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YUSUF DADOO: 70th BIRTHDAY

This month our liberation movement is celebrating Dr. Dadoo's 70th birthday. This is not a normal practice in our movement. Besides Comrades Moses Kotane and Nelson Mandela whose birthdays were observed internationally, Dr. Dadoo is the third person who is honoured in this fashion. There is enough reason for this.

Comrade Dadoo has dedicated his adult life to the struggle for the liberation of the nationally oppressed Blacks in South Africa. Since 1937 when he came back to South Africa from studying in Britain he was involved in all the struggles of our people. He was arrested and banned many times. That was not all. He gave form and content to the politics of the then reformist Transvaal Indian Congress and later became the President of the South African Indian Congress. He also joined the Communist Party of South Africa and functioned in its leading organs and after the death of Uncle J.B. Marks, he became its National Chairman.

One of his greatest merits was the role he played in bringing the Indian community closer to the Africans — no easy task those days — and this found expression in the Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact of 1947 (a pact of the ANC President-General, Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress Presidents). This was not just a pact of the leaders but unity in action of the oppressed which found expression in the joint struggles of the 50's (African, Coloured and Indian) and the adoption by all oppressed and by the democratic Whites of the Freedom Charter. The climax of these early endeavours was the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (armed wing of the ANC) in 1961 and the Morogoro Conference which cemented on a higher level the unity of the oppressed begun in 1947 by Drs. Xuma, Naicker and Dadoo. The



Comrade Yusuf Dadoo

Morogoro Conference which declared that all South Africans — irrespective of their "racial" origin can join the ANC — symbolised the far sightedness and internationalism of the Africans who extended a hand of friendship to all genuine South African revolutionaries. Dr. Dadoo played his role also in this respect.

It is these qualities which we are celebrating: his fearlessness, courage, determination, non-racism, unity in action and internationalism; qualities which have come to characterise our movement and inspire the younger generation — the generation of Soweto and Gugulethu and other revolutionary centres in our country. The African National Congress which has declared war against racism in South Africa is the home, shield and spear of all genuine, patriotic South Africans.

DR DADOO- THE NATION SALUTES YOU

On September 5, 1979, Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, national chairman of the South African Communist Party and Vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress of South Africa, celebrated his 70th birthday. The occasion was of importance not only to him as an individual but also to the organisations he has led and the principles for which he has fought throughout his political career. At a time when the white racist regime in South Africa is trying to divide black from white, Indian and Coloured from African, to separate each racial group in its own Bantustan or ghetto for the greater glory of white supremacy, Dr Dadoo and his comrades stand and fight for a non-racial united South Africa in which there will be equal rights and opportunities for all peoples, and in which colour bars, race oppression and the exploitation of man by man will be abolished for ever.

Yusuf Dadoo's career has been one of struggle and sacrifice for the cause of national and social liberation to which he has devoted his life. Born on September 5, 1909, in Krugersdorp, Dadoo like all other black people experienced the harsh realities and humiliations of racism from his earliest days. After receiving his secondary education in India, he went to Britain to study as a medical doctor, qualifying at Edinburgh university. It was whilst he was a student at Edinburgh that his political horizons were widened. It was then that he first read the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels which made a profound and lasting impression on him, opening up a whole new world. He began to understand more and more clearly that true liberation can only come about under socialism. He returned to South Africa in 1936 fired with a burning hatred of colonialism, imperialism and racism and

with a steel-like determination to make his contribution to the struggle for a new and better life for all in South Africa.

Patriot

In 1936 the National liberation organisations of the oppressed were weak and isolated from each other. The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) was in disarray. The "moderate" and conservative TIC leaders made rhetorical denunciations of racist legislation but in practice they consistently pursued a policy of compromise and sell-out.

Dadoo fought with grim determination to fundamentally transform the Indian Congress and so create a more secure basis for the unity of the black oppressed. He and other militant colleagues set up the Nationalist Group of the TIC and later the Nationalist bloc of the Natal Indian Association.

During the period 1936-1946 Dadoo was intensely active, touring the Transvaal and Natal, speaking at mass meetings as well as house meetings and small discussion groups and persuading reluctant personalities among the Indian people to follow the new line. A great orator, he always sought in his speeches to reflect the grievances and aspirations of the working people.

At the same time Dadoo was extremely active on a broader political front. He was one of the founders in 1938 of the Non-European United Front (NEUF) which played such a dynamic role during the years of the second world war in South Africa. Speaking at meetings, writing articles and pamphlets and issuing and distributing leaflets, Dadoo and his comrades Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, Alpheus Maliba and many others did their best to mobilise and galvanise the people into action.

The white minority government of



Dr Dadoo with the late Indian Prime Minister Nehru

Smuts regarded Dadoo as "Public Enemy No.1". They arrested him in 1941 and he served four months with hard labour at the notorious "Blue Sky" prison in Boksburg.

They tried to muzzle him by threatening him with internment but in Dr Dadoo the racist authorities met a formidable foe who refused to be cowed into submission. By the mid-1940's Dadoo was a household name amongst the African and Indian people. Indeed at that time a square in Orlando which was used for mass meetings was dubbed Dadoo Square by the people.

In 1939 Dadoo joined the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). The development of his political life and thinking matured rapidly. He not only grasped the essentials of the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism but became part of the party which gave life and meaning to the ideas of scientific socialism in South Africa.

He was active in the CPSA, Indian Congresses, NEUF and the wide-spread anti-pass campaigns of the time. He was not only a leader but an activist. In 1944, every

morning during the buss boycott in protest against fare increases, Dadoo went to Alexandra township and marched into town with the heroic residents of the township.

Through hard work and their ability to reflect accurately the mood and thinking of the Indian people, Dadoo, Naicker and the other progressive and militant leaders became more and more popular. The battle to change the entire strategy tactics and principles of the Indian Congresses was on. The slogan was: "Militant Actions not Pious Resolutions! Closer co-operation with the other national organisations, particularly the African National Congress!" To achieve these aims, the militants and progressives under the leadership of Dadoo worked with tremendous determination, enthusiasm and energy.

Throughout the period 1946 to 1960 the Indians marked up a proud record of struggle. In all the mass militant campaigns organised under the leadership of the ANC, such as the Defiance Campaign, the stay-

at-homes, the strikes and the historic Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter, the Indians stood side by side with Africans, Coloureds and democratic whites in the struggle for national liberation. Even though continuously banned from participating in any political activities Dadoo continued to give guidance and leadership. In recognition of his dynamic role in forging the comradely alliance between the ANC and the SAIC and as tribute to the respect and affection in which he was held by all freedom-loving peoples in our country, Dadoo together with the late Chief Luthuli and Father Trevor Huddleston were awarded the traditional African decoration of Isithwalandwe — “wearer of the feather of the rare and legendary bird Indwe” — at the Congress of the People in 1955.

After the CPSA was banned in 1950, Dadoo and other Communists led by Moses Kotane reconstituted the Party as the South African Communist Party. Whilst performing his duties in the Congress movement, Dadoo was also an active member and leader of the illegal SACP. He and his comrades carried out their duties with meticulous care and attention to every detail and with great courage in the face of increasing surveillance and harassment by the Security Police.

In 1960, while working underground during the state of emergency which followed the Sharpeville shooting, Dadoo was sent overseas by his comrades to set up an external machinery and to promote solidarity work. While he was out of the country Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the liberation movement, was formed — a move which Dadoo greeted with enthusiasm.

Inside the citadel of racism the Indian youth responded magnificently to the call to arms. Revolutionaries like Billy Nair, Issu Chibha and Ahmed Kathrada are together with their African, Coloured and white comrades serving long terms of imprisonment in the fascist dungeons. Others such as Mac Maharaj, Indris Naidoo, Shirish Nanabhai, Reggie Vandeyar, George Naicker and Ebrahim Ismail also served long sentences. Two of the young militants

Babla Salojee and Ahmed Timol — were

murdered by the Security Police.

However, the Indians do not and cannot rest content on their laurels. As Dadoo said in a special message to the Indian people on the occasion of June 26, 1975:

“Our place in a free South Africa is going to be decided by the role we continue to play in the liberation struggle. It is by fighting side by side, arm in arm with our African and Coloured brothers and sisters — it is by our persistent and perpetual resistance to apartheid, by our willingness to make the supreme sacrifice, that we shall help to build a secure place for ourselves, our children and for all the oppressed people in a free, democratic South Africa. That is the guarantee of freedom and social well-being for all South Africans of all races and colours. Neither we, nor any section of the South African people can be free as long as the African people are denied fundamental human rights. Let us, on this our Freedom Day, take to heart the lesson of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guine Bissau and Indo-China — that a united and determined people can, with arms in hand, defeat even the most powerful enemy. The force generated by the determined will and endeavour of a united people is irresistible.”

Internationalist

As a true patriot Dadoo understood already in the thirties that the struggle in South Africa is part of a much wider struggle against capitalism, colonialism and imperialism for national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism. Together with Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Duma Nokwe, Bram Fischer, O.R. Tambo and many others Dadoo, imparted to the national liberation movement in South Africa an anti-imperialist content which is widely appreciated and acclaimed throughout the world. They organised protest meetings and demonstrations, wrote articles and issued other propaganda material covering a wide variety of international problems. Some of these were: the Zionist-imperialist aggression against Egypt in 1956, the bloody French colonial war against the people of Algeria, the imprisonment of Kenyatta, the CIA-



Veteran mine workers and ANC leader the late J.B. Marks with Comrade Dadoo

inspired murder of Lumumba, the Portuguese colonial massacres in Mozambique and Angola and the fight for peace and disarmament. In the 1950's every conference of the Congress movement passed resolutions on one or other topical international issue. Fraternal links were established with international organisations such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Peace Council, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. Our people, whom the racists tried to isolate from the world, developed a fierce hatred of imperialism and a love and respect for the socialist

countries and progressive forces throughout the world — thanks to the sterling work done by the leaders and members of the Congress Movement and the underground Communist Party.

In the course of his political work Dadoo has visited many countries and met and discussed with world-renowned leaders such as Nkrumah, Nasser, Nyrere, Balewa, Oginga Odinga, Sekou Toure, Mariam Ngouabi, Ben Bella, Mondlane, Amilcar Cabral, Neto, Machel, Gandhi and Nehru. In the socialist countries he has met and discussed with top officials and Party leaders including Dimitrov, Castro, Zhivkov and Giap. Dadoo has also attended on behalf of the SACP, congresses of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union, the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic, the Vietnam Workers' Party and other socialist countries. His fraternal addresses to these conferences, in which he showed a profound understanding of the problems of communist parties building socialist societies in the teeth of opposition and hostility from the capitalist world, were listened to with attention and widely acclaimed.

A fervent upholder of proletarian internationalism, Dadoo has shown in his life and work that one cannot be a true patriot without also being an internationalist. In combining the most noble qualities of a revolutionary, he has played and is playing an important part in stimulating the national and class consciousness of the oppressed and downtrodden. Throughout his life Dadoo has remained modest and unassuming, never seeking any personal gain or nurturing personal ambition. His tremendous warmth and humanity, great oratorical skills, capacity to listen to other people, depth of understanding of the situation at home and abroad have made a deep and lasting impression on the people of South Africa and on the world-wide progressive and anti-imperialist forces.

Today at the age of 70 he remains in the forefront of the struggle. With the same driving energy which has marked all his achievements in the past, he carries out his tasks as the chairman of the South African Communist Party and vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the ANC. That fierce, steel-like resolve never to rest until South Africa is free from the scourge of racism, fascism, apartheid and capitalism is as strong as ever. He is always at his post ready to do his duty.

There are two important lessons which emerge clearly for us in South Africa when we examine Dadoo's life and political work:

1. Revolutionaries are not ready-made. They develop in the course of the struggle, gain more experience and become more mature in their political consciousness. Those who exercise leadership must always remain in the closest contact with the mood, grievances and aspirations of the masses and clearly grasp that the main

force for social change is the working class.

2. No matter how outstanding an individual may be, revolutionary work can only be carried to a successful conclusion through militant organisations which represent the interests and harness the energy of the masses. It is impossible to conduct a revolutionary struggle successfully without a revolutionary movement which has clear principles, programme, strategy and tactics. In South Africa the ANC and the SACP have proved in practice that they meet these requirements.

As we mark the occasion of Dadoo's 70th birthday we are at a crucial phase in the revolutionary struggle to liberate our motherland from the yoke of racism and apartheid. The unprecedented mass actions of the oppressed peoples in recent years, the growing capacity of units of Umkhonto we Sizwe to engage the enemy in battle on our own soil, seen against the background of the growing economic and political crisis in the enemy camp, have inexorably shifted the initiative into our hands. Now more than ever before we must fight every inch of the way for unity in action of all those genuinely opposed to apartheid.

This was an important theme in Dadoo's eloquent and fiery speech on the occasion of the centenary on January 22, 1979, of the Battle of Isandhlwana — a battle in which the Africans won a glorious victory over the invading British Colonial army. Dadoo said:

"The lesson of our history is that the key to freedom is a united people fighting for a single common goal: People's Power Over Every Inch of an Indivisible South Africa! Whilst deriving inspiration from the deeds and traditions of the past resistance we must build the unshakeable unity of all. We must deepen the unifying national consciousness of all our people — African, Indian, Coloured and democratic white — which is a pre-requisite for a nation-wide uprising and victory along the lines of our Freedom Charter.

"In this year 1979 we march forward to further develop the process of mass mobilisation — bringing together all organisations, groups and individuals opposed to



Yusuf Dadoo, stands with the ANC flag, at a demonstration in London.

apartheid — unity in opposition to all aspects of the inhuman system of apartheid, laying the basis for a people's war in which we combine armed actions with all forms of political struggle. In this struggle the working class has a central role."

**A LUTA CONTINUA! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
ALL OUT IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RACISTS AND THEIR HENCHMEN!**

**LIVE TO STRUGGLE! STRUGGLE TO LIVE!
LONG LIVE THE ANC, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE AND THE SACP!
AMANDLA NGAWETHU! MAATLA KE A RONA! MAYIBUYE! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

No to Venda 'independence'!

On September 13, 1979, 600,000 hectares of South African land were "sliced off" into a jungle of misery and poverty, when the racist regime in collaboration with Chief Mphephu, imposed what they call "independence" on the Venda people. This new status of Venda stripped 500,000 people of their South African citizenship.

Venda is the third bastard child of the regime's Bantustan programme of granting so-called "independence", joining the Transkei and Bophuthatswana. Why then is the fascist regime continuing with this political adventure when the first two so-called independent homelands have proved to be a failure and have been rejected by our people and the international community? The answer is to be found in the latest hit song of Pieter Botha entitled — "a total strategy of survival" which is linked up with the "strategic-economic programming for national defence".

Military Strategy

Why is this area (Venda) important to the regime's strategy of survival? The homeland borders on Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique on the north-eastern borders of the Transvaal. The victory of the Mozambican people over Portuguese colonialism and the revolutionary tide that is now sweeping the carpet from under Smith and his Bishop's feet, has caused concern to the fascist military strategists. Hence the decision by the South African Defence Force to set up a "no man's buffer" — a strip of about 50 km long and 10 km wide. This military adventure dates back to 1972 when the racist military machinery set up what they then called "Operation Sibassa". The scheme has caused untold

misery to the Venda people who were moved from their farmlands into the interior where they were resettled in a crowded little village of corrugated iron tents. The result: starvation, misery, disease and death.

The regime did not stop at that. Today an elaboration of this "Total Strategy" spells out clearly the regime's intentions. There is talk of the formation of a South African Federation of States which will include the puppet regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe including some independent African states. In racist terminology, the so-called independent homelands carry that status of "independent African states". It is clear therefore, why the area known as Venda must at this stage be declared "independent".

Long before the Bill on Venda "independence" was tabled, a nucleus of the so-called Venda army was already being trained by the South African Defence Force. This army will be used in the same way as that of Bophuthatswana — as Kalashnikov and Scorpion fodder against the forces of our movement. The "independence" of Venda, should therefore be seen as an important element in the dangerous constellation that is bent on generating a blood-bath in which many innocent lives will be drowned.

Citizenship or Statelessness?

On June 8th, Chief Mphephu foolishly suggested that "both the Venda Government and the people, irrespective of their place of residence, regard Venda citizenship as a most important and precious possession ...The high regard which the Venda people have for their citizenship is emphasised by the fact that the definition of citizenship

contained in the draft constitution for an independent Venda was unanimously agreed upon by the Venda Legislative Assembly." In terms of this Bill which so excited Chief Mphephu, all people falling into the following categories will become citizens of Venda and will cease to be South African citizens:

- * Every person who was a citizen of Venda in terms of any law when this Bill becomes law.
- * Every person born in or outside Venda, who is not a citizen of another homeland and who has one or both parents who were Venda citizens at the time of his/her birth.
- * Every person who has been lawfully domicile in Venda for five years and who, on application in the prescribed manner, has been granted Venda citizenship by the competent authority in Venda.
- * Every South African citizen who is not a citizen of any other homeland who is related to a member of a tribe in Venda or who is culturally or otherwise associated with any member or any part of such population.
- * Every South African citizen who is not a citizen of any other homeland, but who speaks a language used by members of any tribe which forms part of the population of Venda, including any dialect of any such languages.

It is interesting to note that Chief Mphephu and his 'government' understood this wild definition and hope to implement it and value it as a "precious possession". But what about his stature among the Venda people? Does his legislative assembly reflect the aspirations of those people it purports to represent? The answer is NO.

The last Venda Elections

The few people who voted in the last elections expressed their opposition to the so-called independence by largely voting for the opposition party which stood against it. This resulted in mass arrests of opposition members, teachers, government clerks,

students etc. (see Sechaba, January issue 1979, Vol 13 No.1). This explains why unlike the Transkei and Bophuthatswana, there was no independence referendum — the racist regime and its stooge Mphephu knew the people's answer already. Yet he still has the nerve to say that the act of treachery by his legislative assembly reflects "the high regard which the Venda people have for their citizenship". Which Venda people?

Mphephu, his racist masters and their collaborators are playing with a powerful time-bomb which will smash them and scatter their remains in the dust-bin of rotten racist history. The Venda people regard themselves as South Africans with a right to determine the shape of our country's political and economic life. They do not want to be part of a military buffer zone. If Mphephu thinks that he will make the Venda people rungs in the ladder he is trying to climb to further inflate his ego, then it is about time that he is warned that our people are only prepared to see him and Apartheid gone.

Economic implications

As reported in Sechaba (see above), there is no possibility that Venda could ever be anything but dependent on South Africa. By 1976, Venda had only 13 km of railway line, 126 km of tarred road and its only industry was a single bakery. This picture has not changed in essence which accounts for the unemployment of half the male population of Venda during their most productive years. Those employed as migrant workers in the mines and other industries and in particular in the South African Police Force suffer miserable conditions in the compounds, hostels and barracks. The recommendations of the Wiehahn and Riekert commissions on labour legislation and the impending forced Venda citizenship will only help to aggravate their position.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that this move by the racists and their puppets will add another page to the sufferings and deaths in the history of the

genocidal policy of Apartheid. The African National Congress and the people of South Africa will not let the perpetrators of these inhuman crimes go unpunished. Recognition of these so-called independence moves and of the puppet regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe will endorse the declaration of war made by the Botha regime on all the people of Africa and humanity as a whole. This is the reality of the threat South Africa poses to international peace and security.

Oppose any moves of any form of recognition of the Bantustans! Step up the campaign for the total isolation of the racist regimes including the application of economic sanctions and the imposition of an oil embargo! Down with the genocidal Bantustan programme! Power to the people under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa!

Riekert

In the United States last June, Dr Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development (the new name for Native Affairs) claimed that the Wiehahn and Riekert reports showed that "an era of reform" had dawned in South Africa. In an address to the National Press Club in Washington he said:

"We can be, and are, well on the way to achieving, in my country, equality for all people before the law and equal chances and opportunities; full citizenship rights for all people; full participation of all people in the decision-making process; and for human rights for all people, regardless of their race or colour."

Answering a question on pass books, he said he had always strongly disapproved of the system and was determined to eradicate it. He was also reviewing influx controls.

It is hardly surprising that his remarks were immediately queried by the verkrampte Dr Treurnicht, who said they did not correspond with the policy of the Nationalist Party as he understood it, which was that Blacks should have no rights at all in white South Africa. In fact, once the Bantustan plan has been completed, there will be no African citizens in South Africa, and such Africans as do live and work there will all be citizens of one or other "independent" Bantustan, with no more rights than are allowed to any other black foreigner, and considerably fewer than are allowed to white foreigners.

What the government has been trying to do through both the Wiehahn and Riekert reports is restrict the number of Africans living and working in the "white" 87% of the country to the smallest number possible, and then lay down a system of control, especially in the urban areas, which they hope will reduce areas of possible conflict.

Sechaba dealt with the Wiehahn Commission in its last issue. The Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill which the Nationalist Government introduced shortly afterwards showed that the apartheid leopard has not changed its spots. By excluding migrant workers from the definition of "employee", it deprived two-thirds of the estimated 3,500,000 African workers in urban areas of the right to belong to a trade union registered under the Act. It also left the white unions with the power of veto against the inclusion of African unions in Industrial Council proceedings. Racially mixed unions were prohibited. The existing job reservation orders were maintained.

On all these points the regime had gone against the recommendations of the Wiehahn commission, which joined the Theron commission on the Coloured people and the 1951 Industrial Legislation commission on the scrapheap of history. Towards the end of the last session of Parliament, the government did the same thing to the Riekert commission.

The first thing that should be said about the Riekert commission report is that its

whole purpose was, not to do away with the pass laws as Koornhof pretended, but to make them work. Riekert starts from the assumption that influx control is essential for white control over Blacks. Serious problems would arise if the migration of Africans into the urban areas was left uncontrolled, the report says, accepting that influx control will remain for the foreseeable future.

Reikert called in his report for the elimination of discriminatory practices from laws "as far as possible" — yet his report is grounded in the biggest act of discrimination of all, the retention of the pass laws. Every year half a million Africans are prosecuted under the pass laws, a large proportion of them going to jail, and in recent months police raids for passes in the townships have been rising to a crescendo. In March the general secretary of the Council of churches, Bishop Tutu, sent telegrams to the Prime Minister and other government chiefs warning that these pass raids were creating an explosive situation which "might lead to confrontation with consequent bloodshed."

The pass laws introduce discrimination not only between black and white, but also between black and black, between African and African, and the Riekert commission report will do nothing to eliminate these sources of friction. So long as an African has to carry a pass, he is at the mercy of the police, who are under continuous pressure to ensure that no "illegals" are allowed in urban areas.

The Riekert commission report, 286 pages long, is concerned with every aspect of the administration of the pass laws, and most of the detail relates to technicalities which hardly call for comment once the basic principle has been accepted that the pass laws must remain on the statute book. The so-called "reforms" suggested by the commission were:

1. That Africans who are qualified under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act to live and work in the urban areas be allowed to have their families with them. Riekert qualifies this recommendation by saying "provided approved housing is available".

There is already an acute housing shortage in all the urban areas, and tens of thousands of qualified Africans are forced to live in hostels. In past decades the government has deliberately halted housing development for Africans in the urban areas in order to force them to move to hostels or get out of the urban areas altogether and return to the reserves. Until housing backlog has been eliminated this recommendation is worthless. It won't help families of squatters, whose housing is not "approved".

2. That Africans with Section 10 residence rights (10 years with one employer or 15 years with more than one employer and no criminal record) should be allowed to exercise these rights in other urban areas, subject to the approval of the labour bureaux. This is a device to bar the entry of further Africans from the Bantustans. In any case, since on the completion of the Bantustan programme all section 10 rights will disappear, this recommendation is only of short-term significance.

3. That "white by night" curfew regulations be scrapped as discriminatory, archaic and irritating. The government white paper states this has been accepted, but to what extent is not known. Africans may still have to carry passes in "white areas".

4. That Africans be given trading rights in certain "free trade" areas in the central city area. The government says this is accepted in principle subject to controls, but nobody can say what this means until a "free trade" area has been established. In any case how many Africans are traders, and how many traders will be able to compete effectively with white, Coloured and Indian businessmen in such areas?

5. That the 72-hour restriction on Africans entering an urban area be abolished; in other words, that it should no longer be an offence for an African to be in an urban area without a permit, even if he has been there for more than 72 hours. The government has rejected this recommendation. In any case this concession would have been of little real value, since Riekert recommended the retention of provisions for the removal from urban areas of unqualified Africans.

6. That it no longer be a criminal offence for an African without a work permit to take a job. The government has rejected this recommendation of the commission's but has agreed to Riekert's complementary recommendation that the penalty on employers hiring Africans who are without permits be raised from R100 to R500.
7. That African businessmen be given more rights.

The Johannesburg "Financial Mail" commented: "Riekert wants to introduce even greater differentiation between blacks with urban residence rights and those without...People from the Bantustans or other rural areas are going to be allowed into the 'white' areas only if (1) no labour is available locally, (2) the labour bureau gives permission, (3) they have been offered jobs, (4) they can get approved housing ...A key effect of the Riekert recommendations is that blacks who are outsiders will be cut adrift from mainstream growth in the urban areas. Influx control does not prevent the development of slums and unemployment — it merely ensures that they occur out of (white) mind in the bantustans rather than in the urban areas".

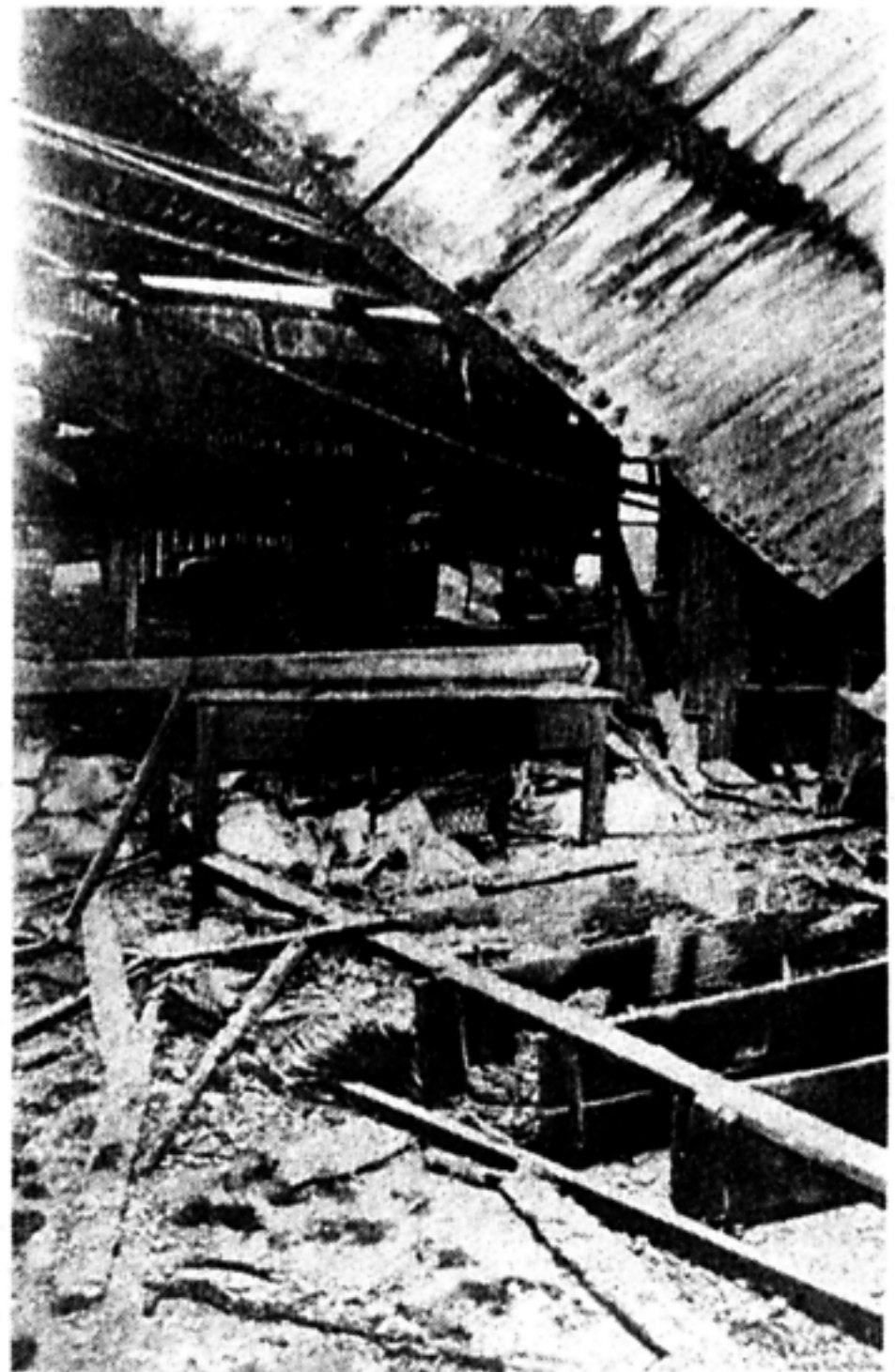
Riekert was well aware of this, and stressed that the success of his scheme depended on steps being taken to promote economic development and reduce unemployment in the Bantustans. But once the Bantustan programme has been completed, that will be the concern of the Bantustan 'governments', not of the South African government, whose only concern will be to keep immigration from the Bantustans down to the irreducible minimum.

These are plans, not for breaking down barriers, but for building bigger and more effective ones. The Wiehahn and Riekert commissions between them are designed to win to the side of the whites an urban African elite, who will accept the restrictions imposed on them because the alternative will be unemployment and starvation in the reserves.

This is what Koornhof calls "reform", but which we call intensified regimentation and repression. We totally reject these

commission reports and the philosophy underlying them as devices to improve the efficiency of the apartheid machinery. The government's own reaction to the reports proves we are right.

MK ACTION



The gutted interior of the Moroko police station in Soweto after Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas had carried out a highly successful attack in May of this year.

SMASH THE S.A. INDIAN COUNCIL

In 1948 the Nationalist Party came to power in the whites-only election on a manifesto which proclaimed unfettered racism as the cornerstone of its policy. In regard to the Indian people however, repatriation was seen as the solution and the Manifesto declared:

"The party holds the view that the Indians are a foreign and outlandish element which is unassimilable. They cannot become part of the country and must therefore be treated as an immigrant community."

This, almost a century after the Indian people had been brought to South Africa as indentured labourers from India by the British colonial administration in order to work the huge sugar cane plantations owned by the growing class of capitalist land-owners.

In the event two major factors forced a reversal of policy: Firstly the demands of an ever-expanding capitalist economy into which the majority of the economically active Indians had become intergrated as wage labourers. By 1960 almost 102,000 were employed as such, mainly in the secondary and tertiary industries. By 1970 this figure had grown to nearly 197,000 and currently out of a total population of about 275,000, approximately 250,000, or nearly 90% of the economically active population, are workers.

Secondly, the almost century-long struggle by the Indian people for full equality, justice and democracy as South Africans; a struggle which, under the leadership of the South African Indian Congress, had become more intense in the post-second World War period and which, with the growing unity between the African, Indian and Coloured oppressed, broadened its perspectives to total national and social emancipation of all the oppressed peoples from white domination.

Repatriation, voluntary or otherwise, was rejected out of hand. The Indian people refused to be hounded out of their land of their birth and instead chose the path of national liberation in unity with the African and Coloured oppressed.

Acknowledgement by the racist regime of the Indian people as "permanent inhabitants" however did not imply citizenship rights. To control the political demands of the Indian community the policy of racially exclusive institutions of control was formulated. This was in line with the regime's Bantustan policy for the African people and a Coloured "representative" Council for the Coloured people.

Indian Council and Proposed Elections

The South African Indian Council (SAIC) was created by the Verwoed regime in 1962. Its stated function was, and remains to date, to consult with and advise the whites-only parliament on the implementation of government policy in regard to the Indian people. It advised on such matters as education, health, housing, employment opportunities and the development of industry, commerce and local administrative bodies within those areas designated as Indian group areas.

Since its creation the SAIC was rejected out of hand by the mass of the Indian people. Their demand at that time, expressed by their only genuine national organisation, the South African Indian Congress, was for a fully non-racial and democratic South Africa as envisaged in the Freedom Charter which the Indian Congress had adopted on behalf of the Indian people. It is the demand for which the Indian people have waged determined struggle in unity with the African and Coloured oppressed. Nothing has altered to make this demand less relevant today.



Protest meeting against the Group Areas Act

In fact the opposite is the case as the armed liberation struggle to establish Peoples Power is gaining in force and momentum under the leadership of the ANC.

More than 15 years after its still-born birth however, the racist regime continues its attempts to breathe life into this dummy body. Last year the regime announced that the Council is to become a fully elected body and elections are now scheduled for March, 1980. Up to 1975, the Council was fully government-appointed. Rejection by the Indian community of this Council of opportunists, careerists and yes-men forced the regime to enlarge it to a 30-member body, half of whom were elected by special Electoral Colleges of local councils themselves only partly elected. Even this measure proved futile and no other than the Chairman of the Council since its creation, Mr M.E. Joosab declared:

"After more than 10 years the Council remains a half-nominated body and half purportedly (our emphasis) elected national body which cannot be representative of the Indian community in terms of universal democratic norms"

What Mr Joosab failed to point out was that, elected or not, the Council was wholly irrelevant to the real demands of the Indian people and could in no sense be representative since the accepted, tried and tested leadership was either in prison, banned, house-arrested or forced into exile to continue the struggle. Nothing short of a fully free, just and democratic South Africa for all its peoples will satisfy

the Indian people.

The elected Council will now consist of 46 members, 41 of whom will be elected by registered voters throughout the country, 2 of whom will be nominated by the Indian "Prime Minister" who will be the leader of the majority party, and a further 3 will be elected by the "parliament" on a proportional basis. Members will be elected on a proportional basis according to the numbers of registered voters in each province. Thus, 27 from Natal, 10 from the Transvaal, 4 from the Cape and of course, none from the Orange Free State as Indians are not allowed residence there.

As a further demonstration of its total rejection of this bogus institution, the Indian people responded to the anti-SAIC call mounted by the late Dr Monty Naicker, by refusing to register despite calls from the Apartheid regime and its supporters from among the community that an elected Council represents a shift in policy. In the end the regime hurried through legislation to make registration compulsory. At that time a mere 11% of the eligible voters had registered. Even now, the regime, fearful of a massive boycott of the elections has introduced legislation which is aimed at severely restricting, if not wholly illegalising, the call for a boycott.

In the meantime those Indians interested in furthering their own interests at the expense of the toiling Indian masses are frantically forming political parties and urging the community to the ballot box when the time comes.

Constitutional Proposals

Both from the point of view of the Apartheid regime and its supporters within the present SAIC as well as those now emerging to enter the elections on a pro-Apartheid ticket, the forthcoming elections are seen as a crucial first phase in the regime's attempt to incorporate so-called Indian leaders in the restructured, but still white dominated and controlled, political apparatus envisaged in the Tri-Parliamentary system proposed for Whites, Indians and Coloureds. J.N. Reddy, the Executive Chairman of the present SAIC, for example argues that:

"Not until the SAIC held full elections had it the rights to commit the Indian community to any new political dispensation proposed by the government."

Thus Reddy and his type clearly see the elections as a means of giving credibility to an institution discredited and rejected by the mass of the Indian people since its creation in 1968 and as a stepping stone for participation in the new political order.

Although the exact details of the new Constitutional proposals contained in a Bill which has already been introduced in the white parliament and now referred to a select committee for further elaborations are not yet known, it is clearly envisaged that the post-election SAIC will constitute the "Indian Parliament". The Bill in its present form lays down that:

- * the white parliament will remain the sovereign legislative body;
- * the Coloured and Indian parliaments will enjoy only those 'powers' which have already been delegated to them by the Council of Cabinets, the inter-Parliamentary council consisting of the State President as chairman, the 3 Prime Ministers, and 6 white, 3 Coloured and 2 Indian Cabinet Ministers, all of whom will be chosen from the parliamentary majority parties, but who can be dismissed by the State President without reference to the Council of Cabinets;
- * the Bill gives 1980 as the date for the introduction of the new Constitution;

- * all executive powers reside with the State President relying on the advice of the Council of Cabinets.

It is apparent that no fundamental changes are envisaged. Only the introduction of a few black faces in the white political structures — "the more things change the more they remain the same" (Govan Mbeki referring to the Bantustans).

The only conclusions which emerge from these new racist manoeuvres are: a) that despite the elective principle now governing membership to the Council its character and role as an instrument of the Indian people's oppression has not altered;

b) that the new Constitutional proposals cannot in any way be an alternative for the Indian people's demand for a single Parliament consisting of democratically elected representatives of all the people of our country;

c) that these are measures designed to further entrench white supremacy rule with the approval of the Indian people.

Why these 'Reforms'?

The current measures being envisaged by the Apartheid regime fall in line with measures already taken along a broad front to defend itself against the mounting threat to its survival both inside and outside the country.

It is patently obvious that none of the reforms initiated by the regime are capable of solving the real issue in our country — the demand for the creation of a national democratic state on the basis of the Freedom Charter. Neither an elected SAIC, nor the new Constitutional proposals are creditable alternatives in any way to the demands long voiced by the oppressed, including the Indian people, for a fully democratic parliament freely chosen by all the people of our country without reference to race, colour, creed or sex. This is the demand of the Coloured Labour Party which has already rejected the new Constitutional plan and has come out in open support of the Programme of the ANC, the Freedom Charter.

The central aim of the regime is clearly to introduce these measures as a means of weakening and dividing the oppressed, particularly the Coloured and Indian peoples from their African compatriots, thus attempting to breach the growing unity of the oppressed; to win the support of that tiny minority within the black communities which has been offered the hope of material benefits under white supremacy rule; to drive a wedge between the people and their revolutionary vanguard, the ANC and its military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe; and to attempt to break out of its isolation in the international arena by selling, with the aid of its imperialist allies, these illusions of change for real and radical change. In this latter respect the Zimbabwe martial law elections are a clear indication that the regime's allies will equally use every such measure to argue for a change in attitude and policy both within their own countries and internationally.

Destroy Apartheid!

The fundamental issues facing the Indian people remain:

- a) an end to group areas — the right to travel, trade and live in an area of one's choice;
- b) an end to Indian Education — the right to universal, free and compulsory education to high school level; the right to higher education and vocational training in non-segregated institutions and to study and be trained in the field of one's choice and ability without any restrictions;
- c) the end to job reservation — the right to a job and profession at one's highest skill and ability;
- d) the end to differential wages and salaries based on race classification and the demand for equal pay and equal opportunity for the same work;
- e) an end to all restrictions on trade union rights — the right to join a trade union of all workers of one's trade and profession without interference or restrictions; with the right to free collective bargaining for better wages and conditions including the right to strike; the right of all workers black and white, to enjoy these rights;

- f) an end to unemployment and the right of all workers to a job or profession with full security;
- g) an end to political tyranny and repression — the right to free political association; the demand for the release of all political prisoners and detainees;
- h) an end to separate elections to separate, racially exclusive political institutions — the right to elect representatives of all the people in free and democratic elections to a single Parliament together with the right to stand as a candidate and be elected to all civic and administrative bodies at local, regional and national level.

The SAIC has in the past been unable to solve these problems which face the Indian people daily. By its very character it will be powerless to solve them in the future. They lie at the heart of the entire exploitative system of Apartheid and affect in various ways and in varying degrees the black people as a whole. Only a government of the majority of the people basing itself on the will of this majority, and answerable to it, can lead our people to liberty, justice, democracy and social progress. Bantustan parliaments, the Coloured Representative Council and the SAIC are shams designed to perpetuate the oppression and exploitation of our people.

The issue facing the Indian community as a whole is to ensure the total destruction of the fraudulent SAIC. For this unity of all the anti-racist and anti-apartheid forces is essential. Most important, unity with the oppressed African and Coloured masses is the answer to the regime's attempts at disunity.

As in the past, unity in purpose and action against the regime of white supremacy is the key to victory. The role of the Indian people now as in the past is with, and in the ranks of, all the forces fighting for national liberation. And that means within the ranks of the ANC as the only organisation capable of crowning the efforts of the people to destroy Apartheid with success.



20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

This year June 26th, South African Freedom Day marked the 20th Anniversary of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. National and international activists came to London to attend the conference and rally organised to celebrate the occasion.

Guest of honour at the proceedings, was ANC President Comrade Oliver Tambo. Comrade Tambo and the Vice-President of the Patriotic Front (Zapu), Comrade Josiah Chinamano addressed both the conference and rally.

Comrade President Tambo expressed the feelings of our movement and entire fighting people when he told Conference: "Through 20 years of continuous struggle, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has established itself in the eyes of our people and the world as a staunch, dedicated and resilient ally of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa: A powerful component of the totality of forces, whose task it is to wipe out the virulent system of white minority domination and fascism in Southern Africa."

But the main aim of the Anti-Apartheid Movement on this occasion, was to look forward to the tasks ahead and to lay a firm basis for future campaigns. Our

President emphasised that since its formation the Anti-Apartheid Movement had fought to "change British attitudes towards South Africa, attitudes which had hardened over an uninterrupted period of some one and a half centuries of direct and indirect colonial domination, racial oppression and ferocious exploitation of our people."

Comrade Tambo stressed that the two courses of action open to the world's progressive forces are "...first, the political, economic, cultural and military isolation of South Africa and Rhodesia. Second, the political, diplomatic, moral and material assistance for the liberation movements fighting these regimes — including similar support for those countries providing rear-base facilities for the liberation movements."

Imperialist Strategy

To accomplish its aims, the solidarity movement faces a colossal task. O.R. Tambo stressed that some of the difficulties and failures experienced "are due to counter-strategies adopted by the South African regime and its imperialist allies".

These include the claims by the regime that it is the custodian of Western Civilization and is entitled to Western support, "which as we all know, has been forthcoming".

Apartheid propaganda always states that far from brutally oppressing and exploiting the black majority, and murderously repressing the liberation movement that "it is fighting what it calls terrorists and communism or what has become popular in the mouths of fascists — Soviet imperialism."

Despite a desperate enemy, a concerted and powerful campaign aimed at cutting political, economic, cultural and military links between the racist regimes and their allies has enormous possibilities for peace. "It still has, but no such co-ordinated and centrally directed campaign exists in fact. Information on the nature and variety of these links is not wanting.. yet it has not been put together and put to use in a concerted plan for greatest effectiveness... Some thought should be given to the organisation of this effort."

International Action

Comrade Tambo quoted as an example of co-ordination potential, the World Campaign against Nuclear and Military Collaboration with South Africa: "which seeks to co-ordinate all military information which bears on South Africa and its allies. With that kind of effort, centrally directed, it may well then be possible to give the world community the opportunity to participate in cutting the military links."

He also cited the creation of ICSA (the International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa) by the ANC, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front, as one effort by the authentic liberation movements of Southern Africa to enhance the co-ordination of international solidarity activities.

Future Offensive

Over 2,000 people attended the Rally on the evening of June 26th to pledge

their support for the Movement's work. In the atmosphere of a prevailing Tory sell-out in Zimbabwe, the feeling was one of grim determination to heighten solidarity action at all levels. British progressives were inspired by a message from President Joshua Nkomo, read to them by the Vice-President of Zapu/Patriotic Front, which we print below:

"On behalf of my Party Zapu in the Patriotic Front, and the entire struggling masses of Zimbabwe, I have the revolutionary duty and pleasure to congratulate the A.A.M. on the 20th Anniversary of its founding. The AAM has, since its foundation 20 years ago, lived to be a movement all the people the world over hold in high respect.

To us in Southern Africa, the movement has over the years become a symbol of hope, an ally of revolutionary forces in the region who are relentlessly fighting against Colonialism, Settlerism, Apartheid, racism and exploitation of man by man. The A.A.M. continues to influence developments in Southern Africa and our struggle is richer through the Movement's contribution. The A.A.M. has through various activities demonstrated to the world that it is through freedom that man transforms the world. We appreciate this bold stand.

On our part, we are intensifying the liberation war. Nobody, anywhere can defeat or force us to abandon our struggle. Zimbabwe must be free and free it shall be! In this resolve the A.A.M. is our great source of inspiration. The history of our struggle which will finally be written on clear pages, will indeed accommodate the role of the A.A.M. during many years of the struggle. We once again congratulate the A.A.M. on this significant anniversary. May I renew the assurances of my highest revolutionary regards to the Movement's leadership. The Struggle Continues and Victory is Certain!"



Michael Manley of Jamaica greets Alex La Guma

CARIBBEAN AGAINST APARTHEID

A Session of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid was held in Kingston, Jamaica, from the 22 to 25 May, 1979. It provided a valuable opportunity for consultations on action to promote international mobilisation against Apartheid. The Special Session was opened by the Prime Minister of Jamaica, Mr Michael Manley. Extracts from his opening address are printed below:

We are particularly proud to have been chosen as the site for the efforts of the Committee during this week. We are proud because to site a discussion by the United

Nations on the horrors of Apartheid in South Africa in a small island in the Caribbean dramatises two important elements of the work of the United Nations.

Firstly, the United Nations asserts the primacy of an international ethic over national self-interest. By holding this meeting in the Caribbean rather than in Africa we dramatise the international violation of ethics which racism in the southern extremity of Africa represents.

Secondly, the United Nations is concerned to assert the primacy of right over power and of natural justice over physical size. By choosing a small island for this meeting,

the point is made with apposite eloquence.

For our part, we accept the privilege of hosting the occasion with modesty and with pride: modesty because any people who share a concern for the elementary decencies must feel humble in the face of the horror which is the daily lot and experience of the majority in South Africa; pride because we of the Caribbean know that we have made a contribution to the struggle through the work of our leaders even as the great majority of our people have shared a concern that justice should triumph in the end.

Mr. Chairman, it is difficult to make a speech in 1979 about Apartheid, because one knows that the time for speeches should have ended fifty or thirty or even ten years ago and been replaced by a short simple time of decisive action. However, that decisive moment has not come as yet. This is so because Apartheid in South Africa, the denial of liberty in Namibia, and the current farce in Rhodesia are symptoms of a problem that goes deeper than racial discrimination.

Although Apartheid is as terrible as any disease, it should never be regarded as a disease. It is a symptom. It is a symptom of the lengths to which men will go to protect greed, and of the extent to which they will impose tyranny to entrench economic advantage.

Imperialism sometimes parading in the naked force of trans-national corporate power, sometimes slinking by in subtle disguise, remains a unifying and mobilising force, holding together the status quo in Southern Africa and paralysing the political will of the regimes of the industrial powers to act in the name of justice.

We are told that the choice in Southern Africa is between stability and communism. That is a lie. The only choice in Southern Africa is the choice between justice and profit.

And even as we remind ourselves of the nature of the forces which work relentlessly to keep Southern Africa safe as a bastion for a world economic system; even as we remind ourselves of the connection between the struggle for the New International Economic Order, the struggle to end the rape of Nicaragua by Somoza, the struggle

to end the unjust blockade of Cuba, the struggle for genuine independence in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, we must pause to identify another enemy.

The problem of Apartheid cannot be separated from the problem of Southern Africa. And the problem of Southern Africa cannot, at this moment, be seen apart from events in Rhodesia. Here we have witnessed the spectacle of cunning resistance by the oppressor allied to betrayal from within the ranks of the oppressed presenting a picture of pseudo respectable change. But what are the facts?

The facts are that there is an illegal, racist regime in Salisbury against which the Patriotic Front has been waging a long war. The Patriotic Front is recognised as the representatives of the people of Zimbabwe by both the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-aligned Movement.

The Front's prosecution of the war against the racists has compelled Ian Smith to alter his tactics and to attempt to beguile and mislead the international community by developing the so-called settlement. But as we all know, the constitution arising out of this settlement on which the recent elections were held, is totally undemocratic and entrenches white minority rule in every important aspect of the life of the country. We must not forget that the Constitution was adopted in a so-called referendum in which the only voters were the white members of the population, namely, 3% of the total. And we must also keep on reminding the world that this 3% of the population has been assigned 28 of the 100 seats in the so-called House of Assembly. And, of course, the voting on issues facing the Assembly is designed to ensure that important Bills can be passed only with the consent of the white minority.

The world must continue to be told also that in this hand over of power to the majority, the posts of Judges to the High Court, Attorney General, Auditor General and Commanders of the defence and Police Forces are directly under the control of the white minority and open only to them.

We are not surprised to learn that the Prime Minister who is in fact a figurehead, has virtually no control over appointments

to the key Ministries of Defence and Internal Security and that the white minority will continue to control about one-third of the Government Ministries.

But the fraudulence of the exercises reaches its apogee when the Constitution outlaws discrimination in all its forms but preserves the validity of all existing Laws including the whole fabric of legalised racism.

Not surprisingly, the so-called internal settlement has been firmly rejected by the United Nations Security Council but naturally has been welcomed by South Africa.

These devious subterfuges would be dangerous enough if they were confined to the situation in Zimbabwe. But the principles they reflect apply equally to Namibia. As in Zimbabwe, there also is developing a carefully designed strategem to confuse and mislead the gullible and to satisfy those who sympathise with the system of brutality against which SWAPO is fighting so relentlessly.

The author of this stratagem is South Africa which, on the one hand, gave the international community the impression that it would co-operate in an acceptable settlement. On the other hand, however, it was proceeding with cunning to put together a carefully designed scheme to preserve its dominance of the territory through imposed structures which do not represent the will of the people. Suddenly there emerges, in place, institutionalised, an interim administration, a constituent assembly, now a national assembly, outside of and negating the United Nations plan for a just settlement. Just as suddenly it dawns on an unsuspecting world that a grand design intergrates the concept and implementation of the system of bantustans, the interim administration (in Namibia) and the "constitution" and "internal settlement" of Ian Smith. And in each case who are the beneficiaries of these structures of domination, exploitation and control?

The South African strategy is of course, predictable. That is the regime behind the whole apparatus of racism, colonialism and exploitation in Southern Africa! Hence to deal with South Africa is the ultimate

challenge which we face. Over the years, through the United Nations system, the international community has exposed and attempted to bring an end to the apartheid regime through the mobilisation of the will of governments, and by trying to persuade the world community to implement effective measures to bring the regime to its knees. Many countries, including Jamaica, have stated that South Africa represented a threat to international peace and security and should be dealt with under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Time and again we have called for the severing of air, sea and land links with the apartheid states. But as we all know, those who could make these measures effective, have consistently refused to lend their support to them.

Clearly, the white settlers in Southern Africa are part of that larger endeavour to maintain an international system which is inherently iniquitous. A Southern Rhodesia under Ian Smith, a South Africa, a South-West Africa and a ring of bantustans under Botha are manifestations of the iniquity of that system.

Jose Marti once said that: "Peace demands the common rights of nature for all: Differential rights contrary to nature are the enemies of peace."

There can be no peace in Southern Africa until "the common rights of nature are available for all on that Continent."

The struggle of the entire developing world to establish the New International Economic Order is, in a profound sense, a struggle to bring down the edifice in Southern Africa. Every attempt to establish a regime that would breathe life into the concept that the resources of the oceans are the common heritage of mankind; that would establish an integrated programme to ensure that developing countries derive equitable returns from the international exchange of goods; to make technology more easily accessible to developing countries, comes face to face with resilient and resourceful opposition from the very forces that conspire to keep Southern Africa under white, minority domination.

Today, as we pause to reflect on the situation, we observe that over the years 21

the struggle for freedom has achieved some successes. However, recent developments have given comfort to the Smith and Botha regimes. Therefore, we have a clear duty to be vigilant, resolute and devise and implement new strategies. Specifically, we must make it unequivocally clear that our will to oppose and to resist is undiminished.

There is a real danger that the world economic situation and its devastating effects on the economies of the Third World countries may weaken the will and open us to the temptation of self-defeating compromises. Such historical shortsightedness must be avoided at all costs as present international conditions merely re-emphasise the urgent need for change in the system that governs international economic relations. We must reject any notion that subservient relationships are inevitable parts of a natural order. Such a notion ignores the potential of collective strength which derives from collective unity. It ignores the history of the debilitating relationship of which developing countries have been victims.

We all recognise, if only from bitter experiences, that the system will not yield to resolutions and declarations alone. Liberation movements, represented here, testify to the efficacy of direct action through the courage and sacrifice of a committed people.

The achievements of organisations which are no less committed, and which are also represented here today, demonstrate the value of organised support for the activities of these freedom fighters.

Meetings like this go one step further. They seek to mobilise the peoples of the world themselves to take direct action. An informed people can be the catalyst, the monitor and the only true support for positive actions by their governments and organisations against the injustice which reigns in Southern Africa. It is a matter of great encouragement that certain countries are in the process of taking significant action against the South African regime. I refer to action taken by certain European states against their continued investment in South Africa, and against sporting contacts with that country. Popular pressure

and the influence of representative organisations must continue if this pressure is to be maintained.

In addition, we note recent decisions by certain states and organisations to render material assistance to the liberation movements in Southern Africa. We must weld all these forces into a coherent and coordinated front.

We in the Caribbean have consistently demonstrated our commitment to the cause of liberty and to Africa. We have dramatised the vital importance of the African diaspora to the struggle for progress in Africa. But we think that the creative energy of this constituency remains largely untapped. It is for you, during this week and beyond, to see with us the means to harness these energies and mobilise them for today's struggle.

That is the tremendous task that we we face. We on our part will continue to make our contribution. May your deliberations reveal new insights into the nature of the struggle and import renewed vigour to the efforts of the international community and to the liberation movements in the fight for freedom.

Extracts from an address to the Session by Comrade Alex La Guma, Chief Representative of the ANC(SA) in Cuba

Allow me on behalf of the African National Congress, the authentic representative of the oppressed people of South Africa, to greet all members of this august gathering; and to express our most profound enthusiasm for this important conference which we consider a significant milestone in the cause of international solidarity with our people who are today engaged in a decisive stage of the struggle to overthrow the bloody forces of racism and national oppression.

Our warmest gratitude goes to the government and authorities of Jamaica and Kingston, and to the UN Special Committee on Apartheid who have made this conference possible, to all those Caribbean countries who are participating.

The struggle of progressive people and all democratic forces to bring about the final

elimination of the pernicious system of colonial domination in Africa has entered a decisive stage. From the Zambezi to the Cape of Good Hope the people are engaged in acts of indescribable heroism.

What our people are demonstrating finally and emphatically is that they are no longer prepared to be ruled by the racists. They have demonstrated this by openly facing the state apparatus of fascist South Africa. In the same spirit as the people of Nicaragua and Latin America face the dictatorships, in the same spirit as the people of Iran showed when they brought about their democratic revolution, so our people are demonstrating their determination to be free.

The South African regime itself shows obvious signs of being unable to contain the situation indefinitely. The bloody acts of violence and terrorism against the people, the murder of political detainees, the incarceration of hundreds of militants, young and old, are all indications of the desperation of the regime.

A revolutionary situation is rapidly developing in South Africa — to the armed assaults and bloody force which the enemy uses against the people, the people have now to respond with armed force as well as political and economic mass action. The experience of these times in South Africa teaches us that the question of power and democratic rule in our country will only be resolved by the effective combination of mass action and armed support.

Faced with the prospect of mass uprising and revolt on the part of the people, the racist regime is doing its utmost to hold out, not only by forcible repression, but by seeking allies for its ignoble system from among the oppressed people themselves. The use of Bantustan puppet troops and police to re-inforce white racist forces against ANC guerrillas, as was done in the so-called Bophutatswana homeland, is in itself proof that the whole scheme of Bantustans is one designed to deny the Black majority its true and democratic right to emancipation

Disenfranchisement and dispossession remain at this moment the main objective of the Bantustan policy. Bantustans mean that every African becomes a foreigner



in the land of his birth, without political, social, economic rights, prey to the exploiter, victim of servitude of a kind which boggles the imagination. Each Bantustan has become the dumping ground for thousands of unemployed, so-called surplus elements, and by forced removals are turned into a vast reserve of virtual slaves without option but to come when the master calls.

In order to disguise these nefarious objectives of the Bantustan policy, the racists speak of an independence which is spurious, a version of cultural advance which is a distortion, and a national pride which means nothing but a return to tribalism. By these means the racists hope to divert the attention of the African people from the course of forging genuine nationhood, and so hope to destroy the national liberation movement, led by the ANC. By encouraging ethnic groupings the regime hopes to turn African people against each other instead of against the real enemy, the racist system itself. The struggle to end apartheid therefore involves struggle against the whole Bantustan fraud and the black puppets who uphold this subterfuge.

This apartheid system is not upheld by the South African racists alone. We have warned the Western powers that unless they discontinue the short-sighted political, economic and military support for the Botha-Smith clique, they will gain nothing but the enmity of the free people of the

future. We have warned the same powers who not only invest, but have helped and continue to help to bolster up the armoury of racist South Africa, ranging from the supply of conventional weapons to nuclear power. But the fanatical accumulation of wealth at the expense of the African masses seems to blind the multi-national corporations to the inevitability of the end of apartheid and the rule of the fascist minority.

The initiative in South Africa has now passed into the hands of the struggling people led by the African National Congress. The support and solidarity of the international community will make our task easier and bring sooner an end to the apartheid regime which is not only a dire enemy of the South African people, but which constitutes a threat to the peace of the entire African continent and the whole world. In the interests of solidarity with our struggle for a just society, for progress, peace and friendship among all peoples in and out of South Africa, we ask you to consider the following:

- * That the Caribbean countries continue, and intensify, all efforts to complete the isolation of the racist regimes of Southern Africa. All efforts should be made to extend the arms embargo to include economic sanctions and the cessation of all forms of support for the Botha-Smith regimes;
- * That the campaigns for the release of political prisoners in Southern Africa be intensified in the Caribbean region;
- * That the demand be pressed for the treatment of captured freedom fighters as prisoners of war in terms of the Geneva Conventions;
- * That Bantustan policies be isolated and Bantustans be denied international recognition;
- * That support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa, the ANC, Patriotic Front and SWAPO, be increased;
- * That public opinion throughout the Caribbean be mobilised in support of these and similar initiatives.

and people of the Caribbean who are with us in our just struggle. The final victory of the oppressed people of Southern Africa is in sight and the establishment of progressive and democratic peace-loving societies is assured. As the ANC programme the FREEDOM CHARTER states: The people shall govern. No government can claim authority unless it is based on the will of the majority.

Part of a message sent by Mr Maurice Bishop, leader of the Grenadian Revolutionary Party.

"On March 13, 1979, the heroic people of Grenada emerged on the international scene as a force for peace, democracy, national liberation and social progress.

Our stable revolutionary government has from the beginning, stated that it will pursue an independent, non-aligned path. We are committed to this. We have and are still seeking to develop the broadest relations with all countries except those brutal apartheid, fascist ones. Our position on South Africa and the mad, inhuman apartheid system that threatens peace is that it is a system that brings shame to mankind, a system that is a vicious crime against humanity.

Because of our people's concrete experience of Gairy's brutality and the economic hardship incurred by Gairy and Gairyism, our people understand the unbearable situation in South Africa which is a thousand times more brutal and unstintingly and readily identify and whole-heartedly support the national liberation struggle being waged in South Africa.

We denounce the imperialist military collaboration with the outlawed South African regime which dishonours United Nations sanctions against South Africa.

Down with apartheid and injustices, up with freedom, democracy and genuine independence! Long live the courageous struggling people of South Africa! Long live the heroic people of Free Grenada!"

ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY

At the invitation of the Governments, parties and mass organisations of the socialist countries of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, the ANC visited the above-mentioned countries in June, 1979. The ANC delegation, led by President Tambo, met with the Bulgarian head of state, Todor Shirkov, Czechoslovakian President Gustav Husak and the Hungarian Solidarity Committee.

The trip, the first of its kind, was a very successful one; lively and fruitful discussions took place; a wide range of topics was handled and both sides reached mutual agreement on these.

The ANC was impressed with socialist achievements in all three countries and expressed its gratitude for the solidarity rendered by them to our liberation struggle. In Bulgaria, the ANC delegation issued a joint communique with our hosts, which we print below:

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, a delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa headed by its President, Oliver Tambo, visited the People's Republic of Bulgaria from June 20 to 23, 1979.

The President of the ANC Oliver Tambo was received by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The ANC delegation layed a wreath at the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people and eminent figure of the international communist and workers' movement.

During their stay in Bulgaria, the envoys of the ANC of South Africa visited the city of Plovdiv and the district, and had a

meeting with Ivan Panev, First Secretary of the District Committee of the BCP. The ANC delegation visited the Scientific and Productional Complex "Georgi Dimitrov" and the shoe-factory "Peter Chengelov", where an enthusiastic solidarity rally was held in support of the struggle of the South African people against apartheid and imperialism.

The ANC delegation held talks with a delegation of the CC of the BCP headed by Alexander Lillov, member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC of the BCP.

The President of the ANC told about the long years of hard struggle waged by the people of South Africa enslaved by the racist regime of Apartheid, for national liberation, for the building of a democratic state, and about the new stage of the revolutionary struggle opened for the country after the Soweto events in 1976.

The BCP representatives gave a high assessment of the ANC activities for rallying all forces in South Africa fighting against the criminal apartheid regime: They condemned the repression and terrorism to which the people of South Africa are subjected by the racist authorities, as well as their policy of bantustanization of the country. The unflinching militant solidarity of the Bulgarian communists and the Bulgarian people as a whole with the manly struggle of the people of South Africa for winning genuine national independence, for freedom and social progress, was confirmed.

The head of the delegation of the CC of the BCP told about the successes reached by the Bulgarian people under the leadership of the Party in the construction of a developed socialist society in the PR of Bulgaria, about the foreign policies of the BCP and the PR of Bulgaria.

The ANC representatives highly evaluated 25

the historic successes of the Bulgarian people in the socialist construction as well as the peace foreign policy of the PR of Bulgaria aimed at strengthening the good-neighbourly relations in the Balkans, of security and peace in Europe and the world. They emphasized the extremely high assessment given by the ANC to the consistent and principled policy of all-round support and assistance to the fighting peoples, pursued by the BCP and the PRB. On behalf of the National Executive of the ANC, the head of its delegation expressed their sincere gratitude to the BCP and the PRB for the aid they render to the ANC and the South African people in their struggle against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa.

In exchanging views on the international situation, both delegations expressed their unreserved support for the policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community aimed at strengthening peace and cooperation among nations, at putting an end to the arms race and for real disarmament.

They greeted the signing of the new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty and expressed their profound conviction that it is a major step along the road of curbing the nuclear arms race, and corresponds to the interests of all nations in the world.

At the talks, special attention was attached to the African problems and the national liberation struggle waged by the peoples in Southern Africa. It was pointed out that in recent years the peoples in the African continent have achieved historic victories in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism, for national and social liberation. The two sides emphasized that these achievements are indivisibly connected to the successes and the consistent foreign policy of the socialist community countries and above all, of the USSR — the stronghold of peace in the world, the selfless friend of all fighting peoples.

Both delegations greeted the successes achieved by the people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West People's Organisation (SWAPO) — their sole and legitimate representative in the struggle for liberating their country from illegal occupation, colonial domination and

economic exploitation by the South African fascist regime supported by imperialist countries.

Both delegations greeted the victories of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative — the Patriotic Front — in their struggle against the racist regime of Ian Smith.

Both delegations condemned the so-called "internal settlement" in Zimbabwe and the sham elections in Zimbabwe and Namibia as an attempt to deprive the people of these countries of their legitimate right to genuine national independence.

The BCP and the ANC expressed their full-fledged support to the peoples of the "front-line" states who have become the target of most barbaric armed raids by the Pretoria and Salisbury racists, and called upon all states to express their solidarity with them.

Both delegations strongly condemned the policy of imperialism aimed at destabilizing the progressive countries in Africa, at neo-colonial subjugation of the continent and stifling the legitimate and just struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa. They are of the opinion that the political, economic and military relations maintained by the Western countries with the racist regimes, in defiance of the UN resolutions, are a challenge to independent Africa and the subjugated peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. It was underlined that the collaboration of the Western countries with the Pretoria regime in the field of working out nuclear weapons, and their intentions to set up a new military bloc in the area of the South Atlantic, are a particular threat to the African nations, to world peace.

The BCP and the ANC noted that through its policy China has become an open ally of imperialism. It was pointed out that the adventurist and hegemonic course of the Chinese leadership represents a most serious threat to the interests of all revolutionary and liberation forces and to peace in the world.

Both delegations strongly condemned the armed aggression and the continuous provocations of China against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and expressed their full-fledged solidarity with the heroic

Vietnamese people who decidedly stood up to the aggressors.

The BCP and the ANC expressed their support for the fighting people of Palestine led by the PLO. They condemned the separate treaty between Israel and Egypt aimed against the interests of the Palestinian people and their legitimate right to self-determination and the establishment

of an independent state, and against the interests of all Arab peoples.

The BCP and the ANC expressed satisfaction with existing friendly relations of cooperation between them and confirmed their readiness to extend and enhance these relations in the interest of strengthening the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial front in the world.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrade,

With the publication of the March issue of *Sechaba* we have passed through another phase in the dialectical development of our liberation movement, the ANC. The publication of Comrade Thabo Mbeki's paper "Historical Injustice" is a milestone marking this event and the theoretical and ideological aspect of the intensification of the struggle in this "Year of the Spear".

The history of the ANC has been marked by such dialectical developments. In its inexorable march forward the ANC has been able to set the pace for the struggle because it has inherent in its structure, a dynamic quality that allows for the development and growth of progressive ideas and individuals who have been able to give theoretical and ideological substance to our liberation struggle. Thabo Mbeki must surely fall within the ranks of these individuals.

Many of us who came from the Black Consciousness Movement joined the ANC because, although Black Consciousness helped to awaken a new political awareness and acted as a unifying factor against the blatant white racism, it was limiting in that it offered no strategy and programme for the ongoing struggle. It burned itself out because its principles were based on existential reality as opposed to the general laws of historical materialism. In joining the ANC we were able to acknowledge

the progressive nature of the ANC as an advance on the strictures of the Black Consciousness Movement without denying the contribution it made within its historical context. Mbeki's paper is, for many of us, a justification of our decision.

Mbeki's scientific presentation of the problematic and the development of his analysis gives a new freshness and a firm basis for the general principles of the ANC.

There are very few people who will deny that every mode of production produces its own relations of production which reflect the social relations of a given social formation. Fewer people would deny that the mode of production in South Africa is capitalist in its most perfect and ruthless form. The capitalist nature of South African society engenders its own contradiction which is reflected in the class struggle in which the black people, as contributors of the social labour force, constitute the working class. Mbeki's affirmation that our struggle is a class struggle is indeed based on scientific laws and not on emotional political reactions. Nevertheless, the imperialist and colonialist nature of capitalism introduces a new concept to the class struggle in the South African context. This is the question of the struggle for national independence. We cannot have national independence without overthrowing the capitalist nature of our oppression. Consequently, the demise of capitalism



presupposes the class struggle and results in a classless society.

Comrade Mbeki's analysis therefore raises two important issues. From a political point of view: the national struggle and the question of settler colonialism: and from the economic point of view: imperialism and the development of capitalism in South Africa (in this regard the super-exploitation of the black working class) and the corresponding and proportional under development of the black people in South Africa and other countries bordering South Africa.

Any analysis of these issues will entail an examination of the accumulation of capital in South Africa and its redistribution among the different classes of the society. In this regard the role of British finance capital and its accompanying imperialistic policies will have to come in for careful scrutiny because it gave rise to and nurtured a dynamic capitalist class in South Africa.

Mbeki makes a very important point on the question of the super-exploitation of the black working class. He says, in conceding to their own working class political democracy, the British capitalist "destroyed the possibility for capital to continue using primitive methods of accumulation within Britain". This was reflected in the shorter working day and the end of child-labour. Under normal circum-

stances this would have meant a sharp cut in the rate of profit. British capital found a way round this problem, and in fact found a way to increase the rate of profit. Whereas in the past profit resulted from the production of absolute surplus value at the expense of the working class, now the emphasis was shifted to the production of relative surplus value. This was done by improvements in technology and therefore increased productivity. The result of this was the lowering of the value of labour power since the worker now needed less time to reproduce his labour power.

If in South Africa, the capitalists conceded nothing to the black working class and exploitation was characterised by the "denial of democratic rights to the workers", by the extraction of the "maximum amount of work", and if these factors imply "an almost perfect model of capitalism", then surely accumulation of capital in all its forms and therefore the high rate of profit, must result from the expropriation of both absolute and relative surplus value within the same productive process, given that modern technology and technique is a very important factor in the organic composition of capitalist production in South Africa. Extracting such huge profits from South Africa makes it possible for imperialism to pay-off its local allies (including the white working class) and still be able to repatriate a maximum profit to the capitalist centres of the world.

It is very much in the interest of monopoly capitalism therefore, to maintain the status quo in South Africa, contrary to all arguments that investments will change the apartheid system.

There are many other interesting propositions in Comrade Mbeki's paper. We hope they will provoke a wider discussion. Sechaba has moved a step forward, so we will be waiting for more such articles.

Amandla!

Themba Elisha

Algiers, May 3, 1979

ACTION WORKSHOP



From l to r, Solly Smith (ANC), Rica Hodgson (IDAF), Vassos Lysserides, T.G. Silundica and Fred Shava of the Patriotic Front.

From the 22 to 24 of June, Leiden, Holland was the venue for the International Workshop for material aid with the liberation movements of Southern Africa. Organised by ICOSA (International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa), the Workshop provided an opportunity for concrete discussion on material aid action.

More than 35 representatives from solidarity movements attended the Workshop, as well as representatives from the WPC AND AAPSO. A delegation from the UN Centre Against Apartheid was led by its Director, E.S. Reddy. Representatives from the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the ANC(SA) led the discussions on a variety of vital problems. The sessions were

chaired by Dr Vassos Lyssarides, Secretary General of ICOSA.

The issues discussed covered a wide area in material aid work. Support for educational, medical and agricultural needs came high on the agenda. Delegates were provided with comprehensive information on the needs of the liberation movements. Against the background of the current situation in Southern Africa, and in the Front line states in particular, the urgency of raising the level of work to meet the demands of the intensified struggle, was clearly expressed.

The response to this urgency was both positive and practical. The experiences of the different solidarity groups were shared and discussed. The basic needs of those

patriots forced to leave Zimbabwe and Namibia were brought to the fore. Aid towards the health centre now being built on the site of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom School, in Morogoro, was stressed as a priority project by the ANC delegation.

Fight the Mass Media

Discussion centered on support for the publicity and information departments of the liberation movements, dealt with the practical demands for equipment and training of cadres. But a strong feeling that more work should be done to counter the racist propaganda of the western media was expressed by all delegates. It was felt that ICSA could play an important role in this respect.

The problems involved in mass mobilisation were also dealt with by the Workshop. The importance of organising and coordinating international campaigns was emphasised. The establishment of ICSA was seen as a major step towards achieving this goal. Indeed, the Workshop itself proved the potential of greater coordination.

ICSA is a Weapon

The importance of this Workshop was brought home to all those privileged to contribute to it. In summing up, Comrade T.G. Silundika, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Patriotic Front / Zapu and leading the PF delegation, pointed to the fact that concrete and practical work had been achieved in Leiden. ICSA had established a firm basis for the coordination and strengthening of international solidarity action. As T.G. Silundika pointed out: "We have achieved the coming together for the exchange of ideas and to be of one mind for the promotion of our common outlook and definition of common action."

ICSA is a weapon in the hands of all who are fighting to increase solidarity work with the heroic people of Southern Africa. It reflects the unity and common struggle of the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the ANC. ICSA's role in enhancing support for the forces of liberation in Southern Africa was crystallised at the International Workshop.

SOWETO

Could we succumb, Could we really,
When emotions of mental agony and tension engulfs our nerves —
As we recall gallant Soweto?
Could we waver as our blood rises to ever higher levels of anger
When we think of you Soweto our home?
Could we allow tears to blind our blood shot eyes —
Eyes already tired of looking up so long to mountains and heavens
In ancient anticipation of help never to come...
As our eyes once more travel back to the bloody paths of Soweto —
Capturing Great battles of Soweto?
Tell me brother, tell me sister?
Yet we recall, we recall

Listen brother listen sister
That Wednesday morning of June 16th...
Echoes that came from Naledi High
School where winds of anger were still blowing away with
Ashes of recently burned out Jappies car,
school from where it all began...
That Wednesday morning songs and slogans filled the air in
Melancholic and melodious sounds of struggle —
That Wednesday morning multitudes of warriors initially
Armed with placards declaring the moment of truth to
Baaskap and White Supremacy...
Declaring the fighting tradition of a people oppressed
For so long...ready to resume the battle lines if need be
Words summarising the feeling of an entire people
Were declared loud and clear to be heard by oppressor and
His supporter, as warrior of a new age came marching
Raising the banner of struggle ever higher
Warriors declaring, AFRIKAANS STINKS!

Arms length stretched fists of fury
Raised sky high in salute of black unity and Power!
All the way with mouth agape due to unending screams of power
All the way causing the ground to shake as
Footsteps of warriors felt the land of its belonging once more
In rythm and pride after so long...

That Wednesday morning once more the march had begun
A march meandering like a big river in a flood destined to
Fill millions of throats dry for the sweet waters of liberty...
A march of warriors with hearts and hands joined by tough chains
Of freedom and change...
A march from school to school...
From Naledi High to Junior Naledi
Yielding to no obstacle continuing to Diranteng then to
Moletsane, forcing its way to Morris...
The march was long, very long

Did we know —
That this march was never to be travelled both to and fro
By many?
Did we know that yesterday it was Sharpeville?
Did we know all this as we fearlessly trampled on the laager?
Marching and singing and shouting slogans of age old resistance...
Did we really know nor care that death was standing and
Waiting...waiting between Phefeni and Phomolong?
Did we know that the march meant to be peaceful
Will so much scare White Supremacy to respond with mass genocide
Did we know brother, did we know sister?

To hell with whether we knew or not!!!
The march has begun, the march must continue!
POWER! the popular slogan of power once more filled the air
As stones were turned into instruments of self-defence and offence

Ignoring the whizzing of racist bullets —,
Bastard with no country, as we used to say — can not destroy African
Pride and dignity!!!

Forward came the call of the advanced warriors
How can we falter, How can we?
When not long we sang a song of wrath and retribution
"Amabunu ayi zinja" The boers are dogs!
Let them die like dogs, we seemed to say as we charged on them
With stones — only weapon of Africans!

Believe me brother believe me sister
Not one fell in the march but many
Not one drop of blood dripped in front where the next step was to be
taken...but a pool of blood marked the routs of the march
Brother Have you ever seen blood oozing like a river in flood?
Blood of young man blood of young woman
Filling the whole country with anger
Causing the old patriots to recall bitter days of Sharpeville
As they called the crying nation to more resistance
Weep no more, they said weep no more — because today we bury a soldier
Rejoice that the march has begun!

Words of wisdom broke the long imposed silence
Silence of the past days of Sharpeville...
As young and old pledge to continue the march
As the whole country was turned into a mass gathering of resistance
Regardless of gendarme encirclement covering even graveside

Soweto where the aroma of blood still fills the air —
Soweto where the graves of the fallen hardly has grown grass
Soweto where the dirty and dusty streets are still covered with
Footprints of the long march still stained with clots of blood —,
Soweto where the hearts of the bereaved still bleed with pain —,
Pain for retribution!
Soweto where the eyes of our parents never rest from looking across
The street anticipating to see those gone to prepare for the
Resumption of the march
Soweto where Baaskap shamefully withdrew in your anger...
Soweto where all symbols of oppression remains crippled even to this
Day

Soweto of yesterday indeed shook the entire edifice of White Supremacy
Soweto of yesterday inflamed the anger of Gugulethu, Langa, P.E. and more
That Soweto we recall today,
Is Soweto where the beginning of the march have started
Where the battle lines were drawn...

Soweto our home
HERE WE COME

...isandhlwana
(1879)



clarion call to..
PEOPLES WAR

african national congress
(south africa)