How can I love a man
Who extended
The refreshment station and exterminated
The nomadic Bushman and the Bantu
village?

How can I love a man
Who humiliated
The Xhosa and annihilated
The Zulu?

How can I love a man
uShaaka denounced
uDingaane renounced
And uNgqika disapproved of?

How can I love a man
Who assaulted
The Matebele and insulted
The Barotshe?

How can I love a man
Who challenged
The Basotho and changed
Grique territories?

How can I love a man
Who hires
The miner and pays him with gun-fire?

How can I love a man
Who substituted
The jungle-tree with a sky-scraper and
instituted
Survival of the hunter?

How can I love a man
Who hunts
Cheap Bantu labour and haunts
"Cheap" Bantu comfort?

How can I love a man
Who smiles
With Banda and smashes
Tiro?

How can I love a man
Who speaks
With Leabua and spits
At the migratory labourer?

How can I love a man
Who hugs
The Rhodesian and hurts
The Zimbabwean?

How can I love a man
Who guns
The Angolan and greets
The Amerikan?

How can I love a man
Who shakes
Hands with Kaunda and shoots
The Proletariat?

How can I love a man
Who libelled
My ancestors and labels
My contemporaries?
How? How can I?
Lest you exhaust my sanity!

World Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa

Lisbon, June 1977

GENERAL STATEMENT

The World Conference against Apartheid Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa from 16-19 June, 1977, in Lisbon, attended by 203 UN, national and international organisations, has taken place at a time when the forces of change in the world have decisively swung for unified action to eliminate racism, exploitation, colonialism and apartheid, the evils which are the scourge of mankind in our present era. International activity of progressive forces today is characterized by actions of solidarity with liberation movements by national and international groups through direct support and conferences to the same effect. This World Conference against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa is one such action in the world tide.

The Conference has been held in an atmosphere of a new democratic Portugal because the struggle of the Portuguese people combined with the struggles of the revolutionary movements in former Portuguese colonies resulted in the overthrow of fascism on April 25, 1974. The conference is also being held in a fitting background of the Soweto anniversary, an event which pricks the conscience of the world on the urgency to eliminate the evils of racism and apartheid practiced by the South African regime.

The independence of Angola and Mozambique broke the chain of colonialism and racism in Southern Africa and altered the balance of forces decisively in favour of the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Under the aegis of the OAU the independent states of Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique have bound themselves into a vanguard of the African and international struggle against apartheid, racism and colonialism in Southern Africa.

The liberation movements in Southern Africa, the ANC in South Africa,

CONTRE AGAINST CONTRA
O APARTHEID O RACISMO E O COLONIALISMO
NA ÁFRICA AUSTRAL
CONFERÊNCIA MUNDIAL LISBOA 26 a 29.6.1977



A view off the Conference Presidium in Lisbon

SWAPO in Namibia and the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe have made tremendous gains in their armed struggle against the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. They are scoring victories, "forward ever and backward never". Though victory is certain the struggle in Southern Africa is facing counter-attacks and counter-manoeuvres from the racists, and their sponsors. All aimed at the survival of racism.

The Vorster regime is establishing Bantustans and attaching the label of independence in an effort to balkanise South Africa and create permanent institution of apartheid. In Namibia the Vorster regime is battling to impose the so-called "multi-ethnic democracy" which is another form of institutionalised apartheid.

In Rhodesia, the Smith regime under the so-called "internal settlement scheme" is trying to gain legitimacy by seeking black collaborators who will give a further lease of life to racist domination. Both these racist regimes have taken to genocide of the African population as an extermination policy to ensure the survival of white racism.

A new phenomenon, as an apology for racism in Southern Africa, are the so-called Anglo-American constitutional efforts in Rhodesia and Namibia, which are based not on fulfilling UN resolutions, but on giving credibility and legitimacy to the Vorster regime in bringing about change in those countries. As a result, the racist regimes have felt so encouraged that they feel free to carry out aggression on the frontline states of

Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia and Angola, with impunity.

The World Conference resolves to fight apartheid, racism and colonialism in Southern Africa and elsewhere to the bitter end.

The Conference addresses a special word of concern to the churches and mission agencies operating in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. A large part of the christian world is held in suspicion by the oppressed people of Southern Africa. They have been seen for too long to be on the side of the oppressing powers. In the present situation there is an urgent need for the Christian Churches to reassess their responsibilities and also actively cooperate with those who, as progressive movements, are fulfilling their humanitarian aims and working for justice.

The Conference notes that the struggle of the national liberation movements, and its success strengthens international peace and security.

The Conference expresses its full support of the role played by the Socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and progressive African countries, in assisting in the defence of the frontline states and calls for the redoubling of such efforts as part of the progressive mankind's internationalist duty to help crush fascism wherever it raises its head.

In the case of South Africa:

Apartheid stands condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity. It is further condemned by the United Nations as constituting a threat to peace and international security. It emanates from colonial domination and manifests itself as an institutionalised racism used as a weapon for ruthless plunder, exploitation and unparalleled social deprivation of the indigenous people to the benefit of the white ruling class and international imperialism.

The international legal status enjoyed by this regime, which denies the majority

of the indigenous people the basic political and human rights is in itself an eloquent testimony of the dominance enjoyed by the imperialist powers at the time South Africa was granted recognition as an independent and sovereign state. *The Conference endorses the position of the African National Congress which declares that the people of South Africa, like those of Namibia and Zimbabwe, are a colonised people. The Conference further endorses the position of the United Nations declaring the Pretoria regime illegitimate. In doing so, it notes with satisfaction that the African National Congress, the vanguard movement spearheading a broad alliance of the indigenous people and other oppressed black people including white democrats recognises the fact that the white population in South Africa have severed ties with their respective metropolises: That they recognise South Africa as their homeland.*

It is for that reason that the Conference fully endorses and hails the ANC position reflected in the Freedom Charter which declares that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the majority of the people.

It is on this basis that the Conference reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle for the overthrow of the apartheid regime and the seizure of power by the people, a position recently adopted by the United Nations. We consider the struggle for a democratic state in South Africa in which the birth right of all individuals and national groups will be secured, as a just struggle which demands full and answering support by all justice and peace-loving forces the world over.

The Conference notes with satisfaction that the struggle in South Africa has entered a decisive phase. The selfless determination displayed by the students, the workers and peasants, no doubt marks the beginning of the end of white supremacy rule. And with the balance of forces having drastically changed in

favour of the liberation movements in Southern Africa, thanks to the victories of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola, the victory of the South African people is no longer in doubt.

Having heard the leaders of the African National Congress, the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the frontline states as well as heads of delegations of countries and organizations supporting the Liberation Movements, the Conference concludes that the Vorster and Smith regimes, acting in collusion with the imperialist powers have embarked on frantic and desperate manoeuvres in a vain attempt to stem the tide of revolution in Southern Africa.

The Conference strongly condemns the imperialist countries who continue to supply genocidal weapons to the Vorster regime in order to enhance its repressive and aggressive capacity.

The Conference in particular condemns the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Israel, Italy, the Pak Jung Hi clique of South Korea, and others for their military collaboration with the Apartheid regime. It declares that these countries have become active accomplices in the atrocities and massacres committed by the Pretoria regime against innocent children, workers and peasants in South Africa as well as the aimed invasion against the neighbouring African states.

The Conference further condemns France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States and Israel for nuclear collaboration with South Africa, an act deliberately designed to help the fascist regime to achieve its ambition towards the production of atomic weapons, as part of its aggressive designs against the African countries.

The Conference notes that, faced with the realization of the inevitable defeat of the Pretoria regime, thanks to the heroic efforts of the South African people led by the African National Congress actively supported by the Socialist countries, the frontline states, the OAU, the Non-aligned countries and the progressive forces in the capitalist countries, the

Vorster regime and its traditional allies, the imperialist countries have embarked on new strategies of deception. The diplomatic offensive by the five western Security Council members aimed at salvaging the Vorster regime from isolation, by projecting it as the liberator of Zimbabwe, was strongly condemned. And so was the Carter Administration's neo-colonialist proposed solution, whose first step is the installation of puppet regimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia for the purpose of serving as buffer zones to protect imperialist interests and buying the Vorster regime time for its Bantustan programme.

In reaffirming the condemnation of the Bantustans, the Conference notes that the creation of these puppet tribal enclaves is part of the strategy aimed against the liberation struggle. The Conference reaffirms its opposition to the so-called independent Transkei and pledges to wage a world-wide campaign against any tacit recognition of this puppet creation as well as that of Bophuthatswana whose so-called independence is scheduled for December 6, 1977.

The Conference affirms that Zionism and apartheid are twin forces of racism.

The Conference pledges to wage a world-wide campaign for the ever-increasing financial and material support for the African National Congress as well as its recognition as the sole authentic Liberation Movement in South Africa.

In the case of Namibia:

The Conference declares that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, in blatant defiance of the expressed wishes of the Namibian people and the broadest section of international opinion, constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

In spite of efforts by South Africa and her western supporters to create a false picture of the political reality in Namibia by contending that there are many political groups in the country, delegates are

convinced that SWAPO is the only true and authentic liberation movement in Namibia and that all material, political and moral support should be given to it.

The national liberation struggle by the Namibian people under their vanguard organisation, SWAPO, is both just and imperative in view of South African intransigent refusal to evacuate from Namibia in compliance with the UN resolutions on Namibia.

The so-called constitutional conference at Turnhalle, or other similar manoeuvres, are dangerous frauds aimed at the unilateral transformation of Namibia from a classic colony to a neo-colony of South Africa thus the urgent need for its complete repudiation. All UN member states are under moral and legal obligation to assist in bringing about Namibia's true and complete national independence in the shortest possible time.

Namibian territory has been used as a springboard by the South African racist army to carry out a series of acts of military aggression against independent African States, particularly the People's Republic of Angola and Zambia and that appropriate measures should be taken to put an end to those acts of aggression.

Since SWAPO is the only vanguard organisation of the Namibian struggle, all diplomatic action by one or more nations aimed at forcing South Africa to hand over power to the Namibian people must be taken only in consultation with and the approval of SWAPO. To do the contrary, will only lead to an intensified war.

After listening to the latest inside information from SWAPO delegation concerning "contacts" between the five western envoys, current members of the Security Council and South Africa on the question of Namibia's independence, the conference delegates feel that:

- a) South Africa is not prepared to transfer complete political power to the Namibian people peacefully, and;
- b) South Africa is using the so-called contacts to buy time in order to con-

solidate her politico-military position in Namibia;

The Conference is in full agreement with and supports SWAPO's correct stand to negotiate with South Africa, strictly on the mechanics for transferring political power to the Namibian people provided South Africa unconditionally complies with SWAPO's stated preconditions that include the unconditional release of all political prisoners and a solid commitment by South Africa to withdraw her army and police force from Namibia.

In the case of Zimbabwe:

In Zimbabwe the armed liberation struggle has reached a crucial stage as the revolutionary forces of the Patriotic Front are pressing the racist forces from all angles of Rhodesia. The Rhodesian racists facing definite defeat are indulging in desperate actions of murdering scores and scores of innocent lives daily. They are carrying out inexcusable murderous aggressions on the neighbouring countries in the hope of extinguishing the patriotic fire of liberation.

The World Conference on Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa takes grave concern at the increase of mercenaries that go to make up the racist army of Rhodesia strangely from those countries that are at the same time purporting to be carrying out initiatives to bring about peaceful settlement in Rhodesia, in particular Great Britain, the USA, West Germany and France.

The Conference further notes that the racist regime of Rhodesia survives on military hardware and economic institutions of these countries.

The World Conference takes the view that as long as those violations of UN resolutions on sanctions against Rhodesia take place under the noses of the Governments of these countries the so-called Anglo-American initiatives on Rhodesia can never gain credibility and are, to say the least, pretentious.

The World Conference considers that the armed liberation struggle as waged by the Patriotic Front is the surest method of eliminating racism and colonialism in Zimbabwe. The Conference therefore gives full support to the Patriotic Front as the sole and genuine representative of the struggling people of Zimbabwe. To this end the Conference calls upon all national and international forces opposed to apartheid, racism and colonialism in Southern Africa to give full moral political support to the Patriotic Front.

The Conference reaffirms the stand of the Patriotic Front that the situation in Zimbabwe is a war situation and its settlement can only mean settlement of the war between the forces locked in combat that is, the British Government on the one hand and the Patriotic Front on the other. Such settlement must mean direct transfer of total power to the struggling people of Zimbabwe.

The Conference calls upon the international community to mobilise every possible political, moral and practical support for the liberation of the people in Southern Africa.

Conference Message to the People of South Africa

We, the participants of the World Conference on Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism meeting in Lisbon, from 16-19 June, 1977 extend, through the African National Congress, your vanguard organisation spearheading the broad alliance of workers, peasants and revolutionary students, fraternal greetings on this historic occasion the first anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

Your resolute, selfless and heroic struggle for the overthrow of the apart-

heid regime and for the seizure of power by the people selfdetermination, true independence and radical social transformation enjoys the unswerving support of the progressive forces the world over.

The system you are fighting to overthrow stands condemned as a crime against humanity. The perpetrators of this crime, the Vorster regime which is armed to the teeth by its traditional allies the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Israel and others, has been condemned as constituting a threat to peace and international security. The unflinching stand you have taken in the struggle for national liberation is also a vanguard role in the internationalist fight for the peace and international security. Your struggle deserves the full support by democratic mankind, committed to fight fascism wherever it rears its ugly head.

We therefore solemnly pledge to spare no effort in helping to strengthen your striking power — thus hastening the downfall of this barbaric regime headed by John Balthazar Vorster, the self-confessed Nazi. Today you fight stone in hand. Our internationalist duty compels us to ensure that tomorrow you confront these murderers of innocent children on relatively equal terms. It cannot be otherwise for, we are convinced that the Vorster regime permanently threatens the entire continent of Africa.

In paying the glowing tribute to your unparalleled heroism, we accept your revolutionary message calling on us not to mourn the death of those fallen in battle but to help you avenge these world martyrs and ensure that their sacrifice is not in vain. Under the banner of the African National Congress, the sole authentic liberation movement of South Africa, we pledge our unequivocal support to your struggle whose objective is the seizure of political power. That way you will help frustrate the desperate attempts by international imperialism designed to promote counter-revolutionary forces as obstacles to your arduous and noble struggle.

Message from the O.A.U.

Mr. Osanya Nyyeque congratulated the participants on behalf of the Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity, His Excellency William Eteki Mboumoua. Mr. Nyyeque said that the conference assumed greater importance because it was taking place during the first anniversary of the unprovoked Soweto massacres. "In the face of the growing intransigence and brutality of the racist regimes of Southern Africa, in their determination to frustrate the efforts for liberation of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, it is incum-

bent upon the international community to do all in their power to crush foreign domination and oppression and dislodge the racist regimes from power. The Soweto and other uprisings are irrefutable evidence that the oppressed people of Southern Africa can no longer bear the indignities of white domination. They are determined to die for their motherland whatever the human sacrifices. In wishing your conference success we would like to reiterate the OAU commitment to the liberation cause in Africa and the fight against injustice. I am confident that your endeavours and those of all peace loving peoples committed to the liberation of Southern Africa will be abundantly rewarded ... Victory and freedom to the oppressed masses of South Africa!"

Message from the President of Botswana

From Sir Seretse Khama, President of the Republic of Botswana:

"To a world which has become so used to all kinds of tragedies, the Soweto massacre of school children may have become part of the unhappy history of South Africa never to be remembered again, but to those of us who live in this part of the African Continent the Soweto massacre, like Sharpeville before it, will remain fresh in our minds for a very long time to come, and certainly until apartheid has been eliminated from South Africa and from the world at large.

Thus the first anniversary of Soweto is a reminder to *all* of us that as long as apartheid remains, the orders of the day in South Africa — tragedies like Soweto and Sharpeville — are bound to occur with increasing frequency.

It is all the more imperative, therefore, that we should leave no room for compro-

mise, nor should we spare any effort in our global war against this pernicious policy. The world has made its position clear vis a vis apartheid and racial discrimination in general. The United Nations has declared apartheid "a crime against humanity". The Lusaka Manifesto has described the policy as "violence against human dignity". The Soweto massacre of young innocent children has confirmed all these. What remains to be done even at this late hour is for mankind to summon its will to do more than simply moralise about the brutality of apartheid and its evil manifestations. There has to be more meaningful pressure exerted on those who practise apartheid if there is to be any chance of the policy being arranged once and for all.

May I end by wishing you success in your deliberations. I wish you success not because I believe you have suddenly found the final solution to Soweto tragedies, but because I have the conviction that as long as pressure is exerted on those who practise apartheid in South Africa, the victims of this policy will not feel the world has abandoned them."

AGAINST APARTHEID CULTURE

Document submitted by the ANC of South Africa
to the Lisbon Conference

The battle of progressive humanity for the total and final elimination of the vile and preposterous system of colonialism in Africa has entered its final stage. The inevitability of victory has moved the people on the last barricades of struggle — from the Horn of Africa to the southernmost shores of the continent — to acts of unprecedented heroism. In South Africa our people, after more than three centuries of brutal national oppression, are asserting their wish to be free with inspiring bravery.

Despite its inevitability, we are under no illusion that victory will come easily. It is not the first time that our heroic people have confronted shot and shell of the oppressor, and the African National Congress has repeatedly declared that repression and mass murder are the essence of the apartheid system.

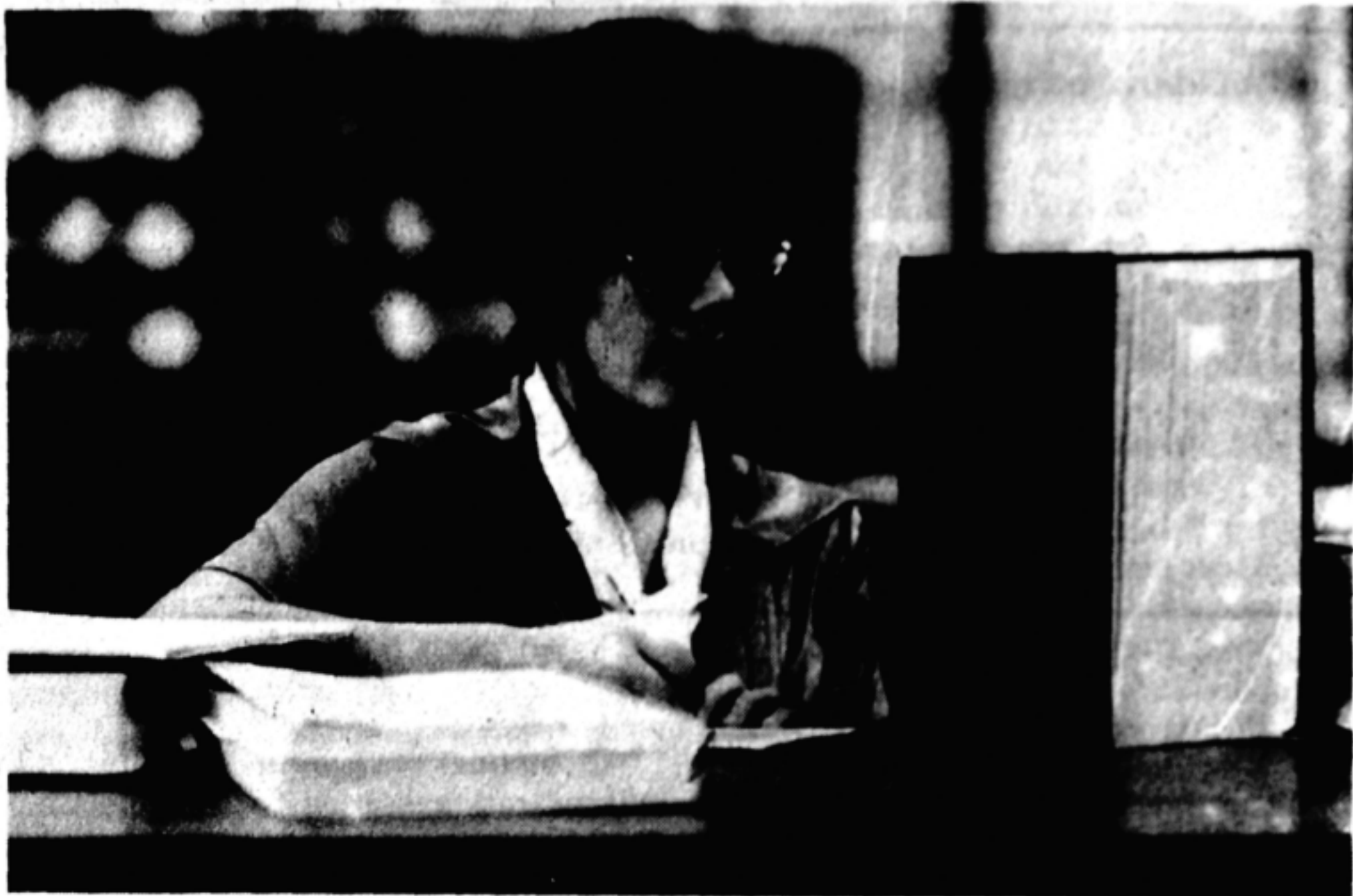
Apartheid, we all know, is the reactionary force directed by the White racist minority against the black majority. To justify national oppression of the Black people and their control by fascist methods, the white colonial regime upholds a false racist philosophy which seeks to disguise murderous practices with a mantle of divine inspiration and natural law. By means of State power and spurious theorising and philosophising, the racists attempt to justify the pernicious system of apartheid.

Attempting to give a spiritual and cultural rationalisation for their racism, the 'thinkers' and propagandists of the white minority must dig their own intellectual graves. A document produced by the State Information Department, Pretoria, called "Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality" gives what the racists consider to be the theoretical and cultural basis for apartheid.

It states: "The domination of White over black is justified by the regimes through right to this land on the strength of three historical realities: purposeful and uninterrupted occupation and habitation, effective and sustained economic development, and effective and continuous political control."

For the purposes of the international community, the whites merely "arrived" in South Africa. The wars of conquest against indigenous peoples should be forgotten; such laws as the Land Act of 1913, by which the whites appropriated 87 per cent of the territory, should be ignored; as well as the realities of black presence in South Africa, their participation in "sustained economic development" and the denial to them of "effective and continuous political control."

The key to understanding the social and political structure of South Africa, we are told, lies in a "balanced appraisal of the



Two South African students one white and the other Black

unique diversity of cultures ... and the differing levels of socio-economic and political sophistication". These differing levels, it seems, are the choice of the black people, not the result of the apparatus which denies them the right to attain any higher level. Was it not Verwoerd who said, "When I have control of native education I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them"?

But contemptuous of other people's ability to question their claims, the South African authorities do not hesitate to boast that the whites are "culturally the most homogeneous and politically and

'Unity of the oppressed is the nightmare that haunts white supremacy'

socio-economically the most sophisticated and most developed of the four major groups." The inference is that this sophis-

tication and development are natural to the white people and has nothing to do with their assumption of all the power in the country.

Thus "black South Africans are not a single, homogeneous, integrated group". They are "politically, economically and educationally the least advanced of the four major demographic divisions" and to emphasise the alleged natural superiority of the whites, "history placed the white nation of the Republic in a position of guardianship over these black peoples".

The white racists greatly fear the homogeneity of the oppressed black people. Unity of the oppressed, politically, economically and culturally, is the nightmare that haunts white supremacy, and among its first projects were those designed to prevent any attempt at national unity.

A spurious cultural theory tries to justify the policy of divide and rule, by equating outmoded tribal and ethnic groups with distinct nations. Tribal differences are conveniently classified as

and the differences in their conditions of learning



cultural differences and everybody has been pigeon-holed into "geometrically defined areas called "homelands" irrespective of historical realities which show the large numbers of black people long inhabited regions now defined as "white areas."

The white rulers insist that each ethnic group is "desirous of maintaining its separate identity." But at no time were the African people, for that matter Coloured or Asiatic people, consulted about this. Blacks were not present in the first legislatures to decide upon their future, nor are they represented today.

In fact this divisive scheme was emphatically rejected when representatives of the tribal groups gathered in 1912 to unite their people in what was to become the African National Congress. The most astonishing feature of that conference was the number of tribes who sent representatives. There were Zulus, Xhosas, Tswana, Sothos, Vendas, Shanganas, Tongas and others... The ANC realised from the outset that the problem of forging unity among Africans was the key

to our freedom struggle. The formation of the ANC therefore marked the birth of a nation whose foundation was laid in the stirring call by Dr P.I. Seme when in 1911 he declared: "The demon of racialism, the abberations of Xhosa-Fingo feuds, the animosity that exists between Zulus and the, Tongas, between the Basuto and every other native, must be buried and forgotten. We are one people." The struggle of the African majority of South Africa to overthrow the pernicious apartheid regime and white supremacy as a whole, therefore represents the dynamic cultural unity of the people aspiring to genuine nationhood.

In the words of the late Amilcar Cabral: "The exercise of imperialist domination demands cultural oppression and the attempt at direct or indirect liquidation of what is essential in the subject people's culture. But this people is able to create and develop a liberation movement only because it keeps its culture alive in the teeth of permanent and organised repression of its cultural life — only because, its politico-military resist-



A home in a white residential area

ance being destroyed, it continues to resist culturally. And it is cultural resistance which, at a given moment, may take on new forms (political, economic, armed) to confront foreign domination”.

Having had to suspend the armed struggle in the 19th century as a result of superior firepower of the colonialists and

‘Faced with the growing movement for national liberation, the racists have done everything in their power to implement the Bantustan policy’

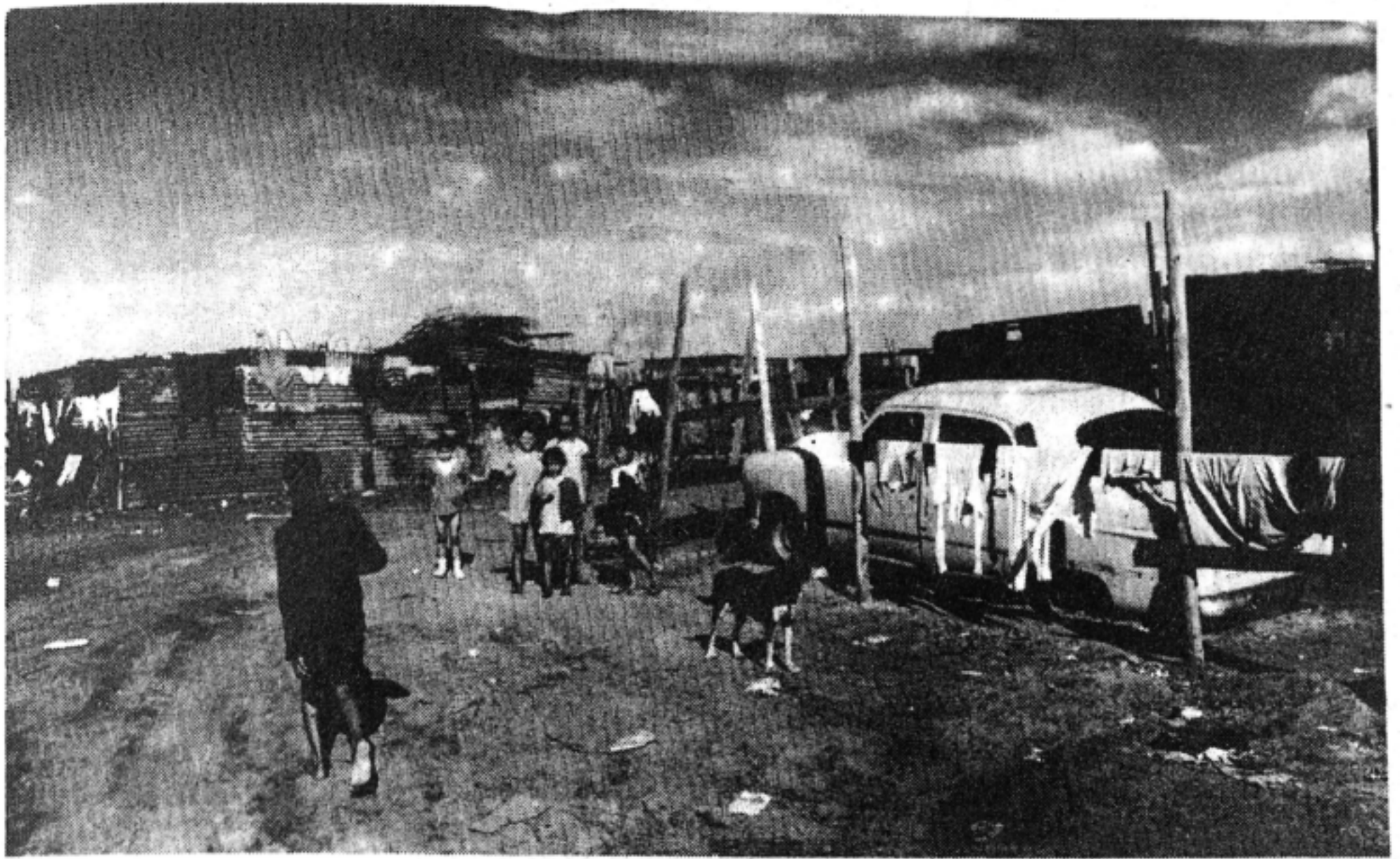
uncoordinated and divided opposition by the various tribes, the African people had to consider new forms of struggle. This gave rise to the modern struggle against white supremacy, led and developed by the African National Congress.

Faced with the growing movement for national liberation, the racists have been doing everything in their power to implement the Bantustan policy in the hope that this would satisfy the national and cultural aspirations of the people. John E.

Fobes of UNESCO stated correctly, “South Africa has made much of her protection of separate cultures. What does this amount to? We have in South Africa a government-imposed ‘traditionalism’ — in fact the use of traditional culture to maintain the legitimacy of a culture of domination ... The Republic’s protection of culture means for Africans the external trappings of once-great cultures reduced to the folkloric and to caricature”.

It must be pointed out again that race discrimination is not the sole invention of the present rulers of South Africa. Successive governments in the hands of the minority population have contributed to the construction of the monster which bestrides our country. Having achieved power the present government set out to consolidate the racist structure whose tentacles penetrate all spheres of life: political, economic, social, residential, educational, enforcing their policy by means of a vast police and military machinery to back up the administrative.

Culture and social contact between



„Plakkers“ a transit camp near Belville not far from Cape Town to which people have been shunted after their homes in Cape Town were razed to the ground

black and white are hampered by the rigorous application of the apartheid policy. Africans, Coloureds (mixed descent) and Asiatics go into the “white” areas only to work in industry and commerce, or as domestic servants, or to purchase goods. Non-Africans may not visit an African township without a special permit.

Apartheid determines the location of each racial group, what kind of education they must receive, within what group they may marry, what type of trade or profession they may adopt, under which circumstances members of different communities may meet. The Population Registration Act categorises each member of South African society, black and white. Under the Group Areas Act, homes, schools, churches have been lost to various communities.

Halls, theatres, sportsfields are segregated and the best amenities being situated in “white” areas, permission is required by blacks to use them, which permission is usually refused. The law allows no artists of different races to

perform together or mixed audiences to attend a theatre or cinema.

White it is difficult to prevent radio programmes being available to the general population, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) has special “Bantu” programmes and “Coloured” programmes. It is typical of the regime’s “separate development” policy that when two Black children tried to enter for the SABC’s Beethoven Centenary competition, they were debarred for the reason that Beethoven was a white man and the blacks should concentrate on their own music! Recently single-channel television was introduced, strictly controlled by the apartheid authorities, and without the broadcasting of “liberal nonsense” and, in the words of the then Minister of National Education, Senator Van der Spuy, in 1971, with the spirit of healthy conservatism in the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking communities. Attempting to insulate their own and the rest of the population from any progressive influences, thousands of books from abroad have been banned under the

'Tribal differences are conveniently classified as cultural differences . . . the external trapping of one-great cultures are reduced to caricature'

Publications and Entertainment Act, the Customs and Excise Act, and the Suppression of Communism Act. Dissemination of news is controlled by laws and open threats.

In order for the racist state to last, the minds of the population must be controlled from an early age. Basically, education in South Africa is designed according to the tenets of 'Christian National Education' as initiated by F.A.K. (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural organisations). *The programme of education is totalitarian in character and founded on outmoded precepts and geared to enforce the views of a minority of the whole population.*

In general terms all white children should be educated according to the view of life of their parents, in terms of Afrikaner nationalism divisions of the past must be perpetuated — despite the "homogeneous" character of the whites. As illustrated in the words of Dr W. Nicol, Administrator of the Transvaal in 1951, dualism in the family, religion or love is to be condemned, and in education "it is cruelty to a child's mind and spirit".

In terms of the blacks there is first of all the Bantu Education Act. The of education for Africans has been summed up by Verwoerd, introducing the Act in 1953, when Minister of Native Affairs. "When my department controls native education it will know for what class of higher education a native is fitted and whether he will have a chance in life to use his knowledge". And claiming South Africa to be a white country: "There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour".

While the government attempts to whitewash its racist policy by claiming that it assists the African to develop his

"own culture" the facts show that less and less black people are achieving adequate education.

All teaching is done in vernacular languages up to and including the first form, and it is intended that this should continue up to matriculation. The result is that when the switch to English, for example, is made in secondary schools it is found that having learned only the simplest form of that language, the percentage of passes is disastrous. The student's "Bantu" qualification in any event, makes him only eligible to enter a "tribal" university and nowhere else. In addition the government has been pursuing a programme of Afrikanerising education, curtailing education still further (and not only for blacks) by teaching in the narrow and localised Afrikaans language used only in South Africa.

The Soweto uprising of June 1976 was triggered off by the attempt to force Africans to study certain subjects in Afrikaans, but it was more than that. It was also a protest against the whole Bantu Education policy, and a protest against the denial of all human rights.

The racist government often boasts that it is today spending more on African education than ever before, and that the percentage of African pupils is steadily rising. What is overlooked is that in education, as in all South African life, the gap between white and black is also steadily increasing. In 1964 the amount spent by the government on each white pupil was 10 times that spent on each african, and by 1974 it was an average of 15 times as much, in Natal province 20 times as much.

There is also the growing realisation by our people that education opens no doors. "What" asked Verwoerd, "is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practise? . . . It is therefore necessary that native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accordance with the policy of the state". Those Africans who attain a higher education diploma or degree might

still find themselves in dead-end jobs or in the unemployment lines.

The Nazi-like conception of the master race must inevitably erode the character of the white community itself, driving it more and more into isolation from the rest of humankind, into the narrow confines of intolerance even towards its own racial group.

“Intending immigrants are asked to state their religion ... and “The Nasionale Jeugbond (Nationalist Youth) expressed fear that the large number of immigrants threatened the identity of the Afrikaner”, calling for a policy of immigration” “which will not endanger the future of the Afrikaner nation”. Likewise a delegate to a Transvaal National Party congress protested, “Coloured people cannot marry my daughter, but when she is 21, a Portuguese can”.

However among the white people themselves, far-seeing elements are no longer prepared to live in the cultural desert which apartheid is making of South Africa. Writers, academics, artists and students are growing more and more restless and starting to identify with the anti-racist struggle. No longer able to rationalise their policy to the South African people and the world, the racist regime is resorting more and more to terror, murder and the rule of the gun. This has become the scientific and cultural basis of apartheid today. At the height of the Soweto events last year, with black bodies lying in the streets of South Africa's ghettos, Minister of Justice Kruger declared: “If the Bantu does not know his place, I will show him his place.”

‘Terror, murder and the rule of the gun — these are the cultural and scientific basis of apartheid today’

Similarly are the minority Coloured and Asiatic people victims of apartheid. Denied the fulfilment of their aspirations, discriminated against in social, educational, economic and political life, herded

into Group Areas, these people form an important part of the united front for liberation of the black oppressed.

Attempting to separate the oppressed minorities from the African majority, the white supremacists claim that like themselves, these minorities will be swamped in the event of black freedom and will, like the whites, lose their cultural identities. The racists have nothing to offer the oppressed minorities but apartheid and continued oppression. In contrast, the Freedom Charter, the programme of the African National Congress and all elements of the revolutionary democratic movement, states: “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White. The African people as the indigenous owners of the country have accepted that all who have made South Africa and helped build it up, are components of its multi-national population, are and will be in a democratic South Africa one people inhabiting their common home”.

The ANC programme states: “All National Groups shall have equal rights ... For all the non-white groups — Africans, Indians and Coloured the situation is one of humiliation and oppression ... The culture of the African, Indian and Coloured people is barely tolerated. In fact everything is done to smash and obliterate the genuine cultural heritage of our people. If there is reference to culture by the oppressors it is for the purpose of using it as an instrument to maintain our people in backwardness and ignorance ... A democratic government of the people will ensure that all national groups have equal rights, as such, to achieve their destiny in a united South Africa. There shall be equal status ... for the African, Indian Coloured and Whites as far as their national rights are concerned. All people shall have equal rights to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs; all national groups shall be protected by laws against insults to their race and national pride ... all laws and practises based on apartheid or racial discrimination shall be set aside”.

Conference Message to the
People of South Africa

United States' 'New Strategy' to Retain Control

From the speech by Vladimir Koudriavtsev,
head of the Soviet delegation . . .

The new upsurge of the national liberation movement of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa is evidence of their resolve to put an end to the inhuman system of racial discrimination and oppression, to achieve the building of a just society based on the equality of all people irrespective of the colour of their skin and nationality.

The Pretoria racist regime is trying to stop the growing national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples in the south of Africa and is resorting to the carrot-and-stick policy. The military police apparatus is being rapidly built-up,

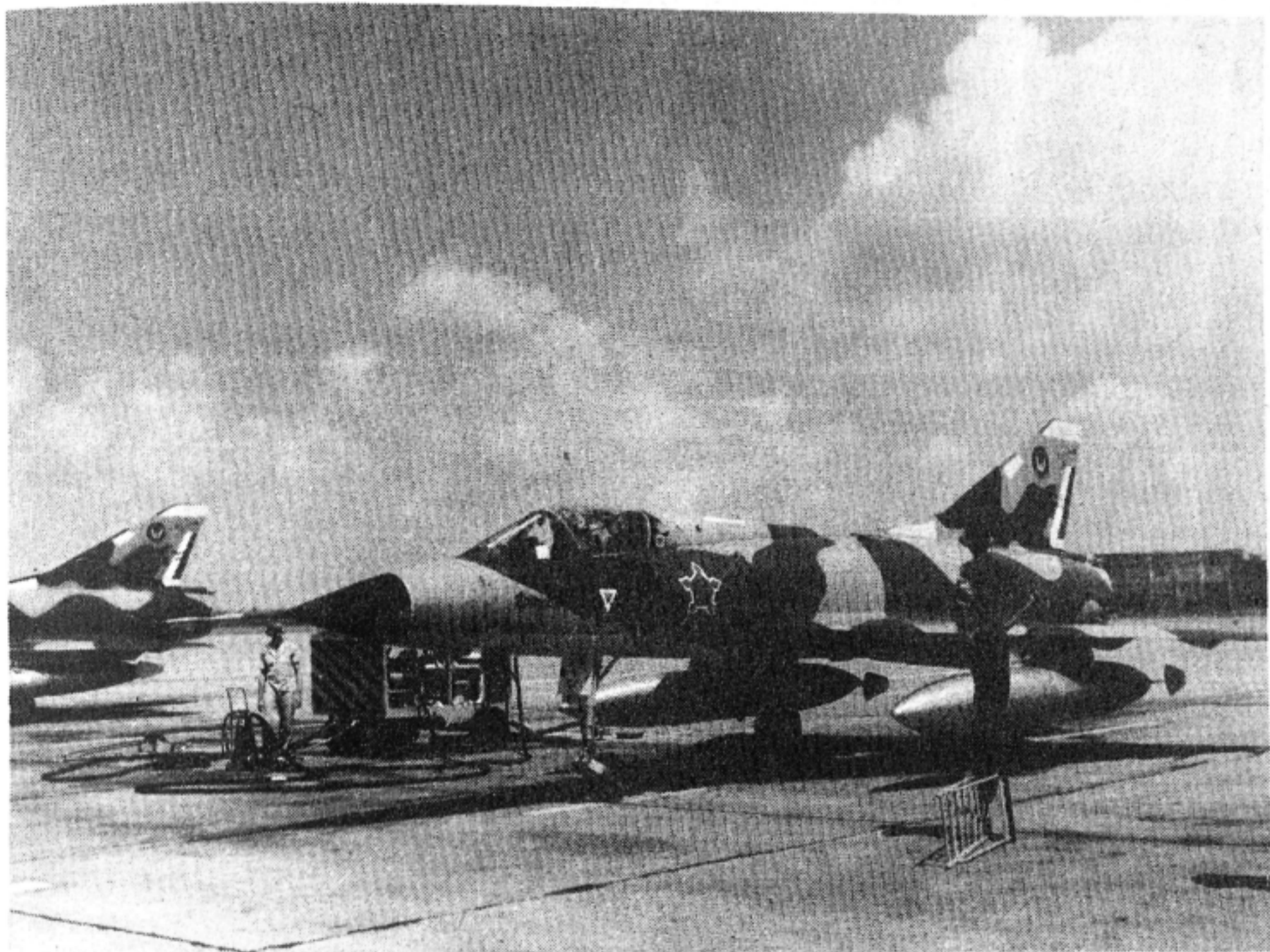
military spendings are being increased, mass repressions are being carried out and racist legislation is being made even more ruthless. Realising, however, that by force alone they will not be able to retain their positions, the racist regimes are resorting to neocolonialist manoeuvres, are creating among the African population a privileged strata from among the reactionary tribal aristocracy, bureaucratic officials, and part of the clergy and intelligentsia.

The imperialist powers to this day, contrary to numerous United Nations resolutions, are giving South Africa and Rhodesia military and economic assistance. They are trying to weaken the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist front of African states as represented by the Organisation of African Unity, to complicate relations between independent countries of Africa, and to drive a wedge into relations between African and socialist countries.

The imperialist powers are compelled to adjust to the changing situation because they realise that in conditions of the changed correlation of forces it has become impossible to retain the status quo in all the countries in the south of Africa controlled by the racists. It is exactly with a view to this that the so-called "new strategy" of the United States in Africa was formulated in 1976, which has received the support of Britain, the FRG and some other western states belonging to Nato.

The essence of this strategy is to make some token concessions to the national liberation movement in Namibia and Zimbabwe and thereby to preserve as far as possible the racist regime in the Republic of South Africa. The plans drawn up in the West in coordination with the South African regime provide for the gradual transfer of power in these countries to puppet, neocolonialist governments of the African majority while retaining the political and economic levers in the hands of the white racists.

As to the Republic of South Africa, the question of liquidating the racist regime in



Mirage jet fighters at an air force base near Pretoria

that country is not being placed on the agenda altogether. Statements are being made only about the desirability of a number of cosmetic reforms that would make it possible to create a semblance of liberalisation of the inhuman system of apartheid. Belonging to the category of such manoeuvres are also the "constitutional conference" in Windhoek, the Anglo-American plans concerning Rhodesia and also the proclamation of the false independence of Transkei.

Such concern by the imperialists for the Republic of South Africa is explained not only by political and economic interests but, and not in the least, by military-strategic considerations. As is known, there exist agreements pointing to the existence of direct ties between Nato and the South African military, which are contrary to United Nations sanctions and demands by the OAU and the world public. The West supplies the racists with

most modern weapons, and is giving them aid in the mastery of nuclear technology. Military airfields and ports in South Africa and Namibia have been placed at the disposal of Nato countries. Attempts are being made to knock together a South Atlantic military bloc — SATO — with the participation of the Republic of South Africa. So by supporting the racist regimes in the south of Africa, the imperialists together with the regimes of Vorster and Ian Smith are striving to preserve a seat of military danger not only to independent Africa but also to the rest of the world.

All this goes to show that the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe are conducting their struggle in extremely complex conditions. They are opposed not only by the forces of racist reaction inside the country, but also by the forces of international imperialism.

These forces are distorting the true 41



Apartheid = murder reads this banner at a demonstration in Bonn, FRG

content and discrediting the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Africa. Attempts are made to frighten the African public with the non-existent threat of Soviet expansionism and the USSR's mythical striving to create military bases on the continent. The propaganda presents the Soviet Union's aid to the struggling people in the south as something directed almost at restoring colonialism in Africa. But facts show that despite all efforts by the racists in the south of Africa and their Western patrons, the situation in Africa is increasingly changing in favour of the forces of democracy and progress, and we are witnesses of a new stage of the national-liberation struggle — the process of the liquidation of colonialism and racism has entered the decisive phase. The liquidation of colonial-racist regimes in the south of Africa would signify the liquidation of one of the most sinister obstacles on the way to deepening detente in the whole world.

We call on all progressive public forces in the world to launch a continuous movement of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples in the south of Africa for their freedom and independence, to demand of their own governments a rupture of all economic, military and cultural ties with the racist regime in the Republic of South Africa.

I would like to express confidence that the present representative conference will make its important contribution to the cause of supporting the struggle against apartheid, for liquidating the racist regimes in the south of Africa, will facilitate the expansion of international solidarity with the struggling peoples in the south of the African continent.

Permit me to assure once again the representatives of the struggling peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa that Soviet people will further side with their just cause, and will be their true and reliable friends and allies.

THE OLD AIMS OF THE WEST'S NEW POLICY

by Dr. Gleb Starushenko, Deputy Director, Africa Institute,
Academy of Sciences of the USSR

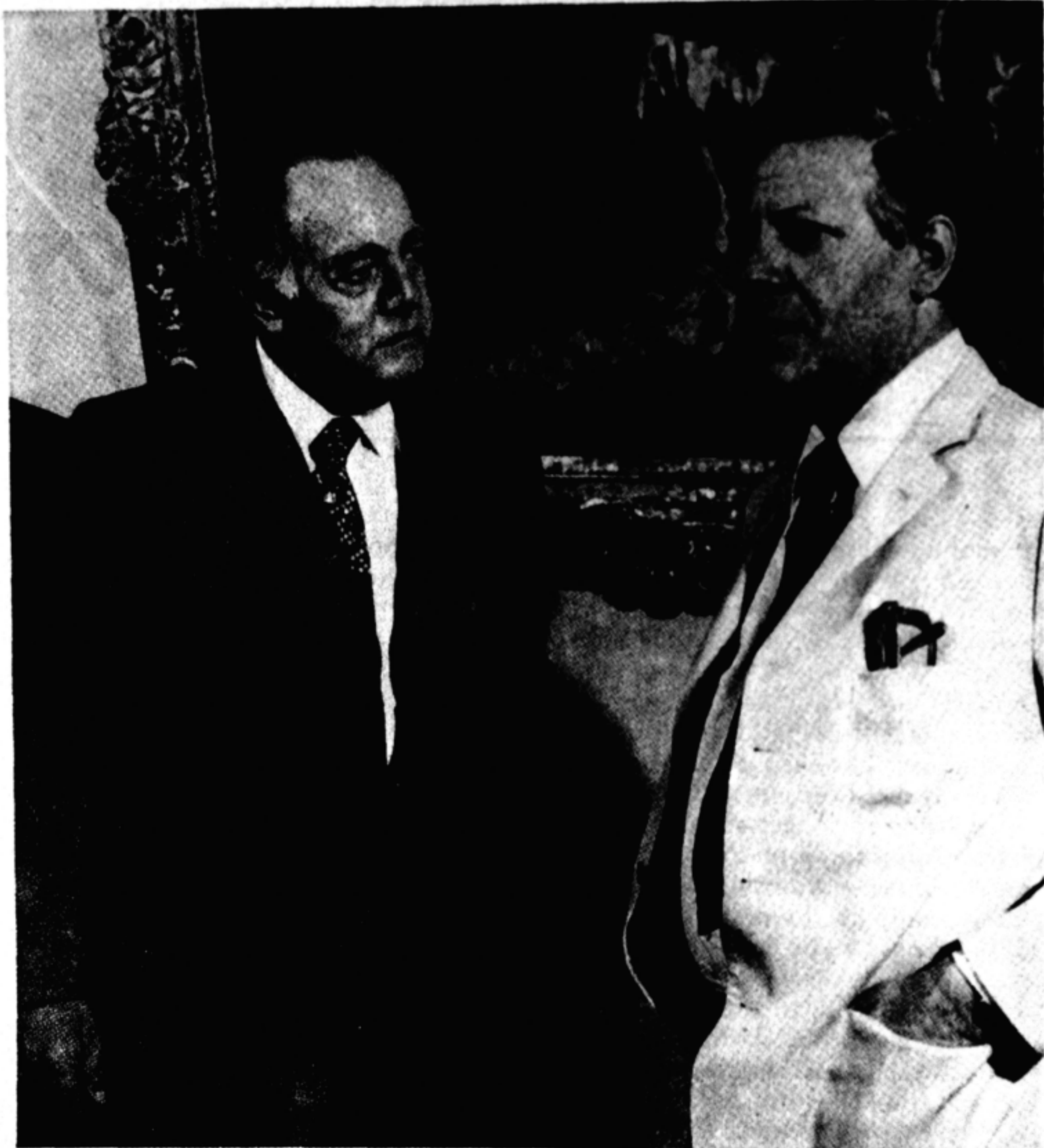
Western powers want to kill two birds with one stone.

In 1975 the net influx of foreign capital amounted to nearly \$2 billion (1,774 million rand). In the first quarter of 1976 the capital investments of Common Market countries alone amounted to \$350 million. The total sum of foreign capital investments in the Republic of South Africa in the past fifteen years (1960-1975) increased five-fold (from 3,077 to 16,450 million rands). The cheap labour of skilled workers at enterprises in the manufacturing industry ensures foreign capital investors double the profit they get from the countries of Tropical Africa (20.6 per cent as compared to 10.4 per cent). Quite naturally, it is the monopolies of the leading Western powers that give the racist regimes decisive support. Foreign capital investments are the nutritive medium in which the bacterias of racism rapidly propagate.

Western propaganda contends that President Carter's policy is allegedly directed at changes, though small and slow ones, while the policies of Ford and Kissinger were to preserve the status quo. Here again we see an obvious attempt to try to make a virtue of necessity. After the successes of the armed forces of the liberation movements in Zimbabwe and Namibia and the events in Soweto — the anniversary of which we are marking — and after the "frontline states", especial-

By continuing their separate talks with Vorster the Western powers pretend that they want a change of the situation in the south of Africa. To a certain extent this is so. After the victory of the revolutions in Portugal and also in Angola and Mozambique, the situation in the south of the continent has changed so much that the openly racist regimes in Salisbury and Pretoria are no longer suitable in their present form for protecting the West's interests in the best manner. The Western powers would like to modernise them, to adjust them to the new alignment of forces in the continent and in the whole world.

At first glance the shift in the West's attitude to the racist regimes is a positive phenomenon. The African peoples, however, have weighty reasons to believe that the West's separate talks with the racist regimes are directed against their rights and interests. Apart from the fact that these talks are being conducted without the participation of representatives of the interested peoples, and thereby violate the principle of self-determination, they also serve as a screen to conceal the West's increasing interference in the internal affairs of these peoples. An analysis of the economic situation in the south shows that international monopolies, these main patrons of the racists, continue to increase their capital investments there and to consolidate their positions. Thereby the



Vorster with FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt during his visit to the Federal Republic

ly Mozambique, made tremendous economic sacrifices and displayed great determination in the struggle against racism — in these conditions it became simply impossible to conduct a policy of preserving the status quo. The worst that can be done to the cause of the liberation in the south of Africa is to slow down the currently mounting process of the growth of liberation struggle. To slow down today in order to suppress tomorrow. Is this not taking place today?

In violation of the principles of self-determination, the West is planning to hand over power to puppet regimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia and hopes to delay by thirty years the liberation of South Africa. By trampling underfoot the rights not only of individuals but of whole peoples, the policy of implanting neo-colonialist regimes and perpetuating the regime of apartheid rudely flouts the spirit of Helsinki. Without national freedom there is no individual freedom. At



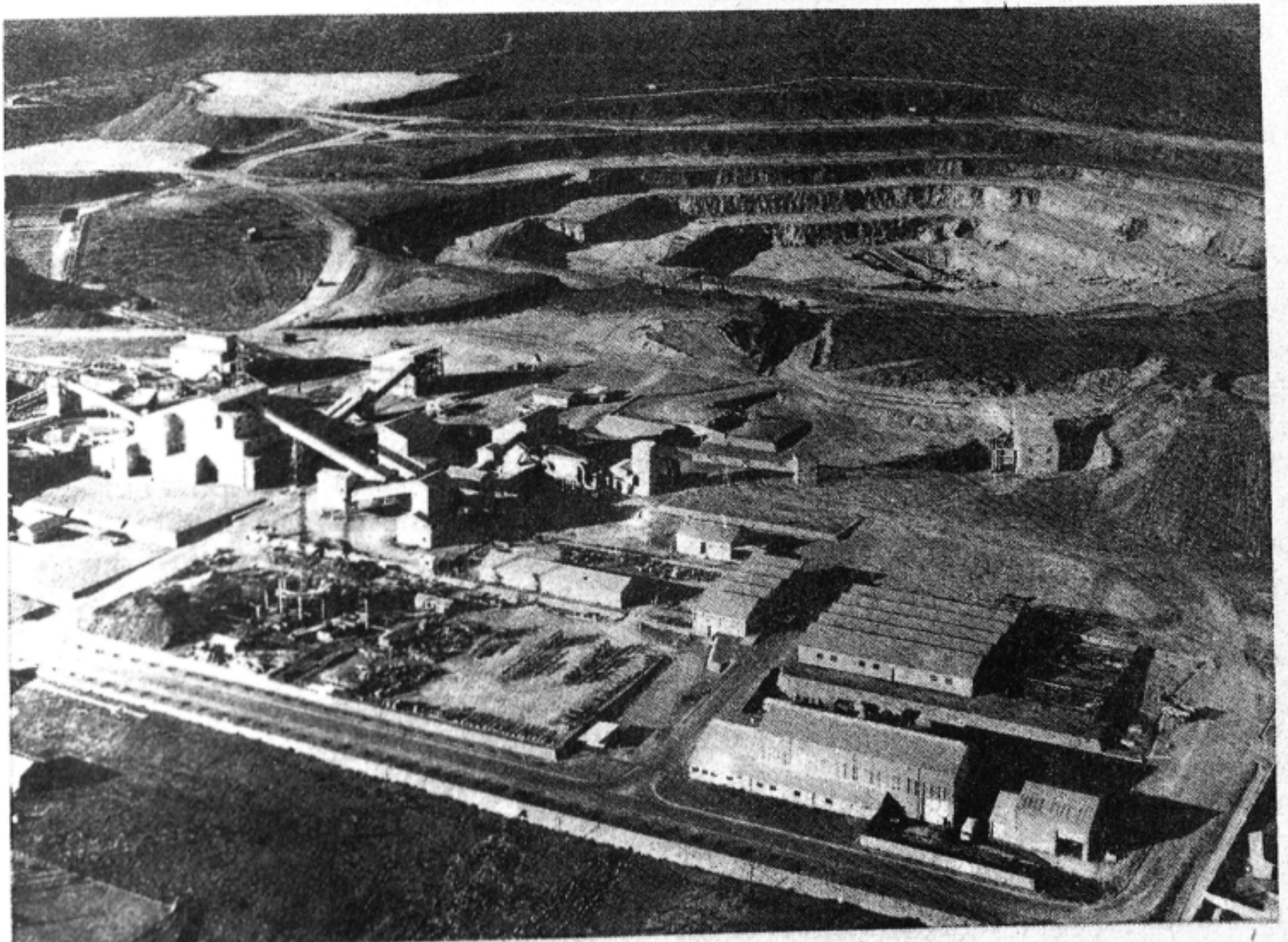
Vorster with former US State Secretary Kissinger. What was hatched in the forests of Bavaria?

the same time this policy created the danger of an expansion of the military conflict and thereby also violates the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, which proclaims that the process of strengthening security, not restricting itself to Europe, should spread also to other parts

of the world. Some economic factors shed light on the true causes of such actions by the West.

The South African region is not only a profitable sphere for capital investments but also a key source of many types of most valuable minerals. Very few areas in the world can rival the mineral wealth of South Africa which has virtually all types of mineral resources required for modern industrial production. In the capitalist world South Africa is the biggest producer of gold, diamonds for jewelry, manganese, chrome, antimony, vanadium, and platinum, the second biggest producer of asbestos and the third biggest producer of uranium concentrates. The share of minerals imported from South Africa and other countries of this region is extremely high in the total volume of minerals used by industrial enterprises in developed capitalist countries, first of all Britain, the United States, the FRG and Japan. In the coming years the importance of the South

An aerial view of a diomand mine in the northern Cape Province



African region in the supply of imperialist states with raw materials will grow even further. New deposits are being put into operation in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia, and the capacities of mining and concentrating enterprises are being increased. Of course, the Western powers could have obtained all the raw materials they need from the new states that will originate in this area in conditions of a new world economic order. But it is evident that this is precisely what they do not want to allow.

An analysis of the external economic ties of the racist regimes in the south of Africa shows that a sort of class alliance has formed in the capitalist world between the ruling upper crust of these regimes and foreign monopoly capital for the joint exploitation of the working masses and natural resources of South Africa. The positions of this alliance are yet strong. What could and should be done to crush it?

It is clear that the alliance should be opposed by the concerted actions of all anti-racist forces in the world, including progressive forces in those Western states which still support the racists. It can be stated in a certain measure that the burden that rests on these forces is in direct proportion to the extent of involvement of their states in support of the racist regimes and cooperation with them.

Of the \$18 billion of foreign capital investments, Britain, as estimated by Soviet economists, accounts for more than nine billion, the United States for 2.5, the FRG for more than a billion and France for about a billion dollars.

The very same powers give the racists considerable political and military assistance which cannot be expressed in figures but which, along with economic support, enables the racists to behave with great arrogance and ignore for decades the demands for the international community. That is why any cooperation with the racist regime in South Africa, as it was stressed by the 31st Session of the United Nations General Assembly in a special resolution, is a hostile act in respect of the

oppressed people of South Africa and a brazen challenge to the United Nations Organisation and the international community.

Whereas for the liberation of the African people the most effective means of struggle against racism lie in the military plane, for the European community they are in the economic plane. It is necessary to ensure a strict observance of the sanctions against the racists in Rhodesia and the resolution of the General Assembly on the immediate ending of all cooperation with South Africa. This can be done. After all, under public pressure the United States has stopped imports of chrome from Rhodesia. It is also necessary to achieve the adoption by the Security Council, in accordance with Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter, of effective measures against the regime in South Africa which pursues a racist policy, creating a threat to universal peace. The public in Britain, the United States and France can influence its governments so that they would heed the appeal of the 31st Session of the General Assembly — and would not resort to their right of veto in blocking the adoption of appropriate decisions by the Security Council.

The Soviet delegation agrees with the view, repeatedly voiced at international conferences, that the main thing today are concrete actions against the racist regimes. I would like to assure the conference that both the Soviet government and non-government organisations will do everything within their power to further expand concrete aid to the liberation movements, and to take the most active participation in the fulfilment of the concrete programme of actions against apartheid approved by the 31st Session of the General Assembly. The support for the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, that has been invariably given by the Soviet state throughout the sixty years of its existence, is to become a constitutional principle with the adoption of the new Soviet constitution.

Riding the Winds of Change for Capitalism

Lonrho: Portrait of a Multinational
by S. Cronje, M. Ling, G. Cronje.

In the field of economic empires dedicated to the rapid exploitation of the African continent, Lonrho's name must rank high in the consciousness of the African public. Due to the energetic leadership of Roland "Tiny" Rowland, Lonrho grew from the smallish mining and cattle ranching business in Rhodesia that it was when he took over in 1961, to become a multinational company capable not only of increasing its profitability as it grew, but also of gaining and exercising political influence in Africa, in the Middle East, and in Europe.

The story of how this has come to be is carried for the first time in this extensively documented and well written book. That the co-authors have been able to bring to light such a saga — whose extent must have serious consequences for the future development of Africa — is a feat worthy of high praise.

The essence of Rowland's, and therefore Lonrho's, success lies in his unflinching instinct for the best means of securing ever rising profits for his company and its shareholders. Since the main agent in the book is Rowland, dominating a board of directors composed of some of the most admired financial and political characters in the capitalist world, particularly Britain, the story of Lonrho must be the story of Tiny Rowland.

Rowland's entry into the field began in the Rhodesia of Welensky, who, in fact, described him as "the best thing to hit



Africa since Cecil Rhodes." Aware as we are of Rhodes' intentions towards (and successes in) Africa, and of Welensky's qualifications to make a judgement on Africa's needs, this is indeed a significant observation. And Rowland's success in exercising a blossoming influence in the economies of independent Africa while maintaining profitable ties with the racist regimes of South Africa, Zimbabwe, and the pre-1974 Portuguese government, makes it an observation all the more worth taking into account when looking at this man.

Rowland's skill in looking ahead for the benefit of the company he was using to establish his fortune was evident in the early 1960s as it is today. While expanding the London and Rhodesia Land Company's interests into wider commercial fields in white-controlled Southern Rhodesia, as it was then, he was already

BOOK REVIEW

looking towards the political trends that might conceivably bring black majority rule to that country, and making contacts among black political leaders which might be beneficial to his company in such an event. This earned him much dislike among the white political community of the area, and in fact such behaviour was then and is still now the source of much concern within his own board of directors.

But he was also making this judgement with an eye to the rest of the African continent, at this time moving into an era of *political independence*. It is in independent Africa that he was able to bring the greatest successes to Lonrho's ventures.

Lonrho managed to acquire newspapers, with their great influential position, in Zambia, in Tanzania and in Kenya, along with other business interests. With these first successes in the "new market" that Africa was seen to offer, the possibilities were immense, and despite setbacks in some countries, usually due to an overbearing overconfidence on Rowland's part, the company went on to control railways in Malawi, plantations in various West and East African countries, and Ashanti Goldfields in Ghana, one of the world's richest. The present Ghanaian government has, like other African governments, nationalised a substantial part of Lonrho's holding in Ashanti, but the profits the company gained, and is still gaining, make this a reasonable occupational risk for Rowland.

The philosophy Rowland proclaims for the benefit of black Africa in fact allows him to accept such occurrences with a smile. "We believe in independent Africa," he says. "We will do anything we can to help independent African countries to achieve their full economic potential."

This apparent attitude has allowed Rowland to maintain a unique position of influence among circles in African governments and financial bodies, which has done nothing but good for the wealth of its backers who, needless to say, are not African and stay well away from the continent. One shareholder, indeed, expressed the opinion that Rowland "had constructed a huge organisation for the welfare of *Africans*", and thus questioned the "decency" of the company continuing on this path.

But the profit Rowland was able to show from his attitude to Africa made this question irrelevant. That Rowland's philosophy was shallow and two-faced, to say the least, is further documented in this book.

In spite of Rowland's stated abhorrence for apartheid and Ian Smith's UDI, for example, Lonrho's investment and profit in South Africa and in Zimbabwe have both increased, and remain an important source of income. The company is prepared to take on the role of watchdog against oil sanctions breakers, on behalf of the Organisation of African Unity while shrugging off its association with racist governments as "inherited" and "historical".

In all, the authors conclude, in a positive way, that Lonrho represents just one, and perhaps one of the most successful, multinational companies geared to exploit African wealth in virtually any shape or form. Rowland's ability to vacillate with any "winds of change" for the benefit of his company is amply demonstrated — sometimes alarmingly.

The only threat, say the authors, to the future of such companies is when (and if) Africa challenges capitalism itself, for Lonrho is merely a representative and powerful agent of this system.



COMUNE DI REGGIO EMILIA
ITALIA



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF SOUTH AFRICA

PACT OF SOLIDARITY

between

African National Congress of South Africa

and

City of Reggio Emilia

The City of Reggio Emilia and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) have been joined together from the time of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and by their common support for that struggle. On the occasion of "South Africa Freedom Day" — June 26, with the common will to cooperate for the elimination of all forms of colonialism, for freedom, complete independence and peace in Southern Africa, the City of Reggio Emilia and the ANC have agreed to sign a solemn pact of solidarity.

1) Following the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the birth of the popular

republics of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cap Verde Islands, Sao Tome e Principe and Mozambique, the struggle against apartheid, racism and colonialism practised by the white minority regimes of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia has been strengthened.

The United Nations Organisation (UN) and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) have consistently condemned the colonial-racist regimes of Southern Africa as committing a crime against humanity. They have called for an arms embargo against these white minority regimes; they have recognised the national liberation movements of this area as the legitimate representatives of their peoples; and they

have acknowledged the legitimacy of the armed struggles being waged by the liberation movements.

The UN and the OAU have also appealed to all countries and peace-loving peoples for the promotion of a worldwide movement of solidarity and all-round aid to the liberation movements as a contribution towards the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination and colonial domination.

All attempts to negotiate a peaceful settlement for the independence and self-determination of the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa have been nullified by the intransigence of the racist regimes of Salisbury and Pretoria, which have violated the most elementary and universal principles of human justice in their determination to preserve, by all possible means, the status quo of colonial oppression, economic exploitation and racist domination of the people.

2) The city of Reggio Emilia has promptly subscribed to this appeal, following its historic tradition of a democratic, popular and anti-fascist city, holder of the Gold Medal of the "Resistance". Reggio Emilia has always been committed to international solidarity and to the cause of national independence of all peoples. The most recent support to this cause has been the mobilisation of its citizens in favour of the struggle for the independence of the Mozambican people.

The citizens of Reggio Emilia are aware of the struggle of the ANC and its allied movements committed to liberation and national independence.

The heroic struggle of the people of South Africa as demonstrated by the uprisings involving the youth and workers in Soweto and other parts of South Africa will be an everlasting example of man's struggle for justice and democracy, for the total abolition of racism, apartheid, and other forms of colonialism.

3) The Pact of Solidarity between the City of Reggio Emilia and the African National Congress of South Africa, legitimate representative of the South African people, is a positive political act of the City in its international commitment to the achievement of the following fundamental targets for the peoples of Southern Africa:

- clear condemnation of the apartheid regime and its policy of inhuman exploitation, colonial oppression and racial discrimination;
- permanent political initiatives among the popular masses to support with concrete aid the cause of the ANC for the national liberation of all South African people;
- mobilisation of the popular masses and public opinion in Reggio Emilia in order to induce the Italian Government to take an unequivocal stand and to collaborate on the international level in all actions aimed at isolating the racist regime of South Africa. This should prevent any economic, political, military and diplomatic support to that regime from the Italian Government, compelling it to abandon the policy of "neutrality" which amounts to supporting the racist regime;
- the promotion of a campaign for the rigorous enforcement of the UN resolutions on the arms embargo against the regime as well as other resolutions aimed at the political, economic and cultural isolation of the racist regimes of Southern Africa.

4) The Pact of Solidarity is therefore a commitment by the City of Reggio Emilia, the local administration and all democratic movements within the City to political action aimed at putting an end to the white minority regime, and helping towards the establishment of a free, truly independent, and non-racial society in South Africa.

5) On its part, the African National Congress recognises that this Pact of Solidarity serves the interests of the fighting people of South Africa but also the interests of all peoples committed to the struggle for national liberation, independence and social progress in Southern Africa and the rest of the African continent. For this reason, the African National Congress considers that the friendship between the people of the city of Reggio Emilia and the people of South Africa, which is expressed in this agreement, reflects also the friendship of Reggio Emilia for the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Southern Africa generally.

6) The African National Congress undertakes to keep the city and people of Reggio Emilia fully and regularly informed on the situation and the progress of the struggle in South Africa.

7) The city of Reggio Emilia and the African National Congress of South Africa both recognise the historic significance of this agreement and will preserve it for posterity in their respective archives as a concrete expression of the solidarity of the people of Reggio Emilia with the people of South Africa in the common struggle for national liberation, social progress, and world peace.

8) Bound by a common spirit of fraternity and active solidarity, the two parties will intensify their cooperation under this Pact of Solidarity, written in English and Italian, and signed, on this 26th Day of June, 1977, by the representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa and the City of Reggio Emilia in the city of Reggio Emilia, Italy.

Oliver Tambo

Ugo Benassi

*President
ANC of South Africa*

*Mayor of the City
of Reggio Emilia*

REGIONS OF ITALY



Emilia-Romagna





Storm on the Winter Palace in October 1917

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The October Revolution and African Liberation

The breakdown of imperialism and the downfall of the shameful colonial system are closely connected with or are a result of the triumph of the ideas of the October Revolution. The October Revolution put an end to exploitation of man by man — and for the first time in human history an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial state was born. Lenin, the great genius, contributed tremendously to our struggle for liberation.

The emergence and upsurge of the national liberation movements in Africa are connected with the process of world-wide transition from capitalism to social-

ism — a characteristic feature of our epoch introduced by the October Revolution. In Africa the relevance of the October Revolution becomes clear when we take into consideration that the completion of the process of decolonisation has been linked with the complicated process of the spread of socialist ideas in Africa. Today in Africa there is a discussion going on about the *meaning of socialist orientation*, that is, the creation of conditions for the future socialist reorganisation of the country. It goes without saying that these questions arise in the course of active struggle of the African people, a result of their own practical experience, but we cannot deny the influence of the October Revolution.

Gumede and the Land of Soviets

Socialist ideas emerged in South Africa before the October Revolution but the October Revolution enriched their content. In the early twenties Ho chi Minh (later to be President of People's Republic of Vietnam) played a key role in spreading socialist ideas in French West Africa. In the later twenties Gumede and La Guma attended the anti-colonial congress of the League Against Imperialism in Brussels. It is at that conference that Gumede made his famous remark:

"I myself am not a communist, but it is my experience that the Communist Party (of South Africa) is the only party that stands behind us and from which we can expect something."

Gumede and La Guma went to the Soviet Union and later Gumede related:

"... I was greatly impressed by the people of Russia. In fact, to me the USSR is a new Jerusalem. I met Stalin and had a long interview with him. He impressed me tremendously. He is a great man. He was full of sympathy for the oppressed throughout the world..."

This is what Gumede thought of the Soviet Union and its people. He was not the only one who thought like that. The Pan-African Movement of Dr Du Bois at its 4th Congress in 1927 declared:

"We thank the Soviet Government of Russia for its liberal attitude towards

coloured races and for the help which it has extended to them from time to time."

Furious and Healthy Discussions

The discussions between Gumede, Stalin, La Guma, Bucharin etc initiated a healthy discussion on the national question in South Africa — a discussion which was unfortunately confined to the Communist Party.

The essence of these furious and healthy discussions was that in South Africa class struggle should incorporate the principle of the right of national self-determination for the Africans and other nationally oppressed Blacks. In simpler language this meant that the content of our struggle is the destruction of the present system and then the raising of the standard of living of the African workers to that of the White workers and then the general improvement in the material and cultural welfare of all the workers to an extent hitherto unknown even by White workers. This is an internationalist approach to the national question.

Two decades later, in the 50's, from a different angle and in a different form the ANC was "confronted" with basically a similar question. This is not to suggest that the ANC — as a liberation movement distinct from a class, proletarian party —



Eliminating
illiteracy
Petrograd 1920



Russia
on the eve
of the
October
Revolution

“had the task” of implementing proletarian internationalism. What we do say is that the ANC’s close collaboration with the organisations of the Coloureds, Indians and progressive Whites and later their active participation in ANC affairs and activities was an internationalist outlook on the part of Africans demonstrating practically — as the 1969 Morogoro Conference was later to decide — that for a revolutionary movement like ours, it is not enough simply to declare and adhere to the principles and concepts of non-racialism but that our movement must be non-racial even in its physical composition without losing sight of actual historical realities of our country where the Africans are the majority, the most oppressed, the leading and most dynamic force.

This showed the ANC’s willingness and determination to move with the times and assimilate some of the basic tenets of internationalism. There is nothing new or unique in this. It is a characteristic feature of all progressive movements in Africa and elsewhere. It corresponds with the nature of our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-scale — an epoch which was introduced by the

Socialist assistance

In the past 60 years the ANC has progressively and consciously developed the friendship between our people and the peoples of socialist countries. This has proved to be of mutual benefit. We have a common enemy — imperialism, colonialism and racism and common interests — social progress, peace and friendship amongst people.

Our people appreciate the assistance rendered us by the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and this uplifts the moral, political and military spirit of our people and the belief in the final victory of our struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

The 60th anniversary of the October Revolution is the right occasion to wish the Soviet Union and other socialist countries all success in their endeavours. Nothing can destroy the friendship between our movement and the socialist countries; the friendship which was founded by such great men as Gumede and La Guma and developed by men of the calibre of Luthuli who fought against any form of anti-communism. Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, is heir to this noble tradition.

Appeal by Youth of Cuba

YOUNG PEOPLE and Students the World Over:

The preparatory work for the 11th World Youth and Student Festival has now entered a decisive phase. Only one year is left before another successful and brilliant event in the history of the revolutionary, democratic and progressive youth and student movement will get under way as a result of the joint actions and efforts of all those who share the lofty ideals of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship.

The young generation of socialist Cuba and all the people of Cuba are preparing to give you a jubilant and enthusiastic welcome, making an all-out effort in all their everyday activities and fully aware of the honor and responsibility that being the hosts to such a great event entails.

The National Youth and Student Festival which we inaugurate today is part and parcel of those great efforts and constitutes a magnificent precedent to the World Festival.

Throughout our country, workers, students, members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and of the Ministry of the Interior, women and children are combining their efforts to build socialism with doing preparatory work for the 11th Festival.

The slogan "Every Cuban an active participant in the Festival" reflects our firm aim of providing the ideal setting for a brilliant and unforgettable Festival.

This is the result of the legitimate satisfaction that we all feel on being the hosts to an event which reflects the ideals we struggle for and are educated in, an event

Havana — the host city to the XI World Festival of Youth & Students in summer 1978



which, by a happy coincidence of profound content, will be held in the year when our people will celebrate the 25th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Garrison. The everlasting example set by the participants in that heroic feat is a source of stimulus for all of us and inspires us to fulfill the commitment we have undertaken with the world youth and student movement.

From this National Festival we, the youth and students of Cuba, extend to you revolutionary greetings and take this opportunity to urge you to

- develop and broaden the activities of National Preparatory Committees that have already been set up and wind up the process of setting up National Preparatory Committees in the rest of the countries;
- intensify political, cultural and sports activities, with broad participation of young people and students;
- make known the resolutions of the second and third meetings of the International Preparatory Committee, especially the Appeal to the

Youth and Students the World Over; and

- carry out large-scale fund-raising campaigns to contribute to the International Solidarity Fund.

We are confident that, with the active participation of all, the 11th Festival will constitute a powerful demonstration of solidarity and an important contribution to the growing and increasingly successful struggle that is being waged by the peoples against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid and for freedom, independence, peace and social progress.

For us, it is Festival time already. A people in revolution, a youth committed to the times, proud of its heroic ancestors, building the present and confident of the future, an internationalist and solidary youth, awaits your arrival in this part of the Americas, in the first socialist country in the western hemisphere.

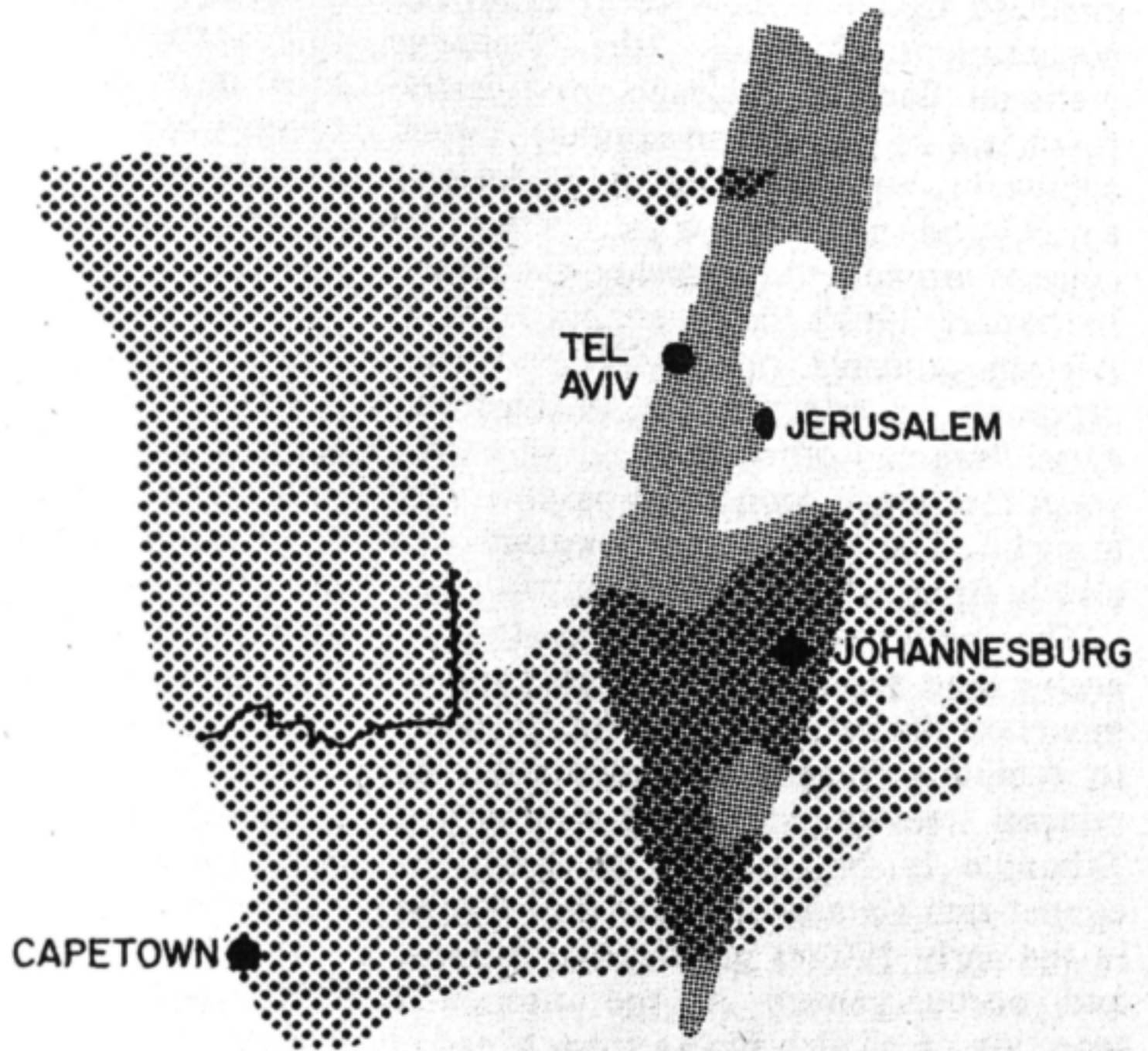
FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY, PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

The whole of Cuba is a hive of activity preparing to receive the thousands of guests who are expected to attend the Festival



SOUTH AFRICA

**Growing
Alliance
that
menaces
the world
-- part 1**



AND ISRAEL

**Tracing the increasing links and
common interests between the two
most irresponsible and dangerous
regimes on earth**

Israel

The special relationship between Israel and South Africa, climaxed by Vorster's "private" visit to Israel in April 1976, should be seen in the context of Israel's involvement in Africa as a whole.

After World War II, the successes of the African national liberation movement and the achievement of political independence by most African states, brought about the retreat of imperialism and significantly weakened its positions on the African continent. In the 1950's and 1960's the imperialist powers, particularly the USA and West Germany, launched a new assault on the national liberation struggle, which was entering its next stage, the struggle for economic independence. The renewed imperialist penetration into Africa required large infusions of capital, but because of the general distrust towards the US and West Germany,

who were thoroughly discredited in Africa, Israel was employed as a conduit of intermediary for such penetration.

Nearly 120 Israeli firms have been doing business in Africa, many of them financed by US and Western European corporations. Typically, the Exchange National Bank of Chicago used Israeli financiers as its African conduit. Israeli companies were active in industrial and agricultural planning, often under the guise of providing "technical assistance". In the early 1960's there were hundreds of African students on Israeli university campuses, specializing in engineering, agriculture and other fields — at a time when the Israeli economy was at a very low ebb. The Israeli 'aid' program was clearly financed by outside sources.

The Zionist rulers of Israel have encouraged reactionary separatist movements on the African continent, in order to facilitate imperialist exploitation of mineral resources. Israel supported Tshombe in his attempt to split the copper-rich Katanga region from Congo in the early 1960's; gave active support and encouragement in the attempted secession of oil-rich Biafra from Nigeria; gave direct aid to the secessionists in Southern Sudan during the period of an anti-imperialist government, 1968-1971. The Israeli government supported the feudal regime of Haile Selassie in Ethiopia. It encouraged and offered assistance to the reactionary organization of French officers in Algeria, the OAS, in its rebellion against de Gaulle's decision to grant independence to Algeria.

In the framework of Israel's role of watchdog of imperialist interests in Africa, one can better understand the special Israeli-South African connection.

The Israeli-South African connection

Israeli-South African links go back to 1917, when General Smuts, the "Special Delegate from S Africa to the British War Cabinet", exerted his influence for the adoption of the Balfour Declaration. His personal ties with the Zionist leader

Chaim Weizmann (who was later the first President of the State of Israel), and his strong support for the Zionist aims continued until his death in 1950. However this in no way prevented Smuts from pursuing an anti-Jewish discriminatory immigration policy, declaring in Parliament in April 1947 that "overleading the country with Jews "would lead to anti-Semitism there!

The openly anti-Semitic Nationalist government (Jews were not permitted to be members of the Nationalist Party) which came into power in May 1948, granted special privileges to the South African Zionist Federation, freely permitting the transfer of Zionist funds to Israel at a time when the transfer of money out of South Africa was in general severely restricted. John Vorster, who was later to visit Israel as Nationalist Prime Minister, was interned during the Second World War as a Nazi sympathiser. (In Israel he was invited to lay a wreath at Yad Vashem, Israel's memorial to the 6 million Jewish victims of Nazi terror.)

Relations between Israel and South Africa took on a new dimension in the last decade, and especially after the Yom Kippur War in October 1973, following the upsurge of the National Liberation Movements in Africa and the Middle East, and the growing isolation of Israel and SA. Trade between the two has multiplied from \$3 million in 1961 to \$120 million currently (although the figures apparently do not include diamonds and military hardware). In 1974 diplomatic relations between Pretoria and Jerusalem were raised to full ambassadorial level, following visits to SA by General Dayan, General Haim Hertzog, former Chief of Israeli Military Intelligence, and General Meir Amit, head of Israel's Koor Industries. The groundwork was laid for a considerable expansion of economic and military cooperation between Israel and SA, to be crowned by Vorster's visit to Israel in April 1976 together with his Foreign Minister Muller.

The best Vorster could do prior to the Israeli trip was to visit two Latin

American military dictatorships, in Paraguay and Uruguay. The South African Broadcasting Corporation in an editorial applauded Vorster's trek and said "they are the only two Western nations to have established themselves in a predominantly non-white part of the world".

Vorster's visit resulted in the establishment of a joint ministerial committee which would convene at least once a year to "discuss and implement specific projects". Israel is the first country in the world with which SA has set up such a committee. Vorster announced that relations would be expanded in the areas of:

- a) encouragement of investments
- b) development of trade
- c) scientific and technical cooperation
- d) joint utilization of South African raw materials and Israel's knowhow and manpower

We shall now discuss these "areas of collaboration".

The Economic Connection

In a press interview in 1974, Itzhak Unna, Israel's first Ambassador to SA, disclosed that SA had raised the ceiling for direct investment in Israel from R7m to R20m. He said that Israel had imported \$32m from SA in 1973, mainly sugar and cement, and exports had totalled \$12m. (Again diamonds and arms were not mentioned). A report from SA two years later indicated that trade between the two countries had almost tripled during the previous four years from R13m to R37m, and that semi-processed steel constituted about 40 per cent of S African exports to Israel. At a press conference in Jerusalem Vorster had mentioned a joint project for processing semi-finished products from SA in Israel and then exporting them to the European Common Market in order to benefit from the Israeli tariff agreement with the EEC. Vorster was referring to the joint steel venture Iskoor, in which the Histadrut Koor Industries in Israel

held 51 per cent of the shares and the SA Steel Corporation, Iscor, 49 per cent. Semi-processed materials are to be shipped to Israel from the Iscor steel mills at Saldanka Bay for final processing and re-export to Europe. The erection of a direct reduction plant in Israel by Iscor was also contemplated.

In July 1976 Botha, the SA Minister of Mines, visited Israel to negotiate the sale of coal for the new power-station being erected near Hadera, which would operate on either coal or oil. It was estimated in Pretoria that Israel would buy one million tons of coal annually from SA. Transport for these and other imports would be made available in Israel by the construction of the Eilat-Beersheva railway line, which would be financed by SA, the steel rails to be provided by Iscor.

At a seminar organized in Johannesburg by the SA Foreign Trade Organization on "The S African-Israeli Pact" (JERUSALEM POST 4.8.76) Dr TF Muller, Chairman of Iscor, listed the projects in Israel in which Iscor and SA "may perhaps play a role". Dr Muller also mentioned the construction of a canal to connect the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, and the erection of a hydro-power station on it, processing of Dead Sea chemical products and other ventures.

Press reports on S African trade with Israel refrain from giving figures on the export of crude diamonds to Israel. The Israeli diamond cutting industry is among the biggest in the world. Moshe Shnitzer, President of the Israeli Diamond Exchange, estimated that Israel diamond exports would read \$700 million in 1976, and that this would increase to \$1000m. within three years, with \$250 being the value added by processing in Israel. Now the source of some of the raw diamonds in Angola had meanwhile been blocked. The other suppliers were the Oppenheimer controlled "London syndicate". The dramatic expansion of Israel's diamond industry is without doubt a special dispensation to London in the framework of the overall strengthening of the SA-Israeli connection.

OBITUARY

M.P. Naicker Worker, Trade Unionist, Journalist and Freedom Fighter



The coffin being carried into the crematorium

MP was snatched from us brutally and suddenly. Our hearts go out to the members of his family, the Naichers, who stood by his side during all his sufferings and his joys, and supported him in his efforts to achieve the South Africa that he was working for. MP was a warm and loving person who belonged to all of us. If he were able to look back on his life he would have little cause for regret. From his early teens he made up his mind that there was only one course for him to follow — to serve the cause of his people for liberation. In the face of every obstacle and discouragement, he never shifted from that path, and he died still fighting for the South Africa that we all believe in, as outlined in the Freedom Charter.

Born into an Indian working class family in the harsh conditions of the 1920s, he was forced to leave school at an early age. He worked in a factory, he drove a baker's van — and he quickly learned the nature of national and class oppression. From the age of 18 his entire

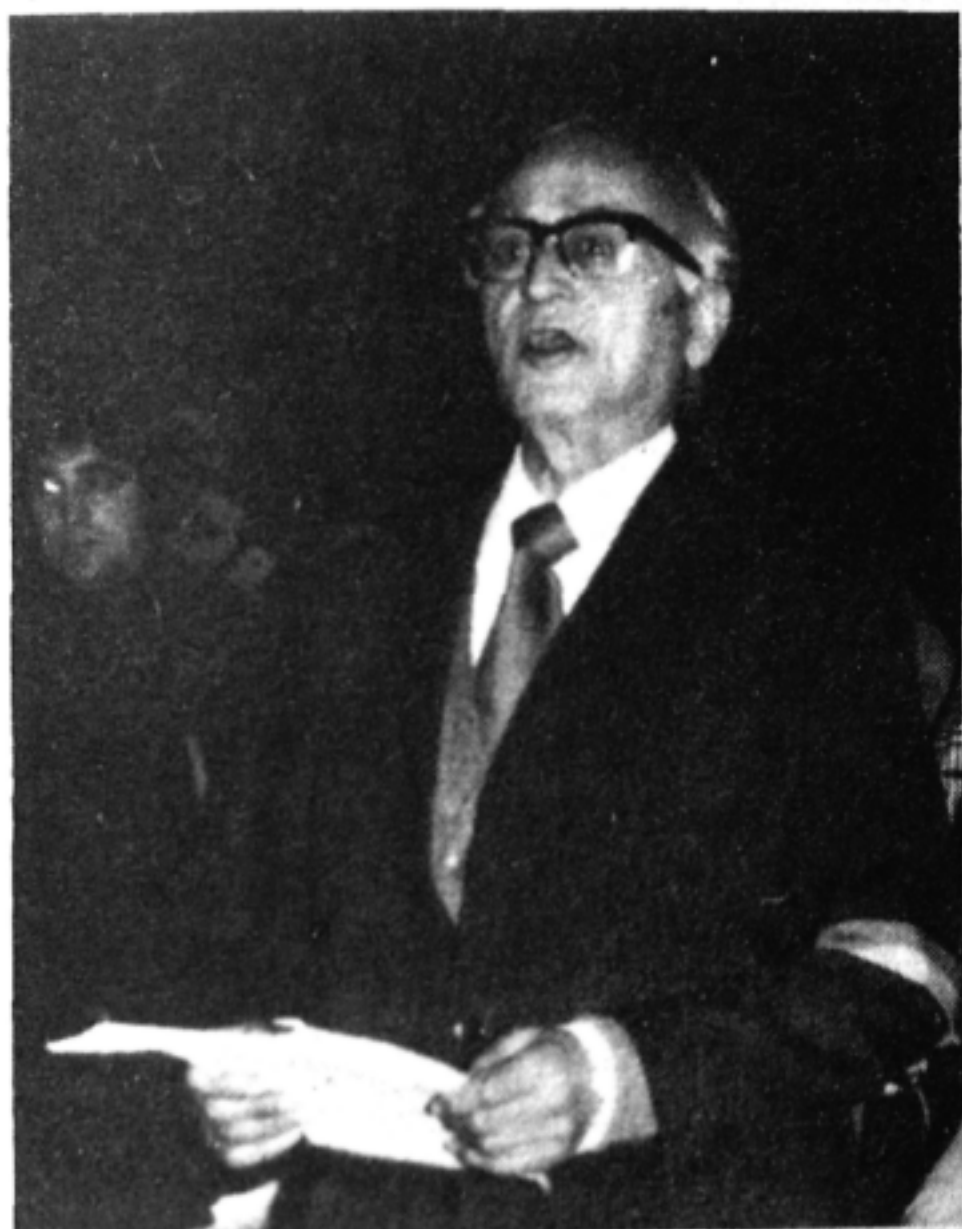


Brian Bunting: „Let us be inspired by MP's examples. Let us pick up the pen and the sword that he has dropped and let us carry on the fight to achieve the new SA he sought so long side by side with all of us . . .“

Oliver Tambo: „We are gathered here to pay our last respects to a man who because of his belief in the freedom of the people of his country was robbed of the citizenship of the land of his birth – South Africa . . .

He died whilst on a mission on behalf of our movement. Like those forces that advanced onto Berlin thirty years ago to liberate Germany, he was advancing onto to Berlin in the service of our struggle to liberate South Africa and fell in battle just like any member of Umkhonto we Sizwe . . .

We pay our respects on behalf of the African National Congress to members of his family and assure them that the loss sustained by them is not theirs alone but equally felt by our movement in whose services he was fully dedicated. This will go down in the annals of our history . . .”



Dr. Y. M. Dadoo: „The loss of MP will be sorely felt throughout the movement. There is no campaign in the South African struggle since the 1940's which does not bear the imprint of his valuable contribution . . .”



ANC guard of honour at the crematorium

life, for the next forty years, was to be spent in the service of the people, without regard to personal sacrifice.

MP was responsible, together with his comrades, particularly George Ponen and the late H.A. Naidoo, in organising the Indian workers into trade unions and leading them in militant strikes. At the same time he worked assiduously to bring about cooperation and unity among all black workers. He was elected Secretary of the Natal Sugar Workers Union and energetically plunged into the difficult task of contacting the workers in the sugar fields. MP was a key figure in the Anti-Segregation Council of the Natal Indian Congress, and he helped to transform the Congress into a mass organisation with a militant policy of struggle and of unity of action of all the black people. In the 1946 Indian Passive Resistance Campaign MP distinguished himself as an able and first class organiser. He was appointed Secretary of the Passive Resistance Council and subsequently became Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress.

MP's immense contributions and leading role in the major campaigns and trials of the 1950s and 1960s are too numerous to list here. During his long political career he was arrested countless times, and during the 1960s he was detained under the 90-day and 180-day laws. In exile from 1965, he threw himself unflinchingly into the work of the External Mission of the African National Congress.

As Director of Publicity and Editor of Sechaba, he fulfilled his duties with distinction. For MP, his work as trade unionist, Congressman, politician and journalist were not different occupations. Journalism, for example, was simply another front on which to fight the enemy. When he was editor/manager of the New Age office in Durban it became a recruiting ground and a battlefield, with people from all walks of life and from all over the country pouring into the office. The special triumphs of his political career flowed directly from his political contacts. For instance his exposure of the kidnapping of Anderson Ganyile in

Basutoland, was possible because the note smuggled out by Ganyile was taken to him. The expose was responsible for the outcry that led to Ganyile's release. Similarly, during the Pondoland campaign of the 1960s, the people involved sought out MP and the New Age office to tell their story, and it was his pioneering work in building up contacts that stirred the publicity which was given to the campaign.

In 1961 he was awarded the International Organisation of Journalists' gold pin, for his contribution to journalism at home and abroad; and Sechaba was awarded the IOJ gold medal. At the Eighth Congress of the IOJ in Helsinki last September, MP was awarded the prestigious Julius Fucik medal, and he was elected to the Executive of the IOJ. He accepted all these honours not as a personal tribute, but as a tribute to the work of the ANC and the Congress Movement as a whole.

MP was a man who did not tolerate snobs, snobbery and affectation. He was always direct, straightforward and hard-hitting. Above all, he had an endless love of life, which has now been extinguished. But his example will continue to inspire. His comrades have taken up the pen and the sword that he dropped, and are carrying on the fight to achieve the new South Africa for which he fought so long, side by side with all of us.

Leaders and militants, friends and family came together from all parts of the world at the Golders Green Crematorium in London on May 8 to say a last farewell to Comrade M.P. Naicker, Director of Publicity of the ANC External Mission, who died on April 29, at the age of 56. The crowd, which overflowed from the building into the courtyard, heard tributes from the Acting President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, the Chairman of the S.A. Communist Party, Dr Yusuf Dadoo, and Comrade Brian Bunting. The ANC choir sang the national anthem, Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, over MP's flag-draped coffin.

*

Goodbye,
the poem below,
was read by its author,
John Matshikiza,
at the funeral of the
late M.P. Naicker.



John Matshikiza

GOODBYE

Goodbye.

If it came more quickly
Where would we have looked,
How would we have cried more?
But we couldn't cry,
The sound was too sharp and soon,
And winds of the same sounds
Looming huge and indestructable from so far back,
For so many times
Since the first days our new lives were born
Unexpected in new worlds
Came again;
And in the cold wind
Left us unprotected and chilled.

Goodbye?

To go so fast
And pass our eyes before they can resist
Is beyond our lives.
How could we think:
Think of the colours that we know,
And space and times filled
With music like ours:
Think of where the colours are,
And why we are so far,
And why we shout with the wind;
And why so many of our shouts stop
Before the wind:
Think strange strange thoughts
Of eyes, sad and rich in life,
Which will not catch ours
Til we also stop.

Goodbye.

We're all going to take surprise
And catch each other off beat,
And we'll all feel strange.
And we're all going back, like you,
With the colours swaying above us.
But also, some eyes will be open on the colours,
And when they also go
Will be calmer than yours,
And all those others before and since.

So, Goodbye:
See you Soon.

GOODBYE II

Goodbye II,
the second part
of the poem,
was written following
the death of South
African musician
Sol Klaaste,
who died in London
shortly after M.P.

I have no more tongue for praise poems.
Even so I cannot help but mention your name.
Grace comes to me in the shapes of names I know.
And all the names I know will surely die.

Why do so many of us
Lose the heart that matters?
To die,
Where do we go?
The rivers here do not flow
With the warm silt that feeds our roots;
The faces which place us dead in the silt
Have no eyes cool enough to cool us.
So why die here,
Die like this with savage history
Acting as inspiration, coroner, and priest?
Why die at all?
The river needs silt, and the silt
Washes new seed deep with love,
So death is a comfort to the seed
Crying that dead souls leave so much unspoken.

But still the sudden silence
After your death undisguised
Means thoughts becoming words and names,
And as, stunned together, we reach each other's hands
Already feeling cooler for your loss,
From the tongues on our dry throats we call
Your name and all your names,
And wait for home.

Salisbury "Sol" Klaaste, eminent South African musician, died in London in June this year. He had been ill for some time, and his sickness and subsequent depression led to his most tragic death.

Sol Klaaste was born in Kimberley in June 1925, the second of five children. After studying music at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, his musical career became one of the most notable on the South African jazz scene. Among his famous engagements in the 1950s was as pianist with the Merry

Blackbirds and later with the musical show King Kong.

He came to London as pianist with the latter production in 1961, and remained there after the show closed. He toured extensively in Europe with the Manhattan Brothers group, as well as playing with many other South African and British and European artists.

He is sadly missed as a popular musician and friend to all who knew him and his music all over the world.

*

Farewell to MP

It was as natural and sweet as mountain
water
to call him qabane and mfowetu
as natural as it was for him
to place a friendly arm around our
shoulders
and join in our joyous rounds of song.

We the youth:
for us he will always be
MP-bhai
and for him we will always sing 'amajoni'
and 'hamba kahle umkhonto' —

MP-bhai
one whom the Cubans would call
companero muchacho
amiable comrade-in-arms
staunch companion of Freedom's road ...

Indlela yenkululeko:
'no easy walk' that path
more demanding than any mountain
ascent
knife-like twists and turns
awesome gradients endless trudge
not for weak of will with enemy ambush
and ambush of inner-senses
frightening beauty and beautiful promise
the summit seemingly a mirage
a dream a distant haze
crystallised by his clear and relentless
lesson
lesson of him and his companero's
JB, Mick, Mini
Chief, Looksmart, Bram:
Not how to avoid becoming captive
Not how to avoid becoming casualty
But how to avoid surrender.



The late M. P. Naicker

We say to you
their loved ones
with great effort
with boundless respect:
their absence on Freedom day
signals no defeat
for them the journey counted
not the arrival.

Rest well MP-bhai
rest well qabane, mfowethu, radiant
companero
your sons and daughters
your Umkhonto
your traditions march on
and when Freedom's sun rises out of the
Indian Ocean
when Freedom's dawn breaks over the
vast Maluti's
showering gold over the forests of sweet
green cane
over the land so gold and green and ebony
your heirs will secure that final prize
with firm grip and steady gaze.

A N C Kumalo
London
May 8th, 1977.

Women Expose Apartheid



Mesdames Kaarina Suonio and Terhi Nieminen

As part of the Womens International Democratic Federation's programme of support for all peoples struggling for their national independence and self-determination, the WIDF bureau meeting in Lisbon in November 1976 decided, amongst other things, to send a delegation on a study tour of the Republic of South Africa and Namibia which would report first hand on the general situation and particularly on the condition of women and children as they are affected by apartheid.

A delegation of two women – Mesdames Kaarina Suonio and Terhi Nieminen, both members of the Finnish parliament, toured Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, King Williams Town and Durban in South Africa and Windhoek in Namibia and whilst having no official host in those countries were nevertheless able to interview a large number of ordinary citizens and collect impressions, facts and affidavits which were reported in a press conference at the WIDF General Secretariat in Berlin on 18. 8. 1977.

In reporting to the representatives of the international press the delegation pointed out that despite the cosmetic removal of petty apartheid, which is intended to satisfy international demands for the total removal of legalised racism, restrictions and repression had been intensified and the pillars of apartheid like the bantustans and the pass laws were being applied more vigorously with increased punishment for offences against these laws. Impressions were gathered through interviews with people on the streets, during their lunch breaks in parks, but mostly through visiting some of the institutions of apartheid where

people are being shunted around, humiliated and dehumanised like so much luggage.

There were visits to courts, visits to residential areas, social welfare offices, legal advice offices, where the people wage their day to day struggle of surviving under the regime of racist oppression.

Most impressive for the delegates was the unbroken spirit of struggle bolstered by the bitter awareness of their plight under apartheid and the determination to use all means at their disposal, including solidarity and self-help projects to alleviate and finally liberate themselves from the scourge of apartheid.

The delegation noted that people were aware of the role of imperialism and international monopoly capital and their attempts to create a national bourgeoisie that would have an interest in defending the exploitive system of apartheid. This awareness mirrored itself in a heightened consciousness by the people of their true representatives and the fact that final liberation would come through the united efforts of all oppressed sections of the population and democrats in a struggle that would include the use of arms to overthrow the regime of racism.

In an interview with SECHABA after the press conference, Ms. Suonio expressed her shock at laws that criminalised minors and innocent citizens and destroyed the basis of society through brutal bureaucracy that instigates racial hatred.

Excerpts from this interview will be published in coming issues of our journal. V. M.