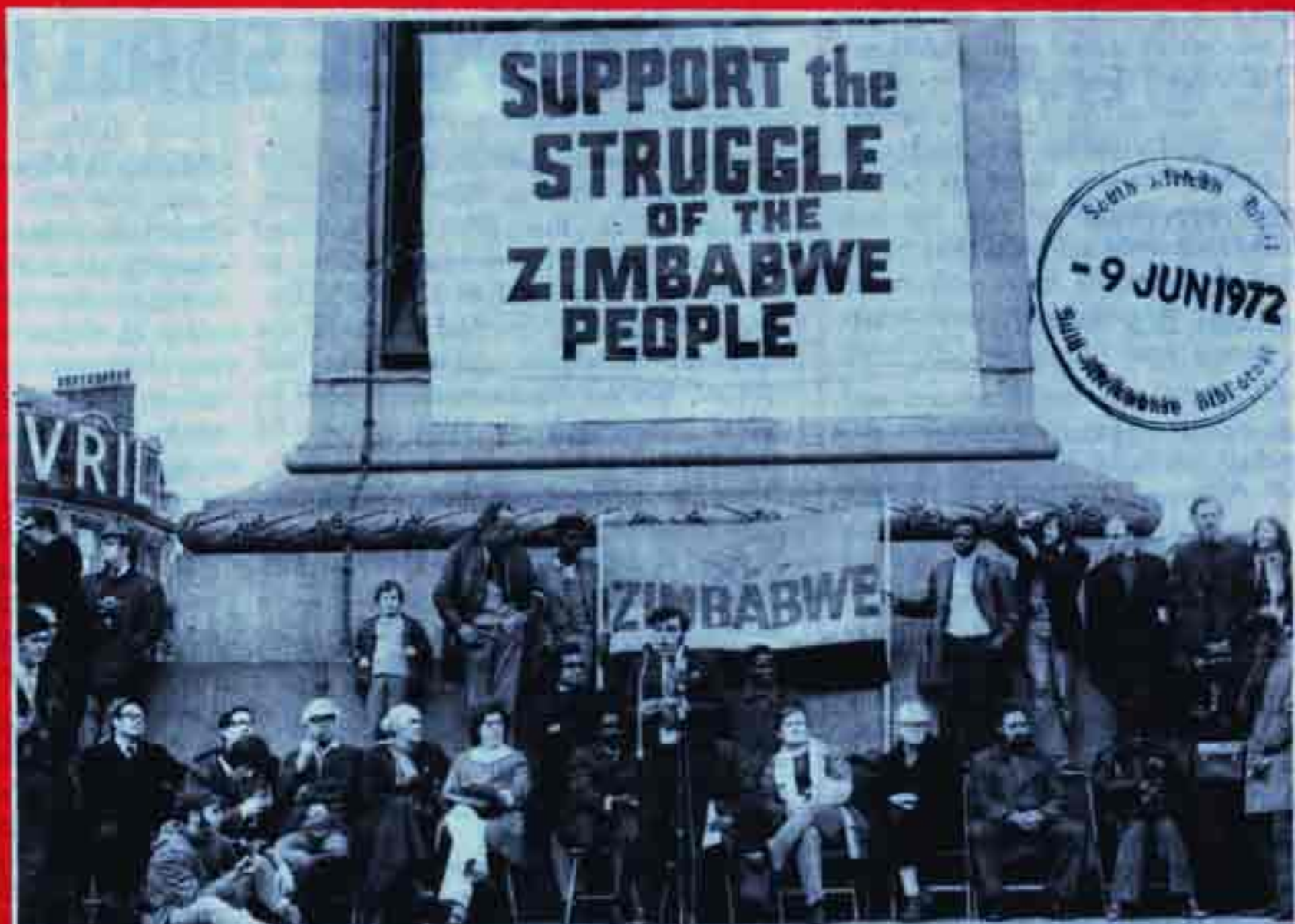


SECHABABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

London
Demonstration



Gwelo
(Zimbabwe)
Demonstration



VOLUME 6
NUMBER 4
APRIL
1972

SECHABA

Vol 6 No 4 April 1972

49 Rathbone Street
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Cover Photos:

Top: by Pam Jones
Bottom: by Camera Press London

SECHABA

Annual Subscription Rates

£ 1.50/Europe, Africa and Asia.
6 dollars U.S.A. and Canada
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Air Mail Copies

£ 2/0/0 Africa and Asia
12 dollars U.S.A. and Canada
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FREE!

FREE!

FREE!

ZIMBABWE SHALL BE FREE!

Singing these words in a clear and ringing tone Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Chairman of the African National Council, opened his moving address to the mighty rally held in London's Trafalgar Square in protest against the proposed Rhodesia sell-out. (The full text of Bishop Muzorewa's speech is given elsewhere in this issue of SECHABA.)

Those who thronged the square represented organizations from all over Britain, and from all over the world. The banners of Zimbabwe people were prominent. Others were carried by members of numerous branches of trade unions, political parties (Labour, Communist and Liberal), and student organizations. Student representatives from France, Finland, Norway, and many other countries were present. The crowd responded warmly to the speeches made by Jimmy Reid, prominent leader of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders in their struggle against Tory attempts to crush them, Michael Foot, MP, of the Labour Party, Althea Leconte-Jones of the British Black Panther Party (who stressed the solidarity of Britain's Black workers with their oppressed brothers in Zimbabwe), Mike Terry of the National Union of Students, and academic, Stuart Hall, who as a former recipient of a Rhodes Scholarship, expressed his consciousness of having been educated on money extorted from the blood, sweat and tears of the Black people of Southern Africa.

Footnote:

* Very different was police behaviour on this occasion from the 'kid-glove' treatment meted out to fifty British intellectuals, many of them prominent (they included historian Basil Davidson, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, and writers, journalists and publishers) who had occupied the Foreign Office in the previous week - sitting on the inside staircase leading up to Sir Alec Douglas-Home's office, singing freedom songs and holding a teach-in on Southern African history. The rather 'elite' nature of some of the participants resulted in their being carried out by the police in an extremely careful manner. All the same, the unusual nature of this form of protest for most of those taking part indicated the depth of concern felt in a significant sector of British society, on the issue of the sell-out. This gathering asserted its total opposition to 'the betrayal of five million Africans to a minority regime of white racism'.

Militant Mood

The mood was militant, the commitment passionate. An on-the-spot collection raised £1500. The crowd left the rally to plant the Zimbabwe flag on the steps of Rhodesia House, former headquarters of the racist regime - and, if the Tories had their way, its future base in London. Here, demonstrators who sat down were the victims of a savage police charge which resulted in many people being taken to hospital. The brutality behind the facade of British democratic courtesy was clearly exposed in this assault*.

The Trafalgar Square rally was the culmination of weeks of almost unprecedented activity amongst concerned democrats in Britain. Despite the prominence in the news of other issues of vital importance, such as the Ulster massacre of thirteen peaceful marchers, and the heroic struggle of the British miners for a living wage, British indignation at and opposition to the sell-out proposals was at fever pitch. In the six weeks before the rally, over a hundred meetings were held in various parts of the country, and thirty thousand copies of a twenty-signature petition demanding No Independence before Majority Rule were distributed. In the rally's wake, plans to go ahead for further activities - a giant meeting in Scotland, and demonstrations in universities all over the country are among them.

The British people's role in opposing the sell-out is a special one – it is their Government which must bear the responsibility for this iniquitous scheme (in which its only open backer in the world is the USA).

Naked Shock

However, deep concern about the issue has by no means been confined to Britain. Messages have been received from countries all over the world – from the socialist countries, from Scandinavia from Africa (President Kaunda of Zambia, and KANU, the ruling party in Kenya, both sent strongly worded messages of support to the Trafalgar Square rally). People everywhere are feeling a naked shock and shame that in this day and age a majority of Black people, crushingly oppressed and exploited for generations, should be handed over to apartheid under the merciless rule of a tiny white minority – which consists largely of recent immigrants who went to Zimbabwe with one aim – to take advantages of the immense privileges to which anyone with a white skin is automatically entitled there.

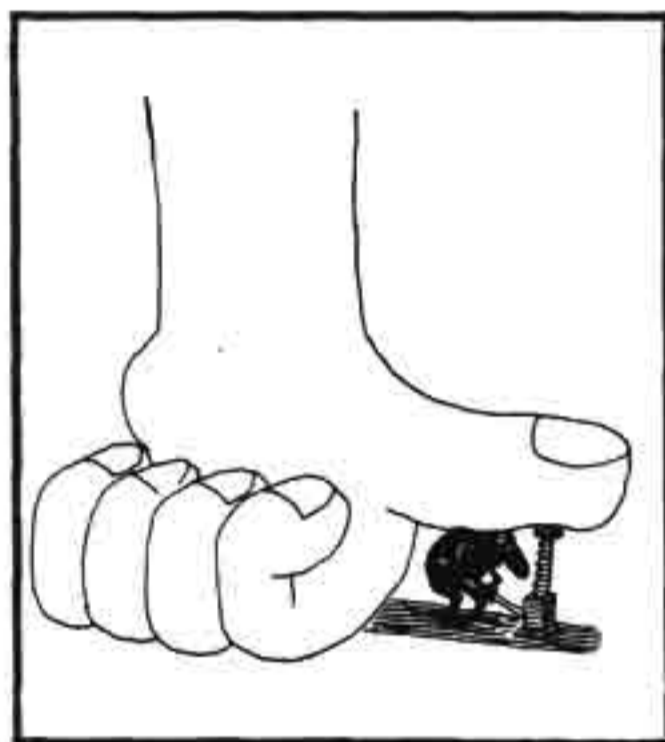
Of course, many guessed that a Government as blatantly dedicated as that led by Edward Heath to class and race exploitation would be eager for a settlement with Smith and his henchmen. The white Rhodesians are Heath's and Home's natural allies in the jungle world of grab and crush which its denizens like to describe in terms of 'Conservatism' and 'individual freedom' . . . conservation of privilege and freedom to exploit people everywhere. (The Wilson government, pressured by democratic forces in the British Labour Movement found itself, though not for want of trying on the part of some, unable to conclude a deal while maintaining its social-democratic credibility. The Heath government has no such credibility to maintain.)

Yet, despite the predictability of Tory eagerness to settle with Smith, the plot could not but astonish by its crudity and heartlessness. And as the Establishment rallied, with 'liberal' Lord Goodman acting as a messenger boy, and *The Guardian* mouthing empty, pious platitudes about the need for a settlement, all illusions vanished – and people sickened; ordinary people, decent people, all people of conscience. For conscience, they realized, could not be left in the care of such traditional keepers of conscience as 'liberal men of good will'. And who guards *The Guardian*? Presiding figures not

so very different from those who guide the destiny of *The Daily Telegraph*, it would now appear.

No! and No! and No again!

Even the Establishment reeled a little – perhaps 'shivered' would be an exacter term – in the face of the overwhelming response from the African people which greeted the first tentative probings of the Pearce Commission. 'No, and no, and no again' was the message not only roared and thundered by great crowds but also explained and defined in careful detail by workers, by tribesmen, by whites' exploited servants, and by intellec-



tuals alike. And *The Times*, amongst many others, had the temerity to be surprised by the degree of political sophistication and articulacy shown by African people. Watching a British television programme in which an interview with a group of moronic white members of a sports club ('You give your African an inch and he takes a yard') was followed by a reasoned discussion held by the same club's Black waiters, few British viewers could have shared this surprise. African's future is at stake. Under the terms of the settlement, how can they fail to know themselves doomed to generations of servitude? And are racist stereotypes so deeply rooted in British newspapers and commentators that Africans, the founders of the great civilization of Zimbabwe, are still essentially thought of as stumbling simpletons? Sadly, on the evidence, the answer to this latter question would appear to be 'Yes'.

So there are many for us to fight; and the fight must be a fierce one. An overwhelming pressure must be exerted on the official powers, dedicated as they are to accomplishing a complete be-

trayal. And those who murmur about there being 'no viable alternative' must be confronted with that alternative. The facts are clear: in attempting to silence the people of Zimbabwe, the white Rhodesians have murdered thirty-one Africans in cold blood (no whites were killed); they have detained over one thousand people, apart from Chinamano and the Todds. In addition, the authorities are engaged in an all-out effort to silence all the Black people of Zimbabwe – through blackmail and bullying of workers by employers, and through the iron fist which district commissioners are imposing on all attempts by people in the Tribal Trust Lands to express opposition to the sell-out proposals. It is impossible for the Pearce Commission to test African opinion. In countless insulting speeches and statements, Smith and his men have declared their contempt and hostility towards the people whom they hold enslaved. In fact, the regime has declared war on the Black majority.

The course which the British Government should follow is a simple one. It should recognize that all attempts to repeat its Foreign Secretary's Munich policy of 'peace with dishonour' should be abandoned. Because they must – we cannot expect this Government to admit that they should. Sanctions should be intensified. (The US Government, also, should be forced to recognize that in following yet another course of implacable hostility towards the 'third world' it is repeating mistakes which have landed it in its present disastrous international situation. Reinforcement of sanctions would at least be a step in the right direction.) It should be clearly stated that **No Independence Before Majority Rule** is the only basis for any discussion of the Zimbabwe issue, and that if the Smith regime refuses to recognize this, it will be brought to its knees. This is the only policy which the British Government can adopt without becoming, like South Africa, an 'international polcat', a stink in the nostrils of all civilized people.

They must, in fact, understand that they miscalculated, that when they set fire to their obligations to the African people, they in fact lit such a candle, in England and elsewhere, as shall not soon be put out. They must understand that the only future alternative to a rejection of the Smith regime is a Revolution in which all their so-called *realpolitik* in Southern Africa will instantly face disaster. For Zimbabwe SHALL be free. The world wills it. The people of Zimbabwe dedicate themselves to its accomplishment.

We Reject Injustice and DEMAND OUR FREEDOM

**Text of Bishop Abel Muzorewa's
Speech to the British
People at a Mass Rally held
in London by the Rhodesia
Emergency Campaign Committee**

I have come today as the representative of five and a half million suffering and voteless human beings in Rhodesia. I have not come as a Bishop or as a politician but as a human being to protest against the injustices being perpetrated against my brothers and sisters in my country. This country, Rhodesia, is by International law and by the law of this land British. It is sad indeed to think that the British people and their government could allow the betrayal of so many innocent people whose only failing seems to be their faith in the fairness and decency of the British people.

The reason for my own presence here, at this serious time for my country, is that I alone of the ANC executive have a passport to travel out of Rhodesia, although like my colleagues and indeed all Africans, I am not free to move in the land of my birth, and in my own particular case I am not permitted to visit or speak to the majority of the African people in the Tribal Trust Lands.

It is said by the illegal regime that Africans are saying 'NO' to these proposals because they are being intimidated, and not because they have had enough of repression and suffering.

If for no other reason my presence here today is justified if only to expose to you the lie of these allegations and to emphasise that whatever is the fate of these proposals it is not, it cannot and it will not be accepted by my people.

The African National Council

The body I represent, the African National Council, is the only body in Rhodesia that has any right to speak for the vast majority of the population of Rhodesia. It was formed two months ago as the result of a spontaneous grass roots feeling among millions of Africans who are determined that history shall not record that the Africans of Rhodesia accepted the betrayal of their birthright. We are supported by a wide spectrum of opinion in Rhodesia including teachers, farmers, workers, businessmen, students and the Churches, and indeed even some Chiefs. Some of the groups that have joined the campaign to register a resounding 'NO' to the Home-Smith proposals were founded in Rhodesia over sixty years ago. It is absurd and an insult to the truth for Mr Smith, whose Rhodesia Front Party is only ten years old, to smear these organisations as communist-inspired. If there are any communists in Rhodesia you can be sure that Mr Smith and his oppressive racist regime have created them.

The settlement proposals that have been arrived at without the participation of the Africans are a constitutional fraud, a prescription for increased racial bitterness, the making of an inevitable bloodbath and an insult to the dignity of every African in Rhodesia.

Smith Guilty of Treason

The Home-Smith deal is both racist in substance and in its consequences. It is based on the illegal and racist 1969 Rhodesia Front Constitution and its claim to provide majority rule is not only laughed at by Constitutional experts, it is also a deliberate attempt to deceive millions of people into thinking that they might have freedom in a police state. But even if the proposals are in fact what Sir Alec Douglas Home says they are their implementation assumes the good faith and honour of Mr Smith and his Rhodesia Front Party. Can anyone imagine for a second any reason whatsoever why anyone should assume the good faith of Mr Smith? The history of Rhodesia is a long, sad and sordid record of betrayals and broken promises. The

British government seems to have forgotten that Mr Smith and his friends are Traitors to the Crown, persons guilty of High Treason who did not hesitate for a moment before breaking their solemn oaths to the Queen and the Rule of Law. This British government might not think Treason and political dishonesty a serious matter. This government might have forgotten what happened on Thursday 11 November 1965, but I tell you now that the Africans in Rhodesia have not forgotten and as long as we have minds to think and mouths to speak - WE WILL NEVER FORGET!

Mr Smith became the leader of the Rhodesia Front because he was prepared to stop at nothing to ensure that Rhodesia would remain a country ruled by the whites and for the whites, for as long as the rule of the gun permits. The Principles of the Rhodesia Front are Apartheid principles. There is no question of Apartheid drifting to Rhodesia. It is already there. Does this British government really think that the Africans of Rhodesia are so naive, are so stupid as to believe that Mr Smith will ever allow the Africans the basic human right to rule themselves? Does this government think that we are children who can be fooled by such a blatant lie? I assure you we are not children, we are not fooled - we are grown men and, by God, we have dignity!

When a black baby is born in Rhodesia it learns very quickly that to be black in Rhodesia is more important than to be human. He sees his father treated as a child. If he is lucky this black child might go to school and then he will be told he has no culture, no history, no honour. If he is lucky enough to go on the secondary school he is told that he is a kaffir and not a person. If he goes for a job he will be told he is either not educated enough or too well educated. If he can't get a job he is told he is a lazy useless African. If he then asks why this should be so, he is condemned as a subversive and a trouble maker. Every day of his life he is insulted and when he asks why, he is told it is because he is not a person, because persons are white and because God is not only white but also a settler. Mr Smith and Sir Alec Douglas Home call themselves Christians. I wonder what Christ would say if he were an African in Rhodesia. He would probably have no chance to say anything. Rather he would probably be rotting in a dirty little prison cell in some fly-infested part of Rhodesia.

We Reject

I have already told you that we reject these proposals not because anyone has threatened or intimidated us into rejection. We reject them **IN SPITE OF** a system of intimidation which surrounds the life of every African from the cradle to the grave – and tells him that the white people are superior to him, and nothing they propose for him can be rejected. The right to decide how and where and why one should live is surely basic to this problem. Rhodesian whites believe that they alone are competent to govern us, and if we don't agree to this we must be intimidated into agreement. Today, once again, we reject the **myth of our inferiority, we reject this intimidation.** Whether that intimidation comes from the District Commissioner, who in our intimidatory system is free to take away a man's land or cattle at his own discretion; whether it is from the policeman who has the power to stop any African on the street and demand his pass. **We reject it.**

Whether that intimidation is by a cabinet minister, who without explanation or reason can take away a man's or a woman's freedom for any length of time from one hour to fifteen years – **we reject it.**

Whether it is the intimidation of Municipal Authorities in the townships, who can take away a man's home and throw him and his family onto the street, without explanation – **we reject it.**

Whether it is the intimidation of the employer, who can sack his workers without reason, knowing that that man and his family will starve – **we reject it.**

Whether it is the intimidation of whites by such measures as the deprivation of a person's citizenship, as in the case of Clutton-Brock, simply for his opposition to racialism, or the detention in solitary confinement of the Todds because they have the courage of their convictions – **we reject it.**

We reject a policy and a regime that can justify the murder of 31 unarmed human beings on the streets of Gwelo, Salisbury and Umtali and the arrest of the Todds and the Chinamanos, and over 250 people whose only crime is to stand up for their dignity and to ask the world simply to treat them as human beings.

We reject the intimidation of a government of thugs. Above all, my brothers and sisters, **WE REJECT INJUSTICE AND DEMAND OUR FREEDOM.**



Bishop Muzorewa

Photo by Pam Jones

WORLD WIDE SUPPORT FOR ANC

Messages expressing solidarity with the African National Congress have been pouring into our various offices from all over the world on the occasion of our 60th Anniversary (8th January 1972).

In several countries meetings and exhibitions have been held to mark the occasion. Lack of space forces us to give only a brief report of some of the meetings and extracts from only a few of the messages.

LUSAKA MEETING

At a well attended meeting held in Lusaka at which representatives of the Zambian Government, national liberation movements and members of the diplomatic corp were present, O. R. Tambo, Acting President-General of the ANC said:

We are gathered here today to commemorate sixty years of the formation and existence of the African National Congress of South Africa. And, let there be no mistake, it has not been sixty years of conquest and defeatism but of constant struggle for liberation which involved tremendous sacrifices and even death.

This meeting is not of the ANC alone but of the forces it has represented which spread and multiplied and can, today, count a series of victories in the struggle of Man for freedom and dignity. This struggle encompasses not only the people of South Africa but embraces the greater part of mankind; it is a bitter struggle and is being fought at various levels in different parts of the world.

Turning Point

January 8th, 1912 marks a turning point in the history of the people of Africa - it signifies the end of an era of unbridled plunder by foreigners and

the opening of a new chapter of national consciousness among the oppressed people. The African National Congress came two years after the 1910 Act of Union which brought together erstwhile opponents - Boer and Briton - for the more intensive exploitation of the Black people. Present at the inaugural conference which led to the formation of the ANC were representatives from as far afield as Zambia, Zimbabwe and further; They numbered among the workers and peasants, chiefs and intellectuals, people from all walks of life and from all the various tribes which constitute the South African nation. They came together to unite against oppression and to open a new era of united struggle which came to involve the whole of Africa and is now part of a worldwide struggle.

It is perhaps, of some significance that in the very year the ANC was born the South African Defence Forces were created. Someday, these two opposing forces founded in the same year, 1912, are destined to confront each other in a mighty struggle whose outcome can only be victory for the opposed Black majority.

Faulty View of History

I have said our struggle is part of the African and worldwide struggle for progress hence our invitation to our friends to be with us today. Though we may differ with some of them, our differences are small and minor com-

pared with our agreement to oust our oppressors and exploiters. We sometimes note a sense of unease on the part of our friends when they reflect on our sixty years of struggle which has not brought us freedom. This appears to be a faulty view of history, a misunderstanding of the nature and significance of struggle. The independence of so many countries in Africa, the independent existence and actions of the OAU is part of our struggle for we are part of that struggle for independence. We believe that the struggle has not been of single, separate countries but of the whole of Africa and we further believe that Africa will only have won that struggle when imperialism has been eliminated from every part of the continent. We have always believed in this concept of Pan-Africanism. That is why we have attended every conference meant to bring together the people of Africa - the All African Peoples Conference, the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference, the Bandung Conference, the Pan African Congress of 1963.

All Struggles Are Ours

Therefore, let my people not seek to hide behind walls when there is talk of independence and not independence - any independence is ours also. And even where the struggle is taking place directly against the enemy, when FRELIMO, MPLA, SWAPO, PAIGC attack the enemy they are our

attacks too. When the most powerful enemy of Africa the Apartheid regime in South Africa, will be tackled, it will be a vicious struggle and nothing can prevent this confrontation between progress and reaction. No amount of "reform" can prevent this for the solution must include a radical transformation of the system of government in Southern Africa and will have its impact on the whole of Africa. In fact, the struggle in the whole continent still proceeds, perhaps at a higher level, but every independent state which struggles for progress, for fulfilment of its peoples aspirations is still part of the struggle.

Here we must pay tribute to our brothers and sisters in different parts of Africa who have joined in the struggle and have come to an important advance towards final victory. We mention countries like Botswana whose people were with us in 1912 at the formation of the ANC, Lesotho whose people are really part of South Africa and, in fact, part of their people are in South Africa in the Orange Free State which adjoins Lesotho and, of course, Swaziland. We pay tribute also to the peoples of Namibia who even now inspire us by their heroic mass action against the Vorster regime; to FRELIMO, MPLA and all the peoples of Southern Africa. Even to the fighters of those organisations who may not have been recognised by OAU or anybody else for they, too, are making sacrifices for freedom. We say to all of them, Victory awaits us!

Victories

At this stage we must remind ourselves of struggles and victories in other parts of the world which have inspired us here, in Africa. Perhaps the most important of these was the 1917 socialist revolution in the Soviet Union – an event which has resulted in tremendous transformation throughout the world. As a result, our struggle too, assumed a new meaning and strength. In this sense also, the achievements of the forces of progress in different parts of the world are interlocked. We, in Africa, are part and parcel of this worldwide struggle; Africa did not struggle in a vacuum. We owe our victories to forces in all parts of the world who fought along the same path.

We, of the African National Congress, are fully appreciative of the weakness of those who fight alone. That is why we have mobilised world opinion behind us and that is why we feel we are, in our struggle, flanked by revolutionaries from all parts of the world. We shall continue to press progressive forces in the world for support but, should this support be not forth-



O. R. Tambo – Acting President-General, addressing meeting in Lusaka

coming, we shall not sit idly by in the face of oppression. Historically we can not avoid confrontation with our oppressors. We shall fight! . . .

Vanguard

. . . Let us now talk of South Africa. The ANC has been in the vanguard of the liberation struggle for sixty years. Those sixty years of struggle have not, as I have already indicated, been fruitless and barren. However, if we measure our success and failures only in terms of the flags, the anthem and so on, then of course, we have failed. But there is more, much more. For a greater part of our struggle we have engaged in a dialogue with our oppressors. Our strikes, our demonstrations, our campaigns, all these were a form of dialogue but the racists answered with ever increasing oppression. Today, the machinery of repression has been increased to the extent that White South Africa has a powerful army. This was the racists answer to our dialogue and the massive South African Defence Budget is also a measure of our success. And this enormous expenditure on arms and other weapons of war is only possible because of the thousands of millions of imperialist investment in the South African economy. Without this support, without the backing of the imperialist countries, South Africa would long

have gone bankrupt even while we were fighting, literally, with our bare hands. As the guerillas of the Umkhonto begin to rally the people inside the country to the stage of challenging the enemy with arms in their hands, the Defence Budget will have to be multiplied many times over for that is the only source of hope for the oppressor – a false hope, needless to say.

New Forces Emerging

Inside South Africa new forces are emerging. Throughout the country there is a new ferment and there is considerable uncertainty in the ranks of the oppressors. This is a manifestation of the indestructible nature of the people's struggle when they know what they want. The time has now passed for a peaceful dialogue with the enemy. The time has come not to waste our forces and resources in strikes and demonstrations but to go forward towards an armed dialogue. There was a time when I thought it possible to talk racism and colonialism to abandon their oppression but that is now past. While we do not look forward to the armed struggle with joy, we must harden ourselves to that conflict and so should the people of Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho and even Zambia for they will all become involved and will be part of the struggle. This is why the policy of dialogue

60th ANNIVERSARY

being put forward in certain quarters is misleading. What kind of dialogue can we have with people who have passed laws which bind us, hands and feet? How can we talk about "relaxing" the hated Pass Laws which control every moment of our lives? How can we talk of "ameliorating" the Land Laws which hand over nearly ninety percent of the land to 15 percent of the population? Such laws cannot be relaxed or repealed. The whole apartheid system, of which these laws are but a part, must be completely destroyed and replaced by a system where all men will be truly equal.

Collaborators In Oppression

It will not be easy to reach the stage of armed confrontation for the enemy, too, is preparing. They hope to forestall it with such measures as the creation of the Bantustans. And some of our people, sick and tired of being ruled, have thought of taking and organising the Bantustans for use against the enemy at a later date. This line of thinking is dangerous and the ANC will not allow it. For the people must always remember that the land belongs to the majority and that is the African people. They cannot allow themselves to be fobbed off with a tiny piece of the land. Furthermore, the carving up of these Bantustans will endanger all the countries in Southern Africa including Zambia, for they will all become part of a large economic unit with South Africa as the master. Eventually just as Zululand is a Bantustan so will Lesotho, Swaziland and other Southern African countries become a kind of Bantustan. The Bantustans are dangerous to the extent that they seek to break up a nation born in 1912, and those who work the system in conscious support of the South African government are collaborators in oppression.

We must exclude from this attack those who have no choice but to work within the Bantustan framework and those who use the Bantustan platform to attack apartheid and supplement our demands.

In conclusion may I state categorically that our objective is a free, unified South Africa which will be part of and on the side of the forces of progress, part of the anti-racist, anti-colour, anti-imperialist forces. We have pledged to fight for this and in repeating this pledge let us remember those who fought before us and those who fight alongside us.

(At this stage, Mr. Tambo called upon the assembly to stand for a minute in tribute to MAN and his struggle for progress) . . .

Mr. Otto Vibetti, Zambian Minister of State for Rural Development, who in his youth was a member of the Sophiatown Branch of the ANC Youth League, congratulating the ANC pledged full support for the South African struggle.

Comparing the millions of pounds poured into South Africa by such countries as Britain, the U.S.A., West Germany, Italy, and Japan, Mr. Vibetti, appealed to the OAU to give greater material assistance to the national liberation movements in Africa.

In a strongly worded attack on those African heads of State who advocated a dialogue with white South Africa, Mr. Vibetti said, "the sixty years of struggle led by the ANC is sufficient proof that dialogue is not possible".

"We should now talk through the barrel of a gun", he said.

Mr. Basil Kabwe, Secretary General of the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions and Assistant Secretary General of the All-African Trade Union Federation, said that organised workers in Zambia fully identified themselves with the struggle of the workers and peoples of South Africa.

"We pledge to ensure that our workers fully understand the situation in Southern Africa as part of advancing our own national revolution and appeal to liberation movements based in Zambia to contribute towards making

Zambian workers aware of the conditions in unliberated areas in Southern Africa," he said:

* * * * *

GUYANA LECTURE

On the occasion of the anniversary, the People's Progressive Party of Guyana held a lecture and photographic exhibition at their headquarters Freedom House.

The lecture was delivered by **Mr. Oliver Thompson, lecturer in African Studies at the University of Guyana**, who traced the history of the ANC and analysed the economic structure of South Africa.

Dr. Cheddi Jagan, former Prime Minister of Guyana and leader of the People's Progressive Party was in the chair.

The occasion was also marked by a special sale of books on Africa at the P.P.P.'s bookshop and a lengthy article on the ANC, covering two full pages, was published in the P.P.P.'s weekly newspaper: *The Mirror*

* * * * *

PARIS MEETING

The 60th Anniversary was observed in Paris with a film show and meeting. The film, produced by the United Nations, graphically showed the poverty

Photo exhibition in Guyana



among the Blacks in the midst of plenty among the white population in South Africa.

The meeting which was organised jointly by a number of organisations including the French Anti-Apartheid Movement, the North African Students Unions was addressed by Mr. Godfrey Motsepe deputy Representative of the ANC in the United Kingdom.

C.G.T. SUPPORTS BOYCOTT

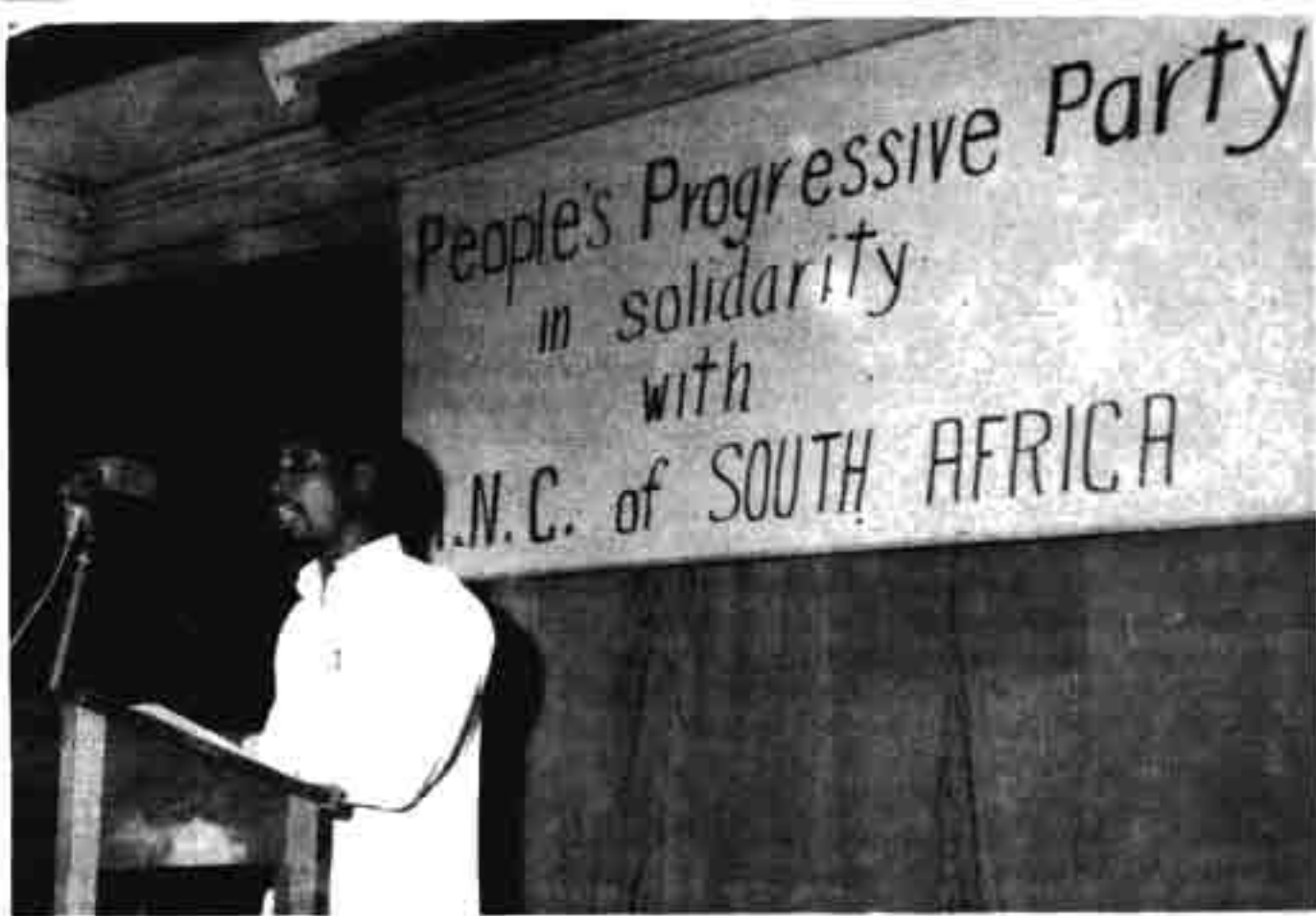
Replying to a mischievous article in the Rand Daily Mail claiming that French workers in the armament industry had asked their government to increase arms sales to South Africa, the International Department of the powerful C.G.T., (Confederation of French Trade Unions) used the occasion of the 60th anniversary to reiterate their stand on the boycott of South Africa.

In a communique on the subject the C.G.T. states:-

"The Government of France, which has complete control over the sale of arms, consistently refused repeated pleas for a boycott of sales to South Africa, which were being used against the forces of liberation."

Listing the companies involved in the sales, the communique adds:-

"Since the Government took the decision not to deliver fifty Mirage jets to Israel, we demand that it takes the same stand concerning the sale of arms to South Africa.



Mr. Oliver Thomson delivering a lecture on the S. African struggle in Guyana on the occasion of the 60th anniversary

MESSAGES OF SUPPORT

Meetings of solidarity with ANC were also held in Algiers, Dar es Salaam, Berlin, Morogoro, Toronto, London and several areas in Britain. Among the hundreds of messages received were:

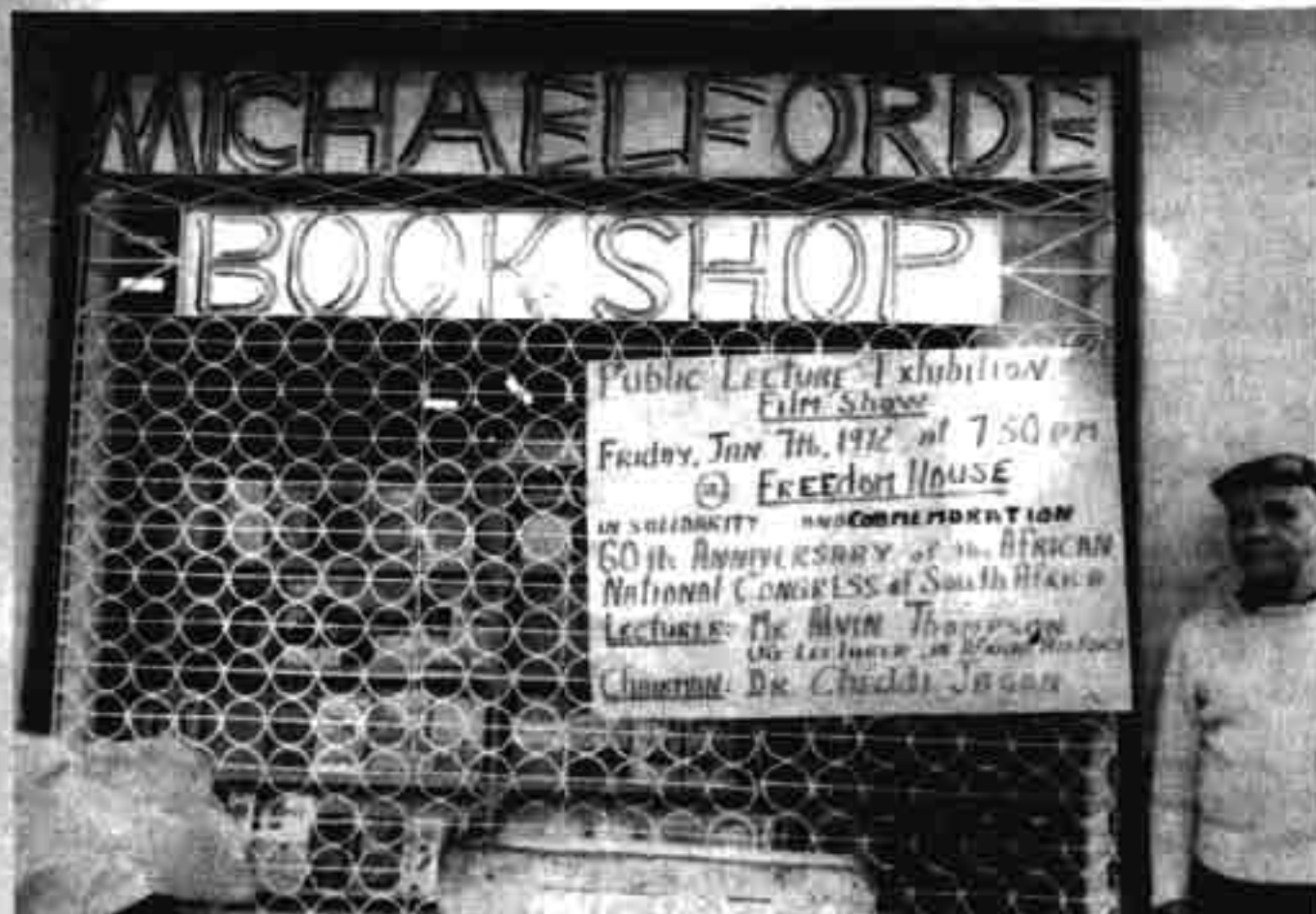
ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

From His Excellency Zaki M. Amin, Charge d'Affaires, Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt in Tanzania:

On behalf of the Government and people of the Arab Republic of Egypt, I take this opportunity on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress on January 8th 1912, to express the sincerest support and solidarity of the Arab people with the revolution of the great African people of South Africa.

We share, dear brothers, the common objectives as we are both fighting the same enemy and the battle is on whether in the North or in the South. The practice of racial discrimination and suppression by the racist regimes of South Africa and Israel against the African and Arab people respectively, are only examples of the crimes which our enemies commit against our peoples.

With our determination, continuing resistance and solidarity against our enemies who are the tools and stooges of imperialism and colonialism, victory will be ours, and we will celebrate all together the liberation of our usurped homelands.



60th ANNIVERSARY



President Sekou Toure of Guinea

GUINEA

From His Excellency, Ahmed Sekou Toure, President of GUINEA:

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of your party, it is my pleasant duty to send you, in the name of the people, the Party and the government of the Republic of Guinea, and also in my own name, our most sincere and warm congratulations and our militant greetings to all South African nationalists who are fighting against racial discrimination and the vile apartheid regime of the white minority occupying the southern part of our continent. We express to you personally, to all your patriots and faithful collaborators, as well as to all those millions of Africans heroed in misery behind walls of suffering, our wish to see the strengthening of your will even more than in the past, to shatter forever the chains of oppression and exploitation, and your fierce determination to liberate from foreign domination the southern part of Africa. We assure you of our determination to be in the vanguard of the fight for the liberation of Africa, and we wish you greater victories in your liberation struggle against imperialism and its agents.

SOVIET UNION

From the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

The Central Committee of the CPSU warmly greets the African National Congress, the oldest revolutionary democratic party of Africa, on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of its foundation.

Your Party is a genuine mouthpiece of national interests and aspirations of the African population of your country. It consistently upholds the sacred rights for freedom and human dignity, resolutely fights for the liquidation of the shameful racist regime in the Republic of South Africa.

The Soviet people support the courageous fight of our South African patriots.

The just cause of the ANC will triumph!

South Africa will be free!

* * * * *

PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA

From the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association, Peking:

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association wishes to express warm congratulations to you.

In order to win national independence, the people of South Africa have for long carried out heroic struggles to oppose white colonialist rule and racial oppression in South Africa supported by the US, British and other imperialist countries. The Chinese people have always sympathised with and supported the just struggle of the people of South Africa.

May you win new victories in your struggle against imperialism and white colonialism. May the friendship between the people of China and South Africa develop even further.

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CEYLON

From Mr. S. Thondaman, President: Ceylon Workers' Congress:

I send fraternal greetings and best wishes on behalf of the Ceylon Workers' Congress on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the African National Congress.

We look back on your six decades of noble and dedicated service to our African brothers with pride and admiration. The powerful army of the fascist regime of South Africa has not been able to suppress by torture and persecution the liberation movement of your people. The manner in which you are continuing your struggle heroically is a shining example to all oppressed people in other parts of the world. Your people have suffered immeasurably all these years and they still continue to live in humiliation and terror unthinkable in civilised society. All pressure brought on the white fascist ruling clique by right thinking people in various parts of the world has not in any marked manner changed their cruel attitude towards other human beings who are not born white. We are of the firm conviction that your protracted struggle is bound to result in complete victory and your people would be able to live as decent human beings in complete equality in a new Africa.

I wish you greater success in the coming years. May our friendship and solidarity be further strengthened.

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PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF KOREA

From the Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Korea in Zambia:

On the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in Zambia extends its warm congratulations to you and through you, to the entire South African people who are fighting against the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists and the Vorster racist clique, their lackey, and for the freedom and liberation of the country.

The founding of the African National Congress of South Africa in January 1912 was an important event in the anti-imperialist and anti-racist struggle of the South African people. We resolutely condemn the U.S.-British imperialists and the white racist clique, their lackey, for their reactionary policies, and express our active support to the just struggle of the South African people.

We sincerely wish you, the African National Congress, and the people of South Africa fresh success in their struggle to overthrow Vorster's racist rule.



Mr. Heinz H. Schmidt

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

From His Excellency, E. Kukan, Charge d'Affaires of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Zambia:

On behalf of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, I extend our most sincere greetings to you on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress of South Africa. The people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic follow with great interest and deep sympathy the struggle of the oppressed people in South Africa.

Our sympathy and support are on your side, on the side of the people who are fighting for the independence of their country. We hope that although your fight is a difficult and a continuous one, the time is not far off when South Africa will be ruled by to whom it belongs. On this occasion we also pay tribute to the heroic sons and daughters of your brave organisation who lost their lives in the course of the struggle. Their memories will be remembered forever.

We wish you to keep the revolutionary spirit in the years to come and also wish you the best results in your hard and just struggle.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

From Mr. Heinz H. Schmidt, Chairman Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR:

As the oldest and most experienced mass organisation of the African continent, the African National Congress has been waging for decades an uninterrupted, self-sacrificing struggle against a barbarous system of racism, colonial oppression and imperialist exploitation in South Africa. In spite of the bloody terror unleashed against the staunch and courageous champions of the South African people, there have been ever new fighters taking up the banner of liberty, democracy and social progress. The African National Congress has written many glorious chapters of the African peoples' struggle for national independence...

... From the very beginning, the German Democratic Republic has given its full backing and solidarity to the just struggle waged by the oppressed people of South Africa for human dignity, liberty and social progress.

Close relations of fraternal cooperation link the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic and the African National Congress. We assure you that we shall continue to multiply our efforts so as to tighten the bonds of solidarity in our joint anti-imperialist struggle. We are convinced that the cause of freedom, democracy and social progress will win through in South Africa, too.

DER RASSISMUS - ein Auswuchs des Imperialismus

Der Rassismus

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Ausstellung des Afro-Asiatischen
Solidaritätskomitee der DDR

60th ANNIVERSARY

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

From the President of the Socialist German Working Youth:

On the 60th anniversary of the ANC we wish you the very best success in your struggle. We fight side by side with you to lifting the ban over your organisation and in your struggle against colonialism and apartheid.

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AUSTRALIA

From Mr. P. Clancy, Chairman and Mr. P. Syman, Secretary, Socialist Party of Australia:

We join you in commemorating founding African National Congress. We consider this historic act raised to new level united national struggles of the African people. Fully support your flexible tactics reliance on firm mass base. Congratulate you on 60 years ceaseless effort to establish united front all anti fascist and democratic forces and to end imperialist domination. Assure our fraternal solidarity and firm conviction victory will come to African people.

Messages were also received from the South Australia Campaign Against

Racism and from the South Australia Branch of the Union of Australian Women.

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MALASIA

From the Secretary General of the Malasian Trade Union Congress:

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of your Congress, the Malasian Trade Union Congress expresses full support in your heroic struggle and wish you success in the future

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SWITZERLAND

From the Executive Committee of the International Student Movement for the United Nations (ISMUM) Geneva:

The International Student Movement for the United Nations is happy to mark today the 60th anniversary of the ANC of South Africa. We support you in your struggle and join in your demand that the South African regime release all political prisoners and lift the ban on the ANC. Furthermore, we condemn the reported murder in jail of anti-apartheid revolutionaries and the torture and persecution of many ANC compatriots.

BULGARIA

From the Central Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party:

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian people send their comradely greetings. They support the struggle of the African population in South Africa for liberation and independence against the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa.

With good wishes for new successes in your hard but just struggle.

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FINLAND

From the Secretariat of the World Peace Council, Helsinki:

On the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the ANC, the World Peace Council congratulates the African National Congress on its sustained and determined leadership of the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed. It has, no doubt, been a formidable task in a country whose history, since the arrival of white settlers in 1652, has been replete with inhuman laws to relegate the African to an inferior position and keep him enslaved.

The founding of the ANC on January 8th, 1912, as a reaction to the formation of the racist Union of South Africa in 1910 signified an important milestone in the consequent development of the struggle for freedom, equality and human justice in South Africa. The clarion call for African unity made at the inaugural meeting in Bloemfontein matured in later years to embrace all the patriotic, progressive forces irrespective of colour, creed or racial origin. Thus a common ground was created for joint struggle against the common enemy... The World Peace Council calls on all progressive and peaceloving forces to campaign vigorously for the rejection of "any form of Dialogue" with Apartheid South Africa - a move initiated to sow divisions within the OAU, undermine independent African support for the liberation movements and ultimately isolate the struggles of the oppressed. In addition, the Dialogue offensive should be exposed as a calculated gimmick for the economic, political and military domination of Africa. The ousting of the Apartheid Regime from UNO and her replacement by the

Josiah Jele ANC representative on the World Peace Council with members of the WPC Secretariat at a press conference on the 60th. anniversary of the ANC in Helsinki



rightful representatives of the people does, indeed, require urgent campaigning.

On this day the World Peace Council remembers those victims of racist bigotry who laid down their lives in the just cause of human freedom. We pay tribute to the inspiring sacrifices of the ANC leadership now incarcerated on Robben Island, men like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Bram Fischer, Kathy Kathrada and others, and demand their unconditional release from the torture chambers of Vorster.

We pledge once again to continue our firm support for the liberation struggle in South Africa led by the African National Congress. We are convinced that whatever the difficulties for the struggling peoples, the cause of peace and justice must ultimately triumph.

Messages were also received from the Finnish Africa Committee, and from the National Union of Finnish Students.

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MONGOLIA

From the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party:

Central Committee of Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party sends to African National Congress sincere congratulations on occasion of 60th Anniversary of foundation of your Party. Aims and aspirations of your Party which is defending sacred rights of people of South Africa for freedom and better life and fighting for liquidation of inhuman regime of apartheid are wellknown to the working people of Mongolia. Mongolian people brought up in spirit of proletarian internationalism resolutely support as always heroic struggle of South African people. We wish you and all South African patriots great successes in just struggle for liquidation of racialist regime in your country against imperialism, colonialism and for freedom and happiness of the people of South Africa.

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SINGAPORE

From the National Trade Union Congress:

Singapore National Trade Union Congress sends fraternal greetings on 60th

anniversary African National Congress and expresses full solidarity with objective of your great organisation and wish you victory against enemies of progress, peace and freedom. Our firm support always with you.

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NEW ZEALAND

From the New Zealand Citizens Association for Racial Equality:

On the occasion of ANC 60th anniversary we wish best success for your work. Express fullest support to your struggle for abolition of apartheid and racial discrimination.

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ZIMBABWE

From the Acting Representative, Mr. S. K. S. Yuma, Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU):

On the occasion of the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress of South Africa, we wish to salute and give you our unflinching solidarity. We also convey to the leadership and the militants of the ANC fraternal and sincere greetings from the leadership and militants of our party.

Comrades, it pays to note the history of your Organisation, especially, after 60 years of rigorous liberation struggle. The history of the ANC is a history of the entire continent of Africa. The ANC was founded on the 8th January 1912, to lead, guide and usher the oppressed fifteen million peoples of South Africa into a new era – the era of independence and self-determination.

The ANC is one of the first national liberation movements in Africa. The colour and character of the ANC struggles helped to influence the rise of nationalism on the African continent. The National anthem of the ANC has been adopted by many nations and organisations in Africa.

Rich in the understanding of the material world, the ANC is able to employ its revolutionary character to meet the challenge posed by imperialism at every stage of the development of imperialism. The ability of the ANC to employ the experience gained by other revolutionary forces of the world opened wider horizons for its revolutionary activities. The objective reality

that govern Southern Africa brought our movements together.

ZAPU and ANC are not only correct in establishing an alliance in response to the challenge of their common enemy but this alliance has opened a new era in the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa. The alliance proves the possibility of a greater alliance of the authentic liberation movements in Africa.

LONG LIVE THE ANC!

LONG LIVE THE ZAPU/ANC

ALLIANCE!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE THE WORLD OVER!

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NAMIBIA

From the Central Committee of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO):

On behalf of the Central Committee of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the fighting people of Namibia, allow me to convey our warm greetings to the people of South Africa, who on this day commemorate the 60th anniversary of the birth of the African National Congress... The 60th anniversary of the birth of the African National Congress of South Africa is an occasion to remember, for it was on this day – 60 years ago that the people gathered to form the ANC, to oppose, the foreign laws enacted by foreign invaders – the whites in South Africa, who have ever since their arrival become enemies of the Africans in that country. We as Namibians are very much aware of the conditions prevailing in South Africa today. We too in Namibia are forceably made victims of South Africa's evil system of oppression, economic exploitation and human degradation...

... On behalf of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), and the people of Namibia, may we conclude our message by saying that all oppressed people the world over have to fight for their liberation, but all the same the timing and the methods to be applied are the responsibilities of the peoples concerned.

The Namibians under the leadership of the SWAPO commenced the armed struggle 5 years ago, and I may add that, we would continue to fight against the South African occupation forces in Namibia until our country is free and totally independent. We wish our brothers and sisters in South Africa, and the African National Congress all the best in their endeavours to liberate the African continent.



Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC

The O.A.U. and South Africa

Report by
ALFRED NZO,
Secretary General
of the
African National
Congress
of South Africa
to the Committee
for Liberation
of the Organisation
of African Unity

Since our last report to this honourable committee, there have been significant international developments relating to the situation and the struggle for liberation in South Africa. These can be reviewed and examined under several headings, namely:

- a) U.N.O. action against South Africa and the designation of 1971 as a year for intensified combat of racism and apartheid.
- b) Arms sales to South Africa.
- c) Investment and trade with South Africa.
- d) South Africa's outward-looking policy and its crusade for dialogue, contact and co-operation in the economic and other fields, with African States.
- e) South Africa's aggressive and expansionist foreign policy, aimed against neighbouring African States, in particular, Zambia.

Anti-Apartheid Year: 1971

In pursuance of the resolution of the General Assembly, the UN designated 1971 as the year for intensified action against all forms of racial discrimination, apartheid and nazism. Numerous international organisations, including the O.A.U., the World Council of Churches, etc., adopted various forms of action to comply with this resolution. The results have been in many respects, increased mass mobilisation, action and demonstrations against various aspects of apartheid in different countries. Credit is due to all national and international anti-apartheid organisations which mobilised the peoples of the world against the South African racists. The isolation of South Africa in international sport, and the vigorous campaign in Australia, deserve special mention. The Ac-

ting President of the African National Congress, O.R. Tambo, has, on the invitation of governments in Africa, visited several countries during the year, in pursuance of this campaign. The people of South Africa have been fortified by this intensified activity against the apostles of apartheid and nazism.

In addition, the white, racist regime's criminal annexation of Namibia has been the subject of the most vigorous campaign, both at the International Court of Justice and in the General Assembly and Security Council sessions. Their imperialist supporters conspired to rescue the racist regime from positive action in Namibia by the United Nations.

Arms Sales to South Africa

Despite the O.A.U. delegation's visit to France and the fervent demand that France stop the sale of arms to South Africa, the French government and the armaments monopolies have continued to supply large quantities of arms to the racist regime, and have recently supplied South Africa with yet another submarine.

In the previous reports the ANC has drawn attention to the joint military projects undertaken by France and South Africa which are a threat to peace and security in Africa. This act of hostility against the peoples of South Africa and Africa now urgently calls for concerted action by the African States. France cannot be allowed to defy the expressed wishes of Africa with impunity. Surely France cannot and must not be allowed to continue to pretend indefinitely to have the goodwill and friendship of African states at heart, while she is actively engaged in a conspiracy with Africa's worst enemy. The ANC once more re-

grets that certain African States have deliberately allowed themselves to be subservient to French foreign policy in relation to the racists and fascists in South Africa.

France is not the only country helping to build a monstrous war machine in defiance of the UN Security Council resolutions and the firm demands of the O.A.U. The Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, Mr. Abby Fardh, has stated that the USA is openly selling helicopters to the racist regime. In addition he reported that Britain, West Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Israel were also continuing to supply arms to South Africa.

The British government has resumed its sale of arms to South Africa under the fraudulent and dishonest allegations that the security of the Indian Ocean is threatened by the presence of Soviet ships in the Indian Ocean, which in itself is perfectly legal in international law, as the Indian Ocean constitutes international waters. It has been correctly pointed out that the defence of the Indian Ocean and the guarantee of the security of the countries of the Indian Ocean, such as Tanzania, is not the prerogative of the Tories and their fascist allies. Furthermore, this so-called communist threat is a fabrication to hide an alliance between Britain and the racist government of South Africa in their bid to menace the security of Africa and to safeguard British economic interests in Southern Africa.

Consistent with their previous policies, the Western allies of South Africa have ignored the historic call of the UNO to make 1971 a year of intensified action against apartheid. Instead they have sought to consolidate South Africa, military and otherwise, as a fortress and spearhead for the recolonisation of Africa, against the wishes

and interests of the peoples of South Africa, Southern African and Africa as a whole.

The recent shameless betrayal of the African people in Zimbabwe through the so-called settlement between Home and Smith is reminiscent of the betrayal of the African people in South Africa in 1910. This further demonstrates the depth of the involvement of Britain in the alliance of the racist and colonialist governments of Southern Africa. The crude and brazen manner of this betrayal once more demonstrates that the imperialist powers have cast diplomacy and discretion to the winds and are on an open offensive in defence of their selfish interests. This is a grave challenge to the liberation movements, the O.A.U., and the progressive sections of UNO.

Outward Looking Policy

It is not necessary in this report to enter into any great detail about the racist, aggressive and expansionist policies of the South African regime. These have been the subject of detailed and pointed analysis in our previous reports and in discussions in various forums of international bodies and the O.A.U. Spokesmen of the South Africa racist government have openly stated that they were no longer on the defensive but on the offensive and that their priority is Africa. The offensive has taken two forms; that of open hostility, aggression and a determination to dominate the peoples of Southern Africa and Africa by force, and; that of eventual domination of Africa through economic penetration and conclusion of nonaggression, political, technical and other pacts.

Whilst apartheid ensures the most ruthless exploitation of the African people, by its very nature it has a throttling effect on the economy of the country. This, together with the massive international campaign for isolation, compels the racists to abandon their laager of isolation behind which they have sheltered for scores of years. They have either to expand or to explode. The outward-looking policy and dialogue with the African states are the direct outcome of this crisis and dilemma.

The declaration against so-called dialogue by the meeting of the Heads of State in Addis Ababa shattered the dreams of the apartheid empire-builders. But because of their desperation, the South African racists are continuing to woo and ensnare certain African states. Dr. Banda has recently been on a so-called state visit to South Africa. He has established diplomatic

relations with South Africa, in direct violation of O.A.U. resolutions and the Declaration against Dialogue.

Houphouet Biogny has sent his envoys to Pretoria and has himself declared his readiness to crawl to the racists. There are discussions of the possibility of a meeting of all pro-dialogue African states. It is gratifying to note however, that certain African states which have, in the past, been hesitant over the issue of dialogue, have since made declarations consistent with the O.A.U.'s Addis Ababa and Mogadishu declarations against dialogue.

The racist government and South Africa's financial magnates have adopted yet another means to save racism and to sugarcoat the brutal situation which exists in South Africa.

Leaders of the so-called Progressive Party like Helen Suzman, have been sent on "goodwill" tours of Africa. This is a crafty attempt to soften up the sharp hostility against the racist regime. At the same time, "leaders" of the Bantustans have been allowed to visit the US, Britain and other countries with the ostensible aim of showing the world how the Vorster clique treats what they regard as genuine African leaders. These moves are all part of a campaign to put a new gloss on apartheid and to give it the respectability it lacks.

Aggressive Offensive

The racists flagrantly violate the sovereignty of neighbouring states. Zambia has indicted South Africa with no less than 24 such aggressive acts, which were committed from the air, over land and water. These acts constitute a grave challenge to the sovereignty and independence not only of Zambia, but also of the whole continent.

The battle against the racists in Southern Africa is necessarily a protracted one both nationally and internationally. It is necessary to indict the allies of the racists however powerful they might appear to be, because they are abusing their positions in organs of the UNO like the Security Council to defend the fascist fortress. It should become an established and consistently pursued principle in Africa's foreign relations that whoever supports the racists is an enemy of the countries and peoples of Africa.

The time has come to consider appropriate action against members of the O.A.U. who shamelessly consort with the racists in violation of the Charter of the O.A.U. and its solemn resolutions. Finally a campaign to outlaw the racists from the UNO and other world bodies is now urgent and necessary.

Inside South Africa

The decisive arena of struggle against the South African racists however, remains in South Africa itself. Let us therefore deal with the most recent internal developments there.

Five main trends characterise the South African situation, namely:

- The intensification of the oppressive apartheid system
- The intensification of the repression of all anti-apartheid and revolutionary forces.
- The aggravation of the political and economic crisis of the apartheid system of white domination and super-exploitation.
- The continuation of the enemy's counter-revolutionary offensive.
- The raising of the level of resistance by the masses of the oppressed black people.

Intensification of Apartheid

The lives of the people have been reduced to an even greater wretchedness thanks to the policy of mass removals which, in its totality, has already affected at least a million (1,000,000) people. Through this policy, people are removed from land they have occupied for generations. Areas are declared "white spots" and the black people are then removed from these "spots" to arid undeveloped areas. They are robbed of their stock and have their houses demolished; whatever little patches of land they till are taken from them. In this way, they are thrown destitute and in despair, onto the labour market, forced to accept whatever wages the white employers offer, where employment is available and in most cases to face death by starvation.

Others are removed from the urban areas where they have worked and lived for many years and are thrown into the undeveloped "tribal" areas. This has sharply intensified the problem of mass, endemic unemployment in these areas, bringing with it the attendant problems of a greater incidence of diseases like malnutrition and tuberculosis, a higher crime rate, and so on. The Vorster regime continues to banish from the towns the children, the aged and the infirm as well as ex-political prisoners and "politically undesirable elements" into the so-called resettlement areas, which are, in fact, concentration camps, where there is no work, no food and no hope. Here, the people have to live on government rations, and here both the old and the young are dying like flies. Because of the high death rate, the authorities have adopted the practice of keeping a reserve of per-

manently prepared graves in these areas.

The implementation of the policy of border industries, whereby industries are established very close to so-called tribal reservations, is also being expedited. The intention behind this policy is further to intensify the exploitation of the African workers, by paying the worker drawn from the unemployed pool in the reservations starvation wages, which are even lower than those paid to African workers in the established urban-industrial centres.

These measures represent an intensification of the oppressive and super-exploitative apartheid system, calling forth greater resistance from the people. To meet this, the enemy has also increased his police terrorist offensive.

Intensification of Repression

This year, there have been four trials under the notorious Terrorism and Suppression of Communism Acts. In one of them, one of our armed cadres who fought in the historic ZAPU/ANC battles in Zimbabwe in 1967 was charged and found guilty on various charges, after having been arrested inside the country. The racists are now preparing two other trials.

Mass raids by the Security Police have become a regular feature of South African life.

Secret arrests and detentions have increased. It is not known with any exactitude how many people are now held secretly in solitary confinement. By this means, the enemy tries to hide the extent of militant opposition to his policies and simultaneously ensures for himself conditions in which he can torture and murder patriots at will.

Already this year, at least two people have died in the hands of the security police and the government has to answer a number of claims put in by political detainees for compensation for torture and maltreatment by their security police. Bannings and other forms of restriction and deportations have increased.

The racist government's spokesmen continue to speak in glowing terms about the strength and resilience of the South African economy. Yet because of apartheid, the economy faces serious economic problems. The country is experiencing a rapidly increasing rate of inflation. It is faced with the worst balance of payments deficit in its history. For the first time in about ten years, the rate of economic growth has fallen sharply, while the fears of big business within the country show themselves in the stagnation of share-prices and dealings on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. At

the basis of all these problems are the twin features of apartheid; firstly, the exclusive reservation of skilled jobs for white workers, now resulting in a severe shortage of skilled white workers with the attendant effects of a reduction in the rate of economic growth and an increase in the wages of the white workers, which increase is ultimately passed on in higher prices to the people. Secondly, the limitation, as we have said before increases South Africa's dependence on external markets and hence the necessity for her to increase her exports to Africa and the rest of the world, as a way of solving some of her economic problems without changing the apartheid system from which these problems emanate. A major contributory factor to the deficit in external payments is, of course, the scale of the racists' increasing military expenditure. All these developments are leading to the worsening in the living standards of the oppressed people.

Partly as a result of these economic developments, divisions emerged among the whites, all centred around the question of how best to maintain white domination. More important, the divisions have come about as a result of the recognition by significant sections of the white population that black liberation is inevitable. Hence these sections are urging for some accommodation of the demands of the oppressed peoples, with the aim of cooling their revolutionary temper and postponing the inevitable revolutionary transformation of our country. These developments have also come about, as we have said, as a result of the world's continuing hostility to the apartheid regime. This does not mean however that large sections of the white population have undergone a change of heart and are prepared to join hands with the oppressed majority; rather, it means that the inherent instability of the system of white domination, even in terms of cohesion among the ranks of the oppressors, has come to the surface resulting in increasing demoralisation and uncertainty among the whites.

Counter-Revolutionary Offensive

The enemy's Bantustan programme constitutes the main direction of this offensive. To our principled demand for the restoration of our birth-right, for the return of the land of our forefathers, the enemy offers "separate development". He confines us, who constitute four fifths of the country's population, into one-eighth of the land. He then divides us into tribes, allocates to each tribe some land and declares that tribal area a Bantustan, which

can then move in stages toward a form of so-called independence. And thus, he claims Africans will rule themselves in their own areas. What are the true intentions of this policy? **First:** to divert the attention of the people from pursuing their struggle for genuine liberation and for ownership of the whole country and all its wealth. Instead, the enemy wants the people to struggle for the realisation of the Bantustan programme and renounce the main question facing us in South Africa today, that of full freedom.

Second: to perpetuate white domination by imposing the oppressed masses and the apartheid rulers, African administrations whose task will be to administer and protect the system of white domination and thus redirect the anger of the people away from the real oppressors.

Third: to divide and thus weaken the African people, by setting up tribal "states", each isolated from the other, so as to destroy African national consciousness and obviate the possibility of a united African national struggle for a black, democratic South Africa.

The overall aim of this political counter-revolutionary offensive is to destroy the influence of the ANC-led national liberation movement over the masses of the people and thus isolate us from the people and leave the oppressed people without the single heart and head to unite and galvanise their feelings and thoughts, i. e. to leave them without a genuinely popular and disciplined organisation to lead them in the fight for the realisation of their genuine demands. To achieve his aims, the enemy is forced to adopt various manoeuvres, including the imposition of tribal leaders on the people. He further, as has been pointed out, permits these leaders possibilities of travelling abroad, with the hope of using them, to break South Africa's international isolation.

Resistance by the Oppressed

In pursuance of one of the main strategic tasks facing our organisation today, that of mass mobilisation of our people inside South Africa, the ANC continues to intensify its work of rousing the masses of the oppressed people to unite and resist the continued oppressive and repressive enemy offensive. **As a revolutionary organisation, we are more than ever convinced of the importance of drawing the masses of the people themselves into the struggle and oppose any suggestions that the struggle can be won only by military units, fighting on behalf of, but not together with the people. We**

are equally opposed to any suggestions that our people have been cowed and terrorised into permanent immobility by the apparent might of the enemy and that therefore we need merely inject military units to raise the people's fighting spirit from naught. Rather, life has presented us with the task of mastering the art of combining both mass actions and armed struggle.

In our situation there can be no shortcuts to revolution; we must necessarily pass through this stage of slow, painstaking work of teaching the people in the towns and the countryside, in the factories, farms, mines and schools; of leading the women and youth; teaching them methods of organisation and struggle. Patience and stubborn persistence in our work is already paying off great dividends.

In the past few months, South Africa has been rocked by a series of mass actions by the oppressed people. In Port Elizabeth, one of our main cities, there was the month-long bus boycott in struggle against an increase in fares. Even when the police moved in, opening fire and killing and injuring many people, the people refused to submit, extended their tactics to include revolutionary violence in response to police terror, until the authorities were forced to enter into negotiations with them. Throughout the country, the people are actively resisting the government's policy of removals. Many times the government has been forced to call in armed police units.

The peasants, in the most widely-publicised incident, challenged even this police might by taking up primitive arms against it, putting it to flight and later evading it when it started pursuing them. Thousands of black workers in the garment industry and the docks have won for themselves higher wages by putting in demands, backed by strike action. These were struggles against not only the employers but also the government which backed the employers.

In the schools and colleges, the students have continued to struggle against an educational and social system which gives them not only backward educational facilities, but also an education which is inferior in its content. The apartheid state has been compelled to appoint a commission of inquiry to discover the causes of student unrest. The students have organised an overwhelmingly successful black people's boycott of the celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of the white oppressors' Republic, in May 1971 making the celebrations a complete farce. Everywhere the people are rising to meet the might of the enemy, thanks to persistent work by

our underground organisation, under the most difficult conditions.

Apart from the task of mass mobilisation, we are confronted with two other strategic tasks.

The first of these is the further consolidation and expansion of our organisation within the country. Without a revolutionary organisation no revolutionary transformation is possible. Operating as we do in a police state, we have to observe to the last letter, all the principles of illegal organisation. It should be borne in mind that in South Africa there is no area of the country which the enemy's civil and police administration has no representatives with whom it is in direct and immediate contact.

Therefore it is a matter of absolute necessity for us, whether we work in the countryside or in the towns, that we should work in secret, slowly, paying meticulous attention to detail and constantly checking the ground we have covered to discover whether there has been any possibility of police penetration or discovery.

The enemy of course realises the importance of stopping us from successfully carrying out this strategic task of organisation. He therefore spares neither effort nor ingenuity, personnel nor money in trying to destroy our organisation, at home and abroad. Yet, he is forced to admit that he cannot destroy us, as the chief of the combined secret service of the Republic of South Africa, Gen. van den Bergh of the Bureau of State Security recently admitted.

Armed Struggle

Unique among all the peoples of Africa, our people were completely disarmed by the colonialists and racists. Yet we face an enemy which can only be removed by force of arms. We therefore face the responsibility of helping our people to acquire war material at home and abroad, of training them in the handling of this material and providing cadres who can lead them in defeating an army which is armed with the most modern weapons, which has directly studied the most recent experiences in counter-insurgency and whose military supplies and war needs are guaranteed by the imperialist world. In a situation in which the terrain normally considered favourable for guerrilla warfare is absent, in which the socio-economic characteristics of the population are those of an industrialised country and in which there are other unique features, such as the total and comprehensive control of the population

through the machinery of civil administration, we are constantly called on to decide many new and unique questions of warfare. This further complicates our task, raising the necessity for greater ingenuity and painstaking work if the preparations are to lead successfully to an expanding military struggle.

The preparations for and the carrying out of our revolution, as for any other revolution, confront us with many difficult and practical questions. These we are overcoming and will continue to do so, though occasional reverses are not impossible. No amount of theorising or prescribing solutions will bring liberation to the suffering and struggling people of our country. And here we need to state it as clearly as possible, that we consider the progressive world, and especially independent Africa, as our most stable rear, just as the imperialist countries constitute our enemy's most stable rear. In that sense, the consistent activation of our rear to give us, who are in the frontline, uninterrupted and adequate practical and material support as our enemy receives from their rear, constitutes one of the significant factors in the pace of the development of our struggle. As yet, we can say, the level of activation of this rear is, in relation to our needs, very low. This is the fact of the situation, however, unpalatable it may be, though of course, we wish to do no injustice to those countries and peoples of Africa in particular, who have borne their full share and more of their part of the burden of support of what is, objectively, an all-African cause.

In this context, we should like to put on record our appreciation and deep-felt thanks for the help given to us by this honorable committee to hold our conference in Zambia from the 27th-31st of August. The conference was a significant milestone in the further unfolding of our struggle. It confirmed the general line of our organisation for the seizure of power and undertook a detailed review of our progress and charted the way forward. It further raised the level of unity and common purpose within our ranks, contrary to the wishes of our enemies.

We, in unity with our courageous people, will continue the process, at home, of harassing the enemy and wearing him down. We are confident of success and are willing to sacrifice all for the final and bitter battle to free our Motherland from the racist monsters who rule it today.

IN DETENTION AGAIN

Background Notes on
Mr. and Mrs. Josiah Chinamano
Supplied by the Defence
and Aid Fund, London



Mr. Josiah Chinamano

Photo Marion Kaplan

Mr. Josiah Chinamano, who had been a leading member of the outlawed Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), and right hand man to Mr. Joshua Nkomo, was also the founder and Headmaster of the largest non-Government school in Rhodesia, the Highfields Community School in Salisbury which had 1,400 pupils. He also founded a co-operative office and shopping centre. His example encouraged others to help – the Scottish Union of Teachers helped to supply him with staff – several liberal white Rhodesian women gave their secretarial services. Long before U. D. I. the Government tried to undermine the school offering without success higher salaries to Mr. Chinamano's white teachers.

On 16th April 1964 the regime struck. In terms of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act they detained Mr. Chinamano and his wife Ruth without charge in the desolate camp at Wha Wha. Mrs. Chinamano was one of the few women to be detained. Their five children were left parentless and as the youngest, Josiah Junior, was only two at the time, he went into detention with his parents. Four years later, a British lecturer, Mr. Russell Warren Howe, raised a fund to bring Josiah junior to the United Kingdom. The other four children were forced to spend all their school holidays in the camp. Elizabeth, the only daughter, has been seriously affected by the detention of her parents.

In 1969, the International Defence and Aid Fund took over the support of all five children, including the payment of school fees. Mr. Chinamano studied B. Sc.

(Econ.) and also acted as Education Secretary for the project run by the Fund whereby men in detention are provided with study courses. Mrs. Chinamano also studied under the aegis of this scheme. At the time of his arrest and throughout his detention Mr. Chinamano was ill with hypertension. Just prior to his release he was taken from Wha Wha to undergo a hernia operation.

On 6th August 1970 Mr. Chinamano and his wife were released, but were confined to an area within the radius of four miles from their Highfield home. Mr. Chinamano was forbidden to return to teaching. So he and his wife opened a small store to enable them to earn a living, while the Fund continues to pay for the education of the children.

Ill, restricted, beset with family problems, Mr. and Mrs. Chinamano might have decided to keep quiet in the present situation. But a man of his dedication does not abandon the fight against injustice. Writing of him Mr. Howe said: "Mr. Chinamano has never lost his faith in his deeply felt belief in the world as a community of people".

Mr. Chinamano became active in the African National Council and now once again both he and his wife have been arrested by the Smith Regime. The International Defence and Aid Fund fears greatly for his health and is concerned about the effect of these latest arrests on the Chinamano children. It knows however that the spirit of Mr. and Mrs. Chinamano will never be broken.

In December 1971, over 20,000 Namibian workers downed tools and went on strike, bringing the mines and other industries to a standstill and paralysing the country. Two months later, most of them were still out on strike, and the action had escalated to armed insurrection in parts of Ovamboland to the north. It was the the most extensive strike in Namibia's stormy history, a mighty blow which shook the Vorster regime's illegal administration, and a historic defeat for apartheid unparalleled since the great mass campaigns of the ANC in South Africa in the fifties and early sixties.

SECHABA pays tribute to the courage and militance of the Namibian workers and people. Their resourceful and determined action has demonstrated once again their unquenchable desire to be free of the loathsome racist rule of Pretoria and its cruel economic exploitation. Their united resistance to the police terror unleashed from Pretoria has inspired the oppressed millions throughout Southern Africa, and engraved a new and treasured page in the history of the freedom struggle.

The story of the strike is told below in three parts. Part I deals with the background to the strike, Part II with the actual events of December, January and February, and Part III with the lessons of this important struggle.

THE GREAT NAMIBIA STRIKE

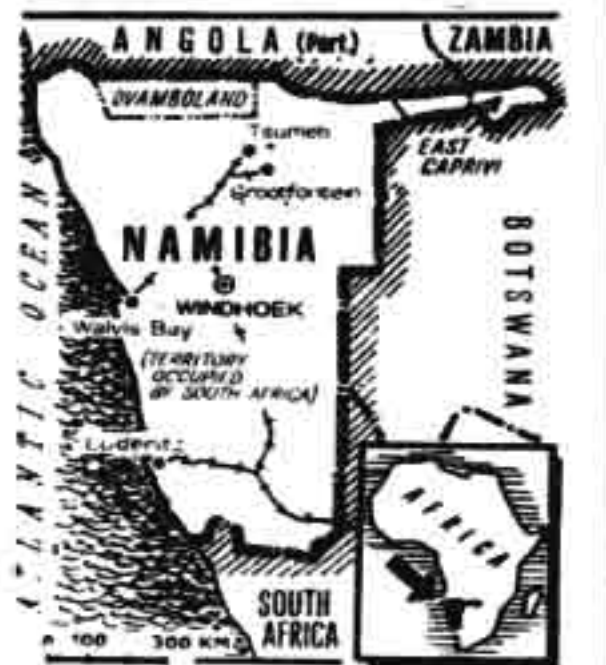
PART 1

Background to the Strike

The South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA) was formed in 1943. Its task – until it was abolished in January of this year – was to channel African workers from Ovamboland, the Kaokoveld, Kavango and other parts of SWA to white farmers, into government service, to the mines, fisheries and factories of the territory, and the remainder (usually 10–15 %) via its Watwatersrand counterpart (Wiwela), to the South African gold mines. From the outset SWANLA discharged its odious duties with maximum concern for the needs of the employers and minimum care for the workers. Being a monopoly, without rivals, enjoying Government recognition and backing, SWANLA imposed its own terms and conditions, and sustained a human traffic in ultra-cheap, virtual slave labour which made South West Africa a paradise for foreign capitalists

and a living hell for the black worker. Not that forced migratory labour, starvation wages and the disruption of family life began with SWANLA's formation in 1943. It goes back to the early 1920's. Then, the unusually flat plains of Ovamboland were able to support the people, the soil being flooded annually from the highlands of southern Angola. Crop cultivation was practised more widely than anywhere else in this dry, drought-prone land. (It was partly the relative independence of the Ovambo people arising from their mode of subsistence, and promoted by the geographic isolation of their territory, that gave rise to the colonisers' favourite myth – now shattered for ever – that the Ovambos were willing and happy subjects of the Pretoria government's administration). Harsh measures including taxation of grazing lands and

tribal levies were adopted to push the men off the land and into the service of British, South African and later (since Sharpeville) American mining capital. Conditions were worse on the white-owned farms, where workers suffered lowest wage rates, arbitrary treatment, humiliation and assault, without even the compensation of that sense of solidarity and mutual strength – plus the possibilities of organisation – which are afforded by industrial wage labour. Not surprisingly, the recent strike has received least support from the workers on the white-owned farms. Not only do they often have the use of a bit of land such as no mineworker has away from home, but they are also exposed to punitive action from their employers. The mentality of white farmers can be gauged from the speech of one of their delegates to a Congress in Windhoek



Drawing by courtesy of New Times - Moscow No 7 72

workers a miserly \$3 per month. Even the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner a Mr. G. White, who is as guilty as any of the employers and more guilty than most officials, admitted in a press interview: "The Government concedes that the labour contract system and its pay scales are not satisfactory and there is no doubt that the Ovambos have justified grounds for complaint." (2)

The contract system also kept men apart from their wives and children for a year or more at a time. Living under lock and key, exhausted by the daily drudge of intense hard work, and obliged when not at work to comply with the pass laws, 'border' control requirements, and the rest of the apparatus of police-state regimentation, the Namibian workers have been no better off than ordinary convicts - in fact, worse, because their's was a life sentence.

The Struggle for Independence

Thus in their conditions of labour and life there was cause enough and to spare for the militant strike action of the Ovambo and other workers. But their action had also an even more important political aspect which many reports have failed to bring out. The Namibian people have never accepted the rule of foreigners, be they German (until 1915) or white South Africans (since 1915). By 1966 they had come to realise that freedom and independence would never come from outside, that only by their own efforts would they throw off their shackles, that their path forward - other channels being blocked - lay through armed struggle. The refusal that year of the imperialist-dominated World Court at the Hague to take a decision on the legality of the Republic's annexation of SWA underlined the correctness of the liberation movement's strategic line, and added urgency to the first, difficult undertakings of the guerrilla cadres of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in the latter half of 1966.

The First 'Terrorism Act' Trial

The racist enemy struck back in the fascist way for which it is notorious. Mass arrests, brutal tortures and murders by the South African Special Branch, protracted interrogations and detentions in solitary confinement, culminating in the trial in Pretoria (starting June 1967) of 37 Namibian patriots, all SWAPO activists. Despite their previous sufferings at the hands of the police, they stood trial with dignity and complete confidence in the justice of their cause, defiantly rejecting the racist court's claim to jurisdiction over them. Said that fine leader, Toivo Herman Ja Toivo:

"I am a loyal Namibian and I could not betray my people to their enemies. I admit that I decided to assist those who had taken up arms. I know that the struggle will be long and bitter. I also know that my people will wage that struggle, whatever the cost.

Only when we are granted our independence will the struggle stop. Only when our human dignity is restored to us, as equals of the Whites, will there be peace between us." (3)

When the Vorster regime sent the SWAPO militants away to the bleakness of Robben Island for life imprisonment, it thought it was silencing them forever. It could not have been more wrong.

'Bantustans' Come to Namibia

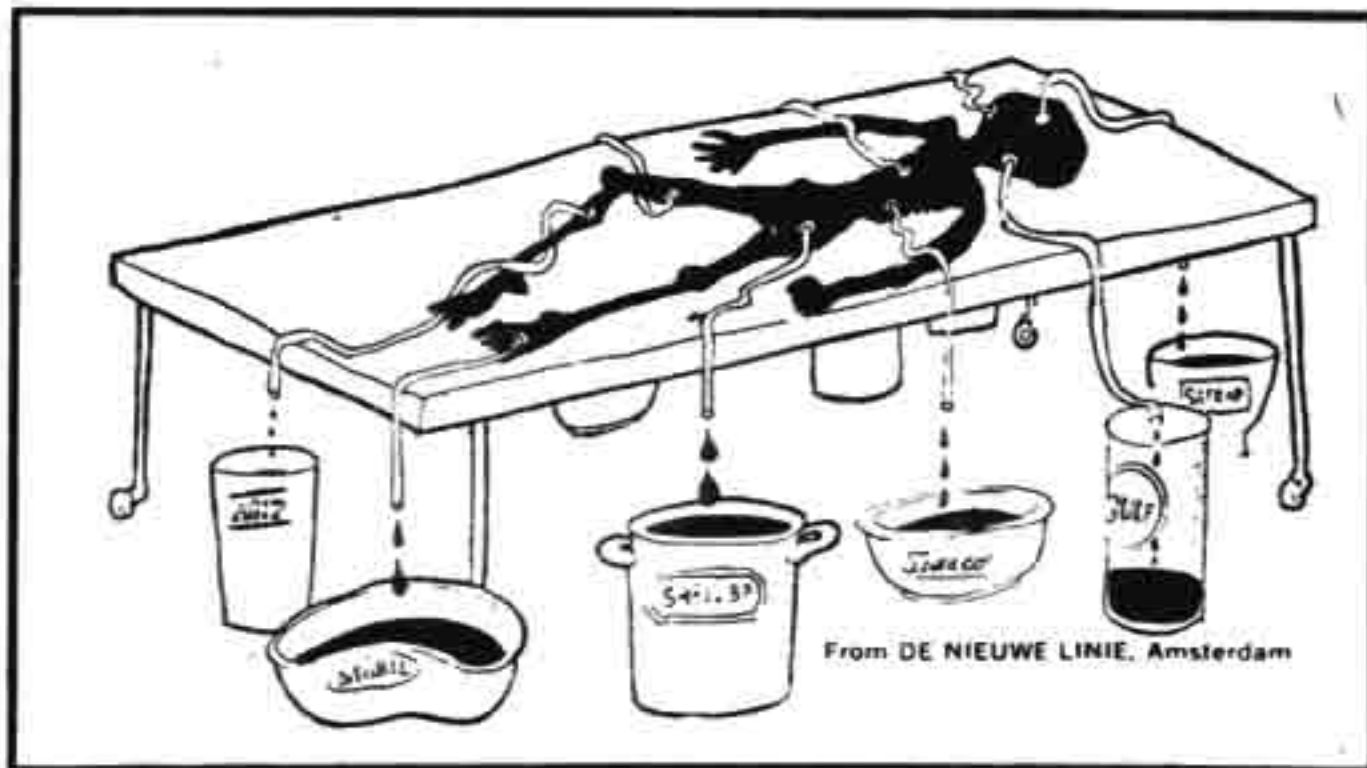
Using the Odendaal Commission's report as a basis, Vorster pushed ahead with the imposition of apartheid in Namibia and tightened his administrative hold, in defiance of a UN Security Council resolution which conferred the right of administration - pending independence - on the UN itself. Ovamboland - as the largest, most self-sufficient of the scattered Reserves of Namibia - was to be the show-piece of 'separate development', another Transkei. In 1968 an appointed Ovamboland Legislative Council was created, without even the charade of staged elections which Verwoerd had enacted in the Transkei, and a clutch of tribal puppets was installed, headed by the hated Chief Shimii. (He died in a car 'accident' in November 1971). But the apartheidisation of Namibia only stimulated the people to further resistance, and in the northern region, especially the Caprivi Strip and Okavango, as well as Ovamboland and the Kaokoveld, guerrilla activities intensified.

1. Ruth First: "South West Africa" Penguin Books 1963 p. 139
2. Sunday Times (Johannesburg) 19. December 1971
3. The full text of Toivo's speech is contained in "Erosion of the Rule of Law in South Africa", published by the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, 1968.

towards the end of last year. He announced proudly that he withheld his employees' wages until their contract expired, to ensure that they stayed till the end of the contract; he recommended his system to other farmers. When white farmers advocate breach of contract they are applauded; when African workers do the same in defence of their right to a living wage, they are prosecuted under the 19th Century-type Masters and Servants laws.

Starvation Wages-Super Exploitation

Wage rates were and are appallingly low. Writing nearly ten years ago, Ruth First calculated that "One year's work by a miner or industrial worker at the highest SWANLA rate paid, will earn £30. The man earning the minimum daily rate gets 35/- a month." (1) Today, the minimum for a 'picannin' (i. e. youth) is £2.25 - which taking into account the rising cost of living and declining value of money is lower as a real wage than the supposed minimum of 1962. One employer, giving evidence for the state in the trial of the alleged ring-leaders of the strike, admitted to paying his



From DE NIEUWE LINIE, Amsterdam

The World Court Condemns South Africa

Against this background of mounting poverty, galloping apartheid and the growing effectiveness of SWAPO's guerrilla activities, the June 1971 decision of the World Court, belatedly establishing in international law the illegality of the Republic's rule in Namibia, came as a sharp catalyst of further struggle. Predictably, Vorster rejected the Court's ruling that South Africa should withdraw from the territory. The subsequent train of events has been described as follows:

"Some of the Government-appointed chiefs, particularly Ushona Shimii, Chief Minister of Ovambo, welcomed the S. African rejection of the court's decision. Most Africans, however, supported the Court. The first sign of the depth of the unrest came when a number of employees of the Ovambo administration, including civil servants and teachers, issued a public statement denouncing Shimii's statement. They were later dismissed. Subsequently, a new secondary school was opened at Onguediva amid a blaze of publicity. There was a demonstration of over 1,000 teachers, parents and students against South Africa's presence, and the school was immediately closed. It did not reopen (the following term). Students at the Augustineum secondary school near Windhoek also demonstrated, and a large number were dismissed. That too was closed.

In July, the leaders of the two African churches, Bishop Auala and Pastor Gowaseb issued pastoral letters which were read in all churches, declaring their support for the International



Compound at Kutatura

Court. They also sent open letters to Vorster, and held to their stand when summoned to meet him. Colin Winter, the white Anglican Bishop of Damara-land, supported them.

Later, the Council of the Rehebothers, who have had a long history of an originally granted autonomy being whittled away by the Germans and South Africans, declared they would appeal to the UN, while Chief Kapuuo of the Hereros also added his voice to those calling for a South African withdrawal." (4)

The Workers Rise

To stop the mounting swell of protest, heavily armed police rounded up

nearly 800 Africans in the prison-like barracks and bare streets of the Kutatura location at Windhoek. They were alleged to be there 'illegally'. Inspired by guerrilla successes to the north-east, by the widespread agitation in schools and colleges, by the moral weight added to the movement by the churches and their leaders, the workers began stoppages spontaneously, in Walvis Bay and Windhoek. But these early efforts, uncoordinated and unorganised, were inevitably short-lived. The need for organisation was recognised and met.

The stage was set for massive nationwide industrial action against the whole system. All that was needed was for somebody to raise the curtain.

PART 2

The Strike is On!

Obligingly, there stepped forward at this moment Mr. Jannie de Wet, who rejoices in the title of the Commissioner General of the Indigenous People of SWA. Replying to a Lutheran church condemnation of the contract labour system as 'slavery', the hapless De Wet, naively believing his own government's lying propaganda, denied that contract labour was slavery. How could it be, when the Ovambos accepted it voluntarily and did not hesitate to sign contracts?

This open invitation to withdraw from the contract labour system was instantly taken up by the workers in Walvis Bay. After discussion they wrote dozens of personal letters to friends and contacts in the Windhoek location and elsewhere urging joint

action against the contract labour system. This method of communication ensured that the message got past the police, and got round widely and quickly. Despite intimidation from the authorities, the Windhoek workers met early in December 1971 and decided to strike on the 13th. The Bantu Affairs Commissioner tried to talk them out of it, and when he failed, the police moved in firing off their guns, beating up men in the streets and smashing windows and doors. The workers were not cowed. They elected representatives who explained the workers' case to Government-appointed 'tribal elders' who were brought down from Ovamboland for discussions. The latter's silence in the face of their arguments was evidence that they knew

the strikers' cause to be just and reasonable. When one of them half-heartedly urged the strike leaders to call it off, they refused, because, they said: "The people have said so and not us. It is the people who govern and not us." (This quotation comes from the diary of one of the strike leaders who was later charged with 12 others). (5)

4. "Background: Third World Reports" London 16 January 1972.

5. The diary is quoted at length by Alex Lyon, Labour MP, in an article in *The Observer* (London) 13 February 1972.



African residential area in Windhoek

Spread Like Wild Fire

In Katutura township, Windhoek, after similar meetings, the strike was on. By the 13th December 6,000 men were out, and undisclosed numbers of African police were sacked for sympathising with the strikers. Within a few days, production was stopped at the Klein Aub and Oamites copper mines, the Berg Aukas lead and vanadium mines, the Uis tin mines and the giant, US-dominated copper-lead-zinc complex at Tsumeb. The strikers demanded to be taken back to their families in Ovamboland, and the authorities – thinking they would be able to find enough scab labour to carry on with, while using the 'tribal elders' to put pressure on the strikers, in the relative isolation of the far north – promptly complied. It was a strategic blunder, which overlooked the deep-rooted political and national grievances of not just the Ovambo workers but all Namibian workers, and their unity of purpose. Repatriation in fact both guaranteed that most of the mines stayed closed and shifted the focus of struggle to the countryside.

At the end of December, as though to proclaim the failure of the Government's effort to confine the struggle to the north, hundreds of workers downed tools at the Consolidated Diamond Mines at Oranjemund, right down at the south-western tip of the country. The year closed with the contract labour system in ruins, the Ovambo workers solidly united and concentrated in their home province, and leaders of the Herero and other peoples urging their workers not to

blackleg. Thirteen alleged ring-leaders were in jail, over 11,000 Ovambos had been repatriated, and at least 20,000 workers were on strike.

Strike Committee Elected

Early in January 1972 the strikers in Ovamboland elected a committee of 25, chaired by Johannes Nangutuula, who had been one of those administration employees sacked in July, and who was known to be connected with SWAPO. (It is still too early to examine how far SWAPO has been involved in the strike. The organisation has always had strong support from the Ovambo people, amongst whom it began in 1959. Though not actually illegal like the ANC, it is outlawed in all but name, its known members constantly under surveillance and its underground cadres unknown). The strike committee formulated a set of demands, circulated leaflets and called for talks with the government. Workers on the railways, on the tin and lithium mines and from the fishing fleet at Walvis Bay joined the strike. The government's reply was to air-lift in additional police and announce bilateral talks first with the employers and then with the tribal authorities. The latter, appointed and unrepresentative, yet were forced to acknowledge the strength of the popular movement by supporting the demand for the abolition of contract labour. The workers demands were more far-reaching. They want:

- freedom to choose their jobs
- the right to have their families with them
- the rate for the job irrespective of colour, and equal treatment for all

- employment bureaux to be established in all towns and regions
- mutual respect of employers and employees
- wages sufficient for workers to pay for their own food and transport
- an end to pass-books; identity cards instead
- removal of 'the barricade' (the police post at the boundary of Ovamboland).

To these workers' demands the Ovambo people added further demands at meetings in different parts of their territory. They called for:

- the expulsion of all whites from the territory
- an end to stock inspection
- removal of the border fence between Ovamboland and Angola (6)

On 21st January the Government announced the abolition of SWANLA and its replacement by a labour recruiting system to be run by tribal headmen. It was the old contract system in a new, Bantustan-type form. The overwhelming majority of the strikers rejected it out of hand. Their original memorandum had warned that they would not accept the old system in a new guise.

The Crisis Deepens

To quell the mounting dissatisfaction and growing militance of the people, the police began to operate daily helicopter patrols, especially on the Angola border where the fence was cut in over twenty different places. The fence was erected a few years ago as part of the Vorster regime's attempt to stamp out guerrilla activities in northern Namibia. It is deeply resented by the Ovambo people who live both on the Namibian and Angolan sides of the border.

Knowing that it had done nothing to remove the causes of discontent, and having failed to drive the workers back to work by police intimidation, the Government began to prepare a vicious assault on the people. White women and children were evacuated from the town of Oshikango in Northern Ovamboland, while the Portuguese colonialists moved in large forces of troops on 'their' side of the border, shooting and beating indiscriminately. Public meetings other than those called by chiefs had already been banned – utterly ineffectively. At the end of January, to supplement the 150 additional Railway Police brought from South Africa at the start of the strike, and the Pretoria police reinforcements flown in at the end of December, units of the South African Army were sent to Ovamboland and a total news black-out imposed. Within a few days, dozens of Africans had been shot, and unknown numbers wounded and arrested.

6. Rand Daily Mail 20 January 1972.

Armed Revolt

The clamp-down on news has made it difficult for the outside world to discover the extent of the armed resistance which the people now had to resort to in the face of Army repression and brutality. But on the 25th January the Nationalist newspaper 'Die Vaderland' gave the game away with a panicky headline screaming "OVAMBOS REVOLT!" The story that followed claimed that several thousand men, armed with pangas, spears and bows and arrows, were marching on the administrative capital of Ovamboland. Clearly, something of this sort did occur, although the true picture has still to be revealed. Moreover, other armed clashes have occurred, but even fewer reliable details of these are available at the time of writing.

Trying to penetrate the veil of silence, the Anglican Bishop of Damaraland (Colin Winter, mentioned earlier) visited his mission at Odibo, and interceded with the Ondangua magistrate on behalf of relatives of the SWAPO militants imprisoned on Robben Island who were being refused permission to visit their menfolk. The Bishop was promptly expelled from Ovamboland, and the remaining Finnish and other missionaries in the area (who for years provided the only education available there, and who are known to be sympathetic to the people's cause) are also in danger of eviction. In addition to the battles of the Ovambo strikers with the racist army and police, there have been some small clashes between the strikers and would-be scabs. The latter were duly inflated out of all proportion by the capitalist Press in South Africa as

part of its contribution to the government's effort to demoralise the men and defeat the strike. But by the end of the first week in February, with the strike almost two months old, an official statement revealed that only 1,711 men had returned to work – less than 10% of the total number on strike. The unity and solidarity of the strikers and their steadfast determination in the face of everything the apartheid regime has thrown at them, has been one of the most striking features of this tremendous struggle.

'Normal' Capitalism Comes to Namibia

The Pretoria government can take little comfort even from the small numbers who have returned to work. Press reports from Windhoek and Walvis Bay reveal that these men's expectations of a new labour system and better conditions have been sadly disappointed, and much discontent is evidenced by stoppages and desertions.

Commercial, domestic and farming employers are showing signs of panic at the possibility that – for the first time in Namibia's history – they are going to have to pay wages that will attract workers and to compete with each other as buyers in a labour market.

Meanwhile, on 14th February, the trial resumed in Windhoek of the 13 men detained two months previously as alleged ringleaders. They are charged with intimidation, incitement, and breach of contract (4 charges in all). The International Commission of Jurists has sent black American judge William Booth as an observer, and he quickly announced his horror at the food and living conditions of the workers in the Kututura barracks. By the time these lines are read, the trial and the strike itself may be over, but whatever the outcome of the present crisis, the heroic struggle of the Namibian people commands the active support and appreciation of all progressive opinion, and its latest outstanding achievements deserve analysis.



PART 3

Lessons of the Strike

When the history of the liberation struggle in Namibia comes to be written, it may well be that the great strike of 1971/72 will occupy the same key position as the 1905 Revolution in Russia holds in the history of the first Socialist Revolution. It may come to be seen as the general rehearsal for that ultimate uprising which will sweep away the remnants of colonialism and racism and set the Namibian people irreversibly on the path to a better future. Certainly, however it ends, things can never be the same again. The most active force for change in the situation, the Namibian people, and especially the Namibian workers, have experienced to the full, and for the first time on such an extensive scale, the latent power which lies in them-

selves – their power not as individuals but as a mass movement, united behind clear and just aims.

When a people discover that they are powerful, though disarmed by the State, disorganised and handicapped by every link in the chain of exploitation and oppression, then the days of the oppressors are numbered. Never again can the superior force and resources of the enemy appear an insuperable obstacle. The weapons of the oppressed – unity, solidarity and organisation – have been tested in battle, and the people have learned for themselves what no political organisation can teach them en masse, that their future lies in their own hands. Vorster passop! (Vorster Watch Out).

Democracy in Action

In 1905, to continue this historical parallel, the workers formed for the first time the institution which was to become the instrument of their class power after October 1917 – the Soviets. It was an unplanned development, an improvisation of the popular masses in the course of making history. In the Namibian strike, the element of real grass-roots democracy has similarly been an unforeseen but crucial factor. The major decisions were made after intensive discussion involving all those affected or their immediate delegates. Hence the firmness of those decisions when put to the test of action and government reaction. When, near the end of January, the chairman



White section of Windhoek

of the strike committee ill-advisedly welcomed the new form of migratory labour and urged strikers to go back, using the local radio station to reach a wider audience than he had ever had, the people largely ignored him, not only because his judgement was so clearly wrong as to the merits of the proposed tribal recruiting scheme, but also because in their eyes he had no mandate to accept it.

The Decisive Role of Armed Struggle

A third lesson of the strike is its vivid proof of the way in which when a higher form of struggle is correctly introduced into a people's movement, it radically deepens the scope and character of other, lower forms of struggle. SWAPO launched armed struggle in 1966. No territory was liberated, no major military victories were won in the ensuing five years. Yet it had been a correct tactic, and its correctness was borne out by the deep political overtones which the worker's strike took on from the outset, and by the way in which an industrial strike developed rapidly into a general political strike and thence into armed insurrection. A decade ago, a similar economic conflict could not have

spread so quickly or turned into a major political confrontation. This is one of the respects in which armed struggle is proving to be the decisive form of struggle, not only in Namibia, but throughout Southern Africa. Armed struggle, correctly adopted, raises other forms of struggle towards itself and sharpens their impact. The significance of this will not be lost on the South African people.

It would be easy – and foolish – for outside sympathisers to feel superior about the cultural backwardness of the Ovambo strikers reflected in their open religiosity – the prayers at the start of their meetings, their frequent references to God as the leader of their cause, the still pervasive influence of Church and mission in their lives. Again, the example of other revolutions remind us that it is not the religious forms of Men's ideas but their objective understanding of the real situation and their role in it which determines the revolutionary character of their struggle. Were not the Russian peasants superstitious, devout and overwhelmed by the prestige of the Tsar? Yet they fought for the Revolution and proved in action to be the main ally of the proletariat.

There can be no doubt that not only will the people of Namibia emerge stronger than ever from this epic pe-

riod, but also their national liberation movement SWAPO will command wider respect and deeper loyalty. "If SWAPO claimed to have organised the strike", wrote an English journalist in *The Guardian* (12/1/1972) after a recent visit to Namibia, "it would have been suppressed immediately. But there is no doubt in my mind that SWAPO has a great deal to do with it. All the Ovambos I met in Namibia talked about SWAPO as the major element in resistance to white supremacy."

One final parallel with 1905. Then, and now, the willingness of the masses to fight and sacrifice for the revolution proved to be far ahead of the capacity of the organised vanguard to lead and co-ordinate their struggle. The heroic men who took to arms in Northern Ovamboland are not to be blamed for their desperate action. On the contrary, they deserve our respect and applause, for they have blazed a trail which others will take in far greater numbers, better prepared and more skilled in the art of insurrection, and their blood has watered the growing flower of the victorious people's revolutionary struggle! Today's spears and arrows will be tomorrow's guns and bullets, today's spontaneous outbursts tomorrow's planned uprising, today's set-backs tomorrow's triumphs.