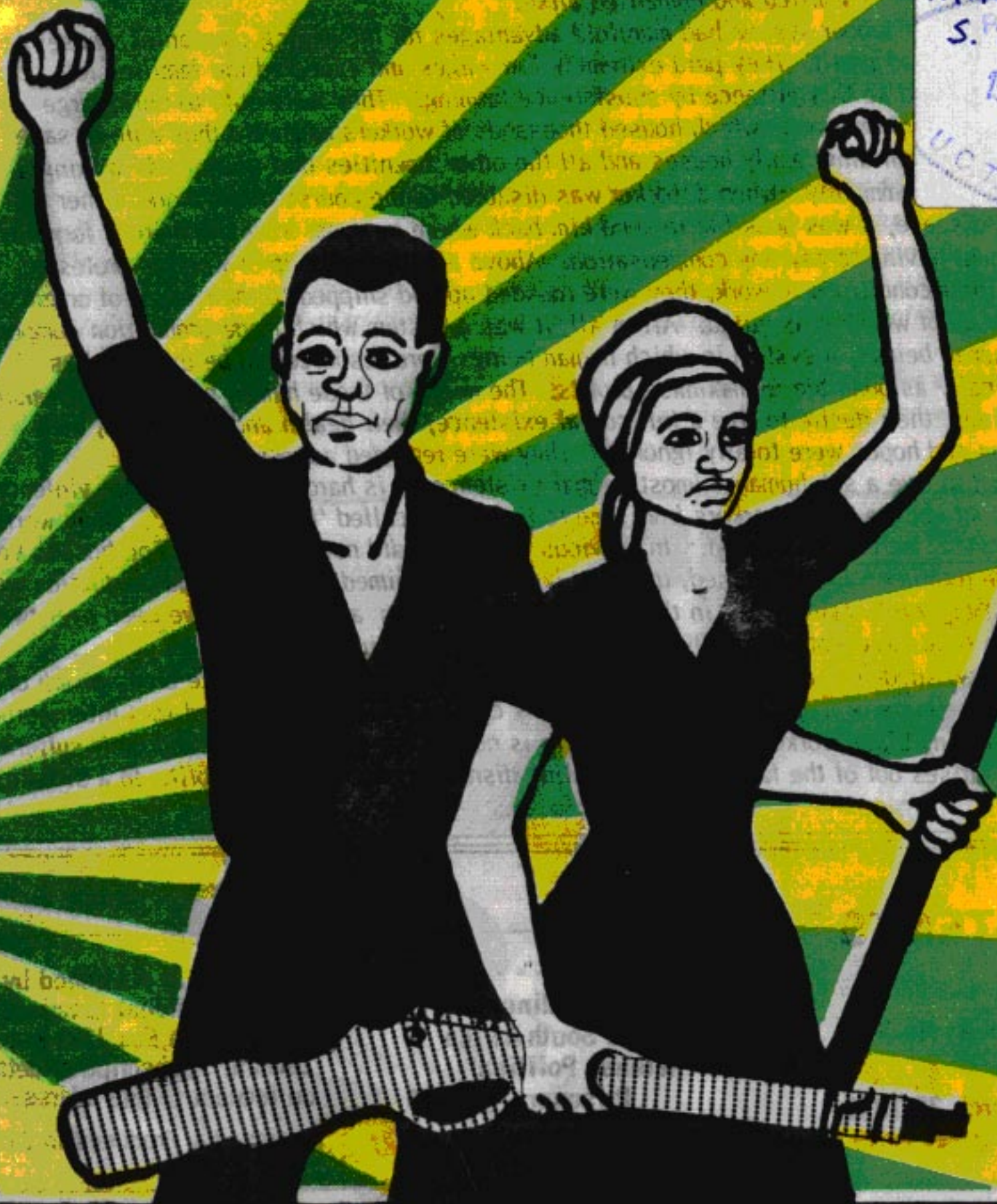


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bulletin of the A.N.C., South Africa

Editorial

The Rand and Free State gold mines, together with the racial and legalised super-exploitation of the Black majority, have combined to make South Africa a land flowing with milk and honey for the white minority, a veritable paradise on earth.

To meet the labour requirements of the gold mines, the mining companies have set up specialised recruiting companies which went as far afield as the Rhodesias, the Portuguese colonies, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, as well as South Africa itself. Each year thousands of black workers trekked from these countries to work deep down in the bowels of the gold mines, leaving their families behind. For as long as they worked in the mines, they were "bachelors" - married and unmarried alike.

This migrant labour system had manifold advantages for the mining companies whose *raison d'être* was profit. They paid extremely low wages and expected the families left behind to subsidise this pittance by subsistence farming. They were able to build large unisex bachelor compounds which housed thousands of workers and were thus able to save on the cost of building family houses and all the other amenities that go towards making a settled urban community. When a worker was disabled in the course of his work, either by injury or disease, it was possible to send him back where he came from and thereby forget him without having to pay any compensation. Above all, if any group of workers protested against their conditions of work, they were rounded up and shipped to their areas of origin and a new group of workers recruited. All in all, it was a system which made production components out of human beings, a system in which human beings were resources to be exploited as economically as possible to maximise profits. The needs of these human beings, their emotions and feelings, their desire to live a full social existence, their health and happiness, their ambitions and hopes were totally ignored. They were regarded as mere ciphers.

Forced to live a sub-human, almost animal existence, it is hardly surprising that violence flared up among the Black workers from time to time in so-called 'faction fights'. Many workers died and many more were maimed. In previous years this did not trouble the mine bosses very much; the fighting was suppressed, the dead buried, the maimed sent home and production went on - PROFIT WAS ALMIGHTY. In the past eighteen months alone there have been over twenty five such fights accounting for 132 deaths and almost 500 injured.

But now, suddenly, the mine bosses, the racist government and the white press (much of it owned by the mine bosses) are beginning to show considerable concern about this internecine fighting among Black workers. But the concern is not for the Black workers and their suffering; concern arises out of the fact that this fighting disrupts production and profit. In a situation

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MAYIBUYE is published by the African National Congress of South Africa, Box 1791, Lusaka Zambia. Subscription details on request to this address.

Designed & Produced in Zambia

where the mines are short of labour for various reasons (see MAYIBUYE, Vol.1, No.2 - 8/3/75) it is not possible to ship workers out - replacements are difficult. The standard explanation for such fighting used to be "tribal differences". This no longer suffices.

The changed situation has sprouted all sorts of "experts" offering various explanations for the fighting. And, surprise, surprise, even a commission of enquiry has been set up, consisting, inter alia, of representatives from the Departments of Mines, Bantu Administration, Labour, Foreign Affairs and the South African Police - a most interesting and revealing composition. But the general inhuman and cynical approach is summarised aptly by the following extract from the S.A. FINANCIAL MAIL (7/3/75).

"...some influential mining men believe that, although higher pay may increase the absolute labour supply, it could lead to miners staying at home longer between contracts."

"Another unknown is the extent and effects of landlessness among Homeland (Bantustan - Ed) people.....Men who have had to move to 'closer settlements' with high unemployment (such as Dimbaza) may have to take whatever jobs they can get...."

No question here of improving the conditions of the miners, no concern at all for the Black workers. As far as they are concerned, the only question is "How to increase and maintain the labour supply at the cheapest cost?"

No doubt the mine bosses have been advised by their own back-room boys as to the real cause of the fighting. An unnatural form of existence inevitably leads to unnatural behaviour; a life shared with thousands of other men in unisex compounds without privacy breeds violence; a non-social environment is the direct cause of anti-social actions. But the chamber of Mines and the racist government dare not face up to this explanation for their concern is with profit, not human lives, especially not for Black lives.

For the real solution to the conditions on the gold mines is a change in the order of things in South Africa. The solution to the problems on the mines is inextricably inter-twined with a solution to the problem of National liberation and of Black majority rule.

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DEATH ON THE MINES



group above loyalty to one's class. On the contrary, the fighting is a sign of growing political consciousness among our people.

The miners are revolting against the intolerable conditions that have been forced upon them for nearly a century.

Cut off from their families, from their lands, compelled to live under unnatural conditions, working in deep level mines under great stress, exposed to a constant danger of death and injury, paid miserable wages and denied the opportunity to do skilled work - the miners are reaching a point of no return.

They fight one another for what appears to be trivial reasons, because of their deep seated sense of injustice and their hatred of the system under which they work and have reached a boiling point.

Their hatred of the system finds an outlet in demands for higher wages and for skilled jobs. In some cases the conflicts have arisen out of competition between groups of workers for jobs and wages. In some cases workers from independent states have shown feelings of national pride in clashes with South African miners. African workers for one reason or another have become aggressive throughout the mine fields.

The crucial question is this: why do they direct the anger against one another and not against the mine owners and the rest of the exploiting class?

The obvious explanation is that the miner had not yet succeeded in reconstructing their Union which reached its peak of strength at the time of their great strike in August, 1946. The savage repression that followed the strike

POLICEMEN shot and killed 12 and injured 27 African miners in Western Deep levels, Carletonville on September 11th, 1973.

Since then at least 132 African miners have been killed and 496 injured in riots between men from the Transkei, Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi and Mozambique.

These clashes have not been confined to the gold mines: they also occurred in mines producing coal, platinum and copper in all the provinces (1)

Many miners from Lesotho and Malawi refused to work under such conditions and insisted on returning to their respective countries. Their refusal is a major reason in the decline of the mine labour force to less than three quarters of their full strength.

The mine owners, their press and the ruling race generally blame the riots and killings on so-called 'tribal' jealousies and rivalries. Police investigations list a large number of issues - wage disputes, football defeats, drink, competition for women, etc. as the spark that sets off the blaze. There has not however, been any serious attempt to discover the root causes.

The first question to be asked is why should these clashes take place now, at a time when most of Africa has achieved Independence and is striving to unify ethnicities (tribal groups) into nations?

The African National Congress (SA.) has been striving for national unity since the beginning of the century. Must we now conclude that ethnic divisions are stronger than national unity and national solidarity? This would be a wrong conclusion. It would support the false ideology of "separate development" and the division of our people into ethnic (tribal) nationalities.

We must recognise that while the migrant labour system and life in the compounds are contributory factors, they are not the basic reasons for the clashes. Compounds and migrant labour system have existed since the beginning of the mines in the 1880's. Only now, however, has violence of this type become a regular feature.

The violence is not a turning back to what the whites call 'tribalism' which is a tendency to stress loyalty to one's language and cultural

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

the victimisation of the leaders, the banning of meetings, a system of espionage among the miners, the tight security control in the compounds have defeated any attempt to rebuild the Union.

Because of the lack of organisation, the miners are confused and at the mercy of the divisive policies of the mining companies. The resentment against the system spills over in violence that further adds to the disunity. The miners fight one another because they have not yet learned to combine against the common enemy. The miners themselves will discover that these clashes will not help them to solve their problems. That discovery will, however, be speeded up to the extent that class conscious leaders will emerge who will have the will and the strength to stand up against the enemy.

Frederick Engels in his famous book 'The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844' argued that "workers must abolish competition amongst themselves before they can hope to do away with the system of exploitation. Trade unions and strikes," he pointed out "imply the recognition of the law that the supremacy of the capitalist is based wholly upon the competition of the workers among themselves that is upon their want of cohesion."

He added that "if the competition of the workers among themselves is destroyed, if all determine not to be further exploited by the bourgeoisie, the rule of property is at an end" (2)

The miners are on the move. But they are moving in the wrong direction. They need and must be given leadership and organisation to direct their blows against their real enemy - that is capitalist exploitation and racial tyranny

(1) *Sunday Tribune* 9/3/75)

(2) pages 218-219

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L U S A K A

Zambia

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EARLY in March twelve young Black South Africans appeared before a court in Pretoria, charged with conspiring to overthrow the apartheid state. Their appearance is a sequel to the detention of thirty-seven members of the Black People's Convention and of the South African Students Organisation late in 1974 following upon the rallies they organised in various parts of the country in support of FRELIMO and the people of Mozambique. Needless to say, the rallies themselves were banned by the police who are all powerful in that police state.

The thirty-seven young patriots were rounded up by the police, locked up in solitary confinement and held incommunicado. Solitary confinement in S.A. means just that - you are alone 24 hours a day except for interrogations by the Special Branch (that's when the torture starts), neither your family nor your lawyers have access to you, there is no recourse to Habeas Corpus, you are allowed no reading material except the Bible, no writing material no music, no means of passing the tedious, soul destroying hours of mentally-disturbing loneliness you have the four black walls of your cell, a bench against the wall, a urinal, and a mat for company; you cannot look out of the heavily barred windows; alone and at the mercy of your torturers.

After many months of such confinement, twelve of the thirty-seven were brought to trial. Their only crime - a love for freedom, for their human dignity, for their birthright, for the liberation of their country and their people from the iron heel of racist oppression and exploitation. Their actions and behaviour in court were a dramatic testimony to the new mood of militancy and contempt for racist authority that pervades the thinking of Black South Africans to-day. When they appeared in court they gave the clenched fist salute to their supporters in the over-flowing public gallery; they insisted on being addressed as MR.; they ridiculed the efforts of the police to pronounce their names;

they insisted on giggling and talking to their supporters and physically fought police who tried to stop them. Their trial was adjourned to a later date, and, of course, bail was refused so they are still in custody.

Such are the methods of repression, intimidation and torture by which the racist state continues to survive; such are the methods used in the country of which "statesman" Vorster is Prime Minister. Sometime ago, Vorster promised the world great changes inside South Africa in six months time. When courageous young men whose only crime is the love of their country and their people, are hounded and tortured, what change is Vorster talking about? Vorster is merely deceiving Africa and the world; the apartheid state will only change through the barrel of a gun.

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RELEASE POLITICAL PRISONERS

Whilst Vorster is busy making secret trips to independent African states and entertaining visiting African dignitaries - an aspect of so-called detente - many hundreds of South African patriots lie rotting in South African prisons. Their only 'crime' is that they dared to stand up and demand their right to lead a decent human life, to be masters of their destiny in the land of their birth.

We cannot here list all those brave men and women who so dared, but numbered among them are men of the calibre of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Bram Fischer, Govan Mbeki, Elias Matsoaledi, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mblaba, Ahmed Kathrada; these are the real leaders of South Africa; these are the men who enjoy the support of the majority of South Africans and who should be sitting in state councils planning the progress and development of our motherland. Instead they rot in the jails of Vorster.

FASCIST-RACIST TERRORISM

The apartheid state has deliberately chosen the method of state terror to maintain its oppression and exploitation of the Black majority. In fact, the period when Vorster was Minister of Justice saw the passing of some of the most terroristic legislation ever. We refer here to the 90-Day

Detention law which was expressly designed to detain opponents of the regime and to legalise their torture by the most brutal means in order to extract confessions; this law has seen the legalised murder of many brave men, such as Babla Soloojee, Ahmed Trivol, Ivan Haroun, Looksmart Ngudle. These men were obviously tortured and mutilated, they carried the scars of their agony, yet even the subsequent inquests pronounced their deaths as due to "suicide". Little did the inquest judge bother to ask the question that even if they did commit suicide, what was it that drove these brave men, at the mercy of the security police, to take their own lives? Many, many others were permanently damaged mentally and physically by their solitary confinement and torture. And what can anyone say of those who, unable anymore to endure their suffering, were driven to expose the names of their comrades and became broken men.

Truly, South Africa is a fascist, police state and for the Black majority, it is a prison, a concentration camp; a vast network of spies and informers makes even the mildest form of opposition a matter of great risk and peril; an armed and all-powerful police force makes it its permanent task to harass and intimidate the

Black population; an armed force, equipped with the most modern and sophisticated weapons, waits in the background should the need arise. And the terror continues unabated. While Vorster presents Africa and the world with an image of reasonableness, the apartheid state ensures that every voice of opposition inside the country is silenced; the harassment, the intimidation, the arrests continue. Even as we write, almost forty young men and women are languishing in prison, in isolation, in solitary confinement, at the mercy of the security police. Only twelve of them have so far been brought to trial (See "Inside South Africa, page 5).

VINDICTIVENESS OF THE POLICE STATE

In civilised countries, when a man has served his sentence, it is judged that he has paid his debt to society and the state ceases to persecute him. Not so in South Africa. Any person discovered to be opposed to the apartheid state is a permanently marked man - there is no escape. The police keep a watch on him night and day. Having served his prison sentence, he cannot hope to go free - he is forever a prisoner of the apartheid system. He is banned from normal social relations with his fellowmen; he is restricted to a small geographical area; he is house-arrested, sometimes for 24 hours a day every day of the year; if he finds a job his employers are intimidated to expel him; he is banished to a remote area where even the barest minimum of food and shelter may be a matter of life and death. Such is the vindictiveness of the police state.

We need only cite the case of Bram Fischer, that gallant fighter for freedom, that brave patriot. Bram is the descendant of a well-known Afrikaner family - his grandfather was Prime Minister of the Orange Free State, his father a prominent Chief Justice. Bram is himself an advocate of international repute; had he remained within the apartheid fold he could have risen to the highest positions in the land. But Bram spurned such false ambition, not for him the dubious glory of high office in an oppressive system. He threw in his lot on the side of the oppressed Black majority and sacrificed all for freedom and justice. But the nationalist regime could not and would not forgive him for what they regarded as "treachery" to Afrikanerdom. In 1964 he was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment, and for political prisoners in South Africa, there is

no remission - you are sentenced to languish in prison till you die. Even when Bram lay dying of incurable cancer, totally bed-ridden, the fascists would not release him - such is their vindictiveness. Only recently have they released him - for one month only - and then only under very restrictive conditions.

OUR DEMAND

The reader may well wonder how can we call upon such a fascist, terroristic, vindictive regime to release political prisoners?

How can we expect Nazi-collaborator Vorster to exercise mercy to political prisoners? How can we expect murderers, torturers, those who show such vindictiveness towards Bram Fischer even on his death-bed to suddenly turn humane? The short answer is that we expect no such thing and we ask no such thing.

When we demand the release of political prisoners, we direct no pleas to Vorster. Our leaders who languish in prisons, the hundreds of our comrades who suffer the hell of a South African prison are the true leaders of South Africa. We demand their release so that they may take their rightful place at the helm of a democratic South African society, to lead and guide it towards a prosperous, free and just future. Our campaign for the release of political prisoners is an integral and indivisible part of our struggle for a democratic, liberated South Africa. We do not ask for their release merely for them to be banned, banished and harassed in various ways by the apartheid state.

And we call upon the African and international community to support our campaign for the release of political prisoners as part of the support for our struggle for national liberation. We call upon Africa and the international community to recognise that the true leaders of South Africa are on Robben Island and other prisons, not in the Cape Town parliament, nor in the fraudulent Bantustans. We call upon Africa and the international community to clearly define Vorster and his cohorts as fascists and racists, as usurpers of the mantle of leadership which really belongs to those who are in prison.

WE DEMAND the RELEASE of POLITICAL PRISONERS.

**FORWARD TO A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA
POWER TO THE PEOPLE.**

HERBERT CHITEPO

FOLLOWING is a statement issued by Zanu, which is one of three nationalist groups now under the umbrella of the African National Council led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa:

"**THERE** can be no question that Herbert Chitepo's tragic death was the work of Rhodesian settler spies, imperialists and the enemies of the Zimbabwe revolution.

Chitepo had, since 1966, ably led the external wing of Zanu and had masterminded its successful revolutionary strategy in Zimbabwe. His contribution to the victories of the party and its organs was outstanding.

In recent months, Comrade Chitepo has been subjected to the most naked and wanton smear campaign by the imperialist Press for his firm and resolute stand on the question of immediate majority rule in Zimbabwe on the basis of one man, one vote.

Because of this unflinching stand, Comrade Chitepo has

earned the wrath of the imperialists and has been called all sorts of names.

The brutal death of Chitepo is part of the imperialists' scheme to systematically eliminate the Zanu leadership that has spearheaded the armed struggle in Zimbabwe.

Chitepo's dastardly and cowardly murder followed a systematic pattern to harass and intimidate and suppress Zimbabwe leaders inside and outside Zimbabwe since 1966.

In 1966, a bomb planted in a photocopying machine which came from abroad exploded in our Lusaka office killing one person.

Last October, three ZANU offices were destroyed in a bomb blast. The enemy wants to put Zanu into submission.

Recently our President Comrade Ndabaningi Sithole was arrested because of his uncompromising attitude towards majority rule in Zimbabwe.

Other comrades have been harassed by the rebel regime of Ian Smith and their puppets outside, and this time Chitepo is killed in cold blood.

Imperialist tactics of murder will not work. In Mozambique, imperialists killed Dr

Eduardo Mondlane, President of Frelimo, and the people of Mozambique got their independence.

In 1973, imperialists murdered Amilcar Cabral, President of PAIGC, and Guinea, Bissau got independence.

Today the imperialists extended their murder campaign to Zimbabwe by brutally killing Chitepo. And Zimbabwe shall be free and independent.

If there was anything that Comrade Chitepo cherished, it was the total liberation of Zimbabwe from the shackles of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

Chitepo wanted to see a true and genuine independence attained in Zimbabwe. And to that end Zanu and Zanla have fully committed themselves.

We shall not be intimidated, cowed and blackmailed into submission to imperialists and reactionary forces. We will hit and hit hard.

There will be no compromise or surrender on the principles and policies that our national chairman, Comrade Herbert Chitepo, has been killed for.

We shall fight to the bitter end."

TIMES OF ZAMBIA. Wednesday, March 19, 1975

WE, OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA CONVEY OUR DEEPEST SYMPATHY AND CONDOLENCES TO HIS WIFE, FAMILY AND COMRADES.

WE WILL CONTINUE THE STRUGGLES AGAINST RACISM AND IMPERIALISM IN WHICH COMRADE CHITEPO PLAYED SUCH A PROMINENT PART.

HAMBA! KAHLE!

AMANDLA! MAATLA!