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Editorial

One of the greatest ironies in political history is South Africa's call for "detente". The liberation movements are being advised to lay down their arms and negotiate peacefully. In the meantime, Vorster is busy militarising the whole country in preparation for his aggressive designs.

This would not worry us much if this rubbish was propagated only by our enemies, that is, Vorster and his ilk. What is disturbing is that some Blacks have started to sing Vorster's song acting as his loud-speakers, apologists, puppets, indeed 'his master's voice'. We have Gatsha Buthelezi in mind.

It is reported that Gatsha told the people of the Kwa Zulu border town of Melmoth that:

"Either we make detente work or we are all doomed to die together like fools" (Sun. Tribune, 6.4.75)

Gatsha Buthelezi talks as if the starving Black majority has the same interests and aspirations as the ruling white racist clique; he decides to ignore the fact that the Whites who constitute only 17.3% of South Africa's population receive 70%-76% of the country's total income and that the richest 10% of South Africa's population (all whites) receives about 58% of the total income.

What is the reality in Kwa Zulu itself? This once beautiful area of South Africa, whose people and leaders (Shaka, Dingaan, Cetywavo, Luthuli) contributed so much to South Africa's history has now been reduced to a poor, barren and ugly looking Bantustan which is ruled by white officials of the Bantu Administration Department. Hospital wards - where there are any - are full of retarded babies suffering from acute protein deficiency and various forms of malnutrition, like pellagra and kwashiorkor. African parents are forced to pay even for the inferior education their children receive. For primary school education they must pay ten rands a year (including "lavatory charges") and secondary school education costs a parent 23 rands for fees and books plus five rands for stationery and matriculation costs 35 rands for books and fees; 100 rands for boarding fees and 80 rands for school uniform. It should be remembered that the so called Poverty Datum Line calculated by liberals as "minimum" required for the maintenance of an African family is estimated at 110 rands a month in Kwa Zulu, and yet the actual average household monthly income is 16 rands - over a half is contributed by the husband and father of the children who works in the city far from Kwa Zulu.

These are the issues Gatsha Buthelezi should raise - instead he avoids them. It is people like Gatsha who make statements that the South African press print in bold headlines - "Black Leaders Support Detente". In fairness, Gatsha Buthelezi and other Black reformists do not totally agree with Vorster (they have to take Black opinion into consideration). They feel that "detente will not bring about change in South Africa, but change in South Africa will bring about detente."

The question is: who will bring about change? Change in South Africa will not be brought about by Vorster or some white liberals, but by the black masses who are the most dynamic force in South African society. The black workers, peasants, students etc. guided by and led by their liberation movement - the A.N.C. - are the only force that will change South Africa. Any underestimation, doubt or neglect of this fact plays right into the hands of the forces of reaction and darkness.

The people of South Africa have decided on armed struggle (and not detente) as the form of struggle that will lead them to Freedom.

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A.N.C. DECLARATION

*Declaration of the African National Congress
(South Africa) Executive Committee, Morogoro,
17-20-March, 1975*

Once again the eyes of the world are focussed on South Africa. The issue of the destruction of the criminal regime of apartheid is once again being discussed throughout the world. The issue remains cardinal in the world-wide struggle against racism, colonialism and fascism. It remains cardinal to the work and the very survival of the OAU.

Our people have always been convinced that the concerted onslaught of our brother liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, supported by the OAU and the rest of progressive humanity, would finally result in the destruction of Portuguese colonialism.

The ANC is convinced that the moment has now come to mobilise all forces in Africa and world-wide to crown the victories of the people of the former Portuguese colonies with a massive concentrated onslaught on the Pretoria regime.

1. A new situation has come into being in Southern Africa. Portuguese colonialism has collapsed, thanks to the heroic battles waged in fraternal solidarity by our brothers in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau and the democratic forces in Portugal, supported by the whole freedom loving mankind especially the neighbouring front-line independent African countries.

In Namibia and Zimbabwe the struggle for liberation has reached new heights. In South Africa itself, the level of confrontation between the oppressed and their oppressors is at its sharpest in a decade.

The new situation that obtains in Southern Africa is characterised therefore by the emergence of conditions that not only favour the passage of the initiative into our hands, but demand also that the African National Congress, the whole liberation movement and all the oppressed people of our country, should seize the initiative into their hands for the capture of power.

3. World imperialism, led by the U.S.A., together with its South African outpost, had studied and prepared for this situation with great care. They have decided that unless they recapture the initiative, White minority domination faces immediate doom. On this basis the enemy has already undertaken actions to enable him to maintain the sole right and power to determine the content, direction and pace of change. In

Southern Africa.

4. The speed of advance of the African revolution is threatened by this counter-revolutionary manoeuvre. The very gains of that revolution, as represented by the reality of independent Africa, are themselves threatened with compromise. This situation demands that all the forces fighting for the destruction of apartheid, both inside South Africa and throughout the world, must strengthen their unity and together double and treble the offensive against the South African white minority regime.

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5. The South African racist regime is engaged in a major campaign to improve its image and prestige internationally. It is seeking to project itself as a vehicle of progressive change in South and Southern Africa. It seeks to hoodwink the world into believing that it is a genuine friend of the peoples of the African continent.

6. Yet the change in the balance of forces in Southern Africa does not signify a change in the nature of the South African regime. The regime remains fascist, racist and colonialist. It continues to pursue a policy of:

- extreme national oppression of the black people;
- the super-exploitation of the black working people and the concentration of the country's wealth in the hands of the white minority;
- the suppression at all costs of the movement for national liberation; and
- the domination of independent Africa by resorting to neo-colonialist means and methods

7. The change in the balance of forces in Southern Africa has compelled the Vorster regime to tighten its iron hold on the struggling people of our country. In the current financial year, racist South Africa has doubled its military budget. At the same time it continues to strengthen its squad of terrorists, murderers and saboteurs, organised in the Bureau of State Security (BOSS). Already in the recent past BOSS has directed operations which have resulted in the murder of workers inside the country and activists of the liberation movement both inside and outside South Africa. Black militants are today held in the South African jails solely for expressing solidarity with the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of FRELIMO.

8. The change in the balance of forces has also forced the fascist regime to intensify its Bantustan programme

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of so-called separate development. It is seeking to cloak this balkanisation of our country into racial and tribal kraals with the noble concepts of national self-determination and independence. By this means it is seeking to legitimise the continued colonial domination of the Black people of South Africa. Increasingly, the representatives of this counter-revolutionary programme are being used to breach the wall of isolation that has so effectively contributed to the weakening of the racist regime.

9. Equally, the enemy has further reactivated a programme that it adopted in the years when Africa was gaining independence. That was a programme for the recolonisation of Africa, based simultaneously on the threat to use, and the actual use of force against independent Africa and the offer of economic bribes to the independent African States, drawing on huge funds accumulated from the sweated labour of the Black people of South Africa.

10. To succumb to this many sided counter-revolutionary offensive of the South African colonialist regime and its imperialist allies; to admit into the midst of anti-colonial Africa and the colonialist regime of South Africa; to substitute the authentic leadership of the Black people of South Africa with the Bantustan placemen of the racist regime, would signal active collaboration with counter-revolution, against the interests of the oppressed people of our country, against the interests of the people of Africa at large.

11. Yet, in the current period, we find some independent African States taking a leading position in championing the cause of what amounts to collaboration with the counter-revolution.

12. Acting contrary to their moral and political obligations, these Member States of the OAU have joined in a veritable scramble to establish and consolidate diplomatic, political and economic links with the colonial regime of South Africa.

13. Acting contrary both to their own specific decisions and to the lessons drawn from African continental experience, these Member States of the OAU have joined the racist regime in a programme to dismember the African people of South Africa into tribal groups. Continuing contact between these governments of independent Africa and the Bantustan leaders serves this purpose.

14. Acting contrary also to their own specific decisions, these Member States of the OAU are substituting themselves for the authentic leaders of our people, Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Tambo and others, in the solution of the South African problem. Consciously or unconsciously, they are co-operating in a manoeuvre to render irrelevant and destroy the organisation which these patriots lead, namely the African National Congress, an organisation which

has always defended and continues to defend the Charter of the OAU, an organisation which participated in the very formation of the OAU, when the latter pledged to struggle against racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

15. These activities have strengthened the hand of the world imperialist forces which have for so long sought to defeat the isolation of Apartheid South Africa. They have served to open the doors for the forces of international reaction to pursue with increased vigour their strategic aim of building up South Africa as a springboard for the recolonisation of Africa.

16. The future of the whole African continent, as a continent fighting to consolidate its independence and to ensure the upliftment of the masses of the people, is at stake. South Africa and world imperialists are engaged in a gigantic manoeuvre to roll back the march of freedom in Africa. This situation demands immediate, decisive and principled action by the African National Congress, the OAU, the UN and the world-wide movement of solidarity with our struggling people, unequivocally to beat back the enemy's counter-offensive.

We call on the OAU and the international community to :

Re affirm the correct stand of the OAU and the United Nations of recognising the African National Congress of South Africa as an authentic representative of the struggling people of our country; and spokesman of the South African people as a whole;

Re affirm the OAU condemnation and rejection of the Bantustan policy designed to dismember our motherland, break the OAU, isolate and destroy the Liberation Movement and legitimize the Pretoria regime :

Re affirm its adherence to total diplomatic, political, economic, cultural and military isolation of the Pretoria regime and call on member States to refrain from establishing any such contact.

Re affirm the recognition of the legitimacy of the armed struggle and call on all Member States to spare no effort to help increase the striking power of our Liberation Movement in pursuit of the struggle for the seizure of power in South Africa.

Declare the Pretoria regime a product of colonial conquest whose independence, sovereignty and United Nations membership constitutes a violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and call on all Member States to intensify their efforts towards its immediate expulsion from the United Nations.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS DECLARES ITS FIRM RESOLVE TO PURSUE THE ARMED STRUGGLE UNTIL FINAL VICTORY.

DETENTE AND DEFENCE

Some months ago, Vorster made his well-publicised speech in which he asked to be given six months to bring about dramatic changes inside South Africa. Weeks and months have gone by but there is no evidence of these 'dramatic changes' - nor do we expect to see any. It would be naive to expect that arch-racist, that Nazi-collaborator to do anything of the sort. The African National Congress pointed out at the time that the speech was merely another tactic in the strategy of buying time for apartheid.

After the April Coup in Portugal and the ensuing dramatic changes in Mozambique and Angola the apartheid regime found its Unholy Alliance with Portugal and Rhodesia in ruins; and the strategy of maintaining and supporting (including militarily) buffer zones to protect South Africa's borders was no longer tenable - Mozambique has a long common border with South Africa and Angola has a common border with Namibia. Racist South Africa now needs time to re-group its forces and to hash out new plans; hence all the manoeuvrings and sweet talk that Vorster is presently indulging in.

1975/76 MILITARY BUDGET.

The real intentions of the racist regime are not to be found in the speeches of Vorster but in the actions of the government. Let us take a look at the 1975/76 budget presented by the Minister of Finance to the Cape Town Parliament last month. The major item was Defence expenditure which went up to a whopping R948million - about R3 million PER DAY ! ! This represents an increase of 36% over last year's Defence expenditure (R710million) Commenting on this budget the South African Financial Mail of (27/3/75) had this to say:

"The increase in Defence spending above is four to five times the total current spending on Bantu Education. The INCREASE is of the order of R240 million and the spending on education for Blacks is only a fifth of that. Surely, the obvious question must come immediately to the fore: Can a state which increases its military expenditure by 36% be genuinely seeking peace and detente. Can a state which spends twenty times more on Defence than on education for its majority population be really embarking on the road to dramatic changes? Only the naive and those willing to be deluded can be taken in by the sugar coated speeches of Vorster. Dente and dialogue are means of buying time.

REAL INTENTIONS.

What then are South Africa's real intentions? . Over the past few years there has been increasing militarisation of the South African economy and social life . As far back as 1973 South Africa had 72,000 trained servicemen available for instant mobilisation. Since then these numbers have increased and a Black sector of the armed forces is being prepared by making the Bantustans an integral part of the military-industrial complex. The purpose of this enormous expenditure on the military is three-fold.

First of all, it is to continue the oppression and subjugation of the Black majority inside South Africa. As far back as 1969 the Apartheid regime set up five special "anti-terrorist training camps" so as to prevent or suppress

internal disorder'. The emphasis here is on mobility and on counter - insurgency warfare and to this end there are links with the U.S.A. Pentagon which has built up a considerable dossier in this area after its experience in Latin America, South East Asia, the Middle East and elsewhere. Secondly, South Africa's armed might is a constant threat to independent African States. South Africa's independent imperialist role has already been demonstrated by the assistance given to the Caetano regime before its overthrow, the presence of its forces in Zimbabwe and Namibia. South Africa has built a modern, fully equipped military base including a landing strip in the Caprivi Strip - a constant threat to Zambia. Zambia has also suffered sabotage of its installations and death of its citizens; Zambians have been recruited for military training in this Caprivi base for the sole purpose of counter - revolutionary activity against the Zambian Government. And in the past Vorster (in his sabre - rattling days before becoming reasonable') spoke of "hot pursuit of terrorists wherever they came from" on the lie that freedom fighters are exported from independent African countries.

Thirdly, racist South Africa is building up its armed might to prove to its western allies that it is prepared to pull its weight on the side of imperialism in the cold war. It seeks thereby, to involve these western countries on the side of apartheid against the African Revolution and the national liberation struggle. South Africa's role in in this regard has been consistently to fight on the side of imperialism and reaction e.g. the Korean War, the Algerian wars, the Portuguese colonial wars, the backing of Smith in Rhodesia, the offer of South African naval facilities and information to the United States in its efforts to increase its military presence in the Indian Ocean, etc.

Such is the meaning of detente - South African style. The increase in the military budget has nothing to do with defence; it is a declaration of war against the people of Africa. The African National Congress reiterates its stand that Vorster's detente is a cloak for aggression against progressive Africa and those who seek to enter into a dialogue with him will soon learn that they are involved in a monologue because Vorster will dictate terms. ●

CAPITALISM AND COLOUR BARS

*This is the 2nd article of our popular
series -*

Our Struggle

Readers comments and questions are welcome

Mqhayi had a dream. He dreamt that Apartheid had vanished overnight throughout the length and breadth of the land. No more notices 'Blankes Alleen'; no more warning signs: 'Natives and Dogs Not Allowed'. Black and Brown could mingle freely with White in public places, on trains and buses, in parks and post offices, on railway stations, in lifts, cinemas, cafes, restaurants, hotels. Was this the 'great change' that John Balthazar Vorster had promised? Anyway, it was a wonderful dream, and something to think about.

When Mqhayi woke up in his two-roomed Sowetu house and looked at the cold, harsh light of a Johannesburg's winter morning, he knew that he had dreamed. So he turned his mind to the day that lay ahead of him the crowded train journey to Park Station, the long bus queue, the day's work at the

garment factory where he worked as a machinist, and the struggle to make ends meet on his little pay. And he realised that even if the loathsome apartheid notices were removed, even if he and his people could come and go as they pleased, their lives would not be changed. They would go on living in small houses in overcrowded townships, work hard for starvation wages, see their children die of hunger or grow up without schooling to join the ranks of unemployed youth or the tsotsi gangs.

Mqhayi thinking about the dream and the reality, knew that the disappearance of apartheid would not make life better for people on farms and in reserves. Poverty would still force young men to leave their homes, fields and cattle to work for white men in towns and mines.

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Whites would continue to keep the skilled jobs for themselves, and to receive 10 or 20 times the Black workers wage. The police would still be there to order Blacks around, to arrest strikers, banish their leaders, and imprison those who demanded votes for all, majority rule and liberation from oppression.

Vorster is in a fix. He desperately needs to give white supremacy — baaskp — a new face to persuade African heads of state that his government has taken the road of 'decolonisation'. If they believe him, however, it is because they want to be persuaded. They are not that stupid or ignorant to think that the removal of segregation notices would bring into being a 'race free' society. They must know that oppression will not cease under the white minority rule. If they do not know, it is our duty to inform them and their people.

The Three Oppressions

Southern Africa is the last stronghold of racial discrimination. Nowhere else are Black and Brown kept in chains because of the colour of their skin. Nowhere else do Whites dare to enforce that discrimination by law and the entire power of the state. No wonder therefore that the nations of Africa and Asia have raised their voice against this primitive and barbaric insult to the Black, Brown and Yellow races of mankind.

But we suffer another kind of oppression. We alone in Africa are not allowed to seek and achieve the national unity which others claim as a natural right. The Boers deny us that right, which they have claimed for themselves and for which they fought in more than a 100 years of wars and political agitation. Without consulting us and against our will, they have imposed the abomination of Bantustans, a hotbed of 'tribal nationalism', for the sole purpose of splitting our ranks and spreading confusion among our people. Bantustan policies are a vicious form of national oppression. National liberation means for us the full and unfettered right to abolish Bantustans and unite all our people in one nation.

We also suffer class oppression. All but a handful of our people are wage-workers, peasants or peasant-workers. The whites, who robbed us of our land and cattle, turned us into propertyless proletariat and forced us to work for a wage or to starve. The capitalists — owners of the means of production — live by exploiting our labour under a system which combines race oppression, national oppression and class oppression.

Which of these oppressions is the worst? And can we distinguish them or do they form a single whole? These questions have been

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raised by one of our readers, in replying to an earlier article.

He argues that it is wrong to draw a sharp line between class oppression and race discrimination. Both, he says, have their roots in capitalism, the aim of which is to extract surplus value from wage-workers. In his view segregation and racialism are but a special kind of capitalist exploitation. They undermine the workers' solidarity and enable the capitalist to draw super-profits from Black workers.

Bantustans, he adds, serve the same purpose. It is in the interest of capitalists to maximise profits. This they do by compelling the worker to produce as much as possible while paying him as little as possible. If the worker depends only on his wage, he must be paid enough to keep himself and his family alive, so that he may reproduce as well as produce. Migrant workers from the reserves, however, are paid less than a living wage. Their families feed and house themselves. They subsidise the capitalists.

Our reader draws the conclusion that our movement should concentrate its attack on capitalism. We must do away with class exploitation before we can hope to abolish race discrimination and national oppression. He complains that we play into the enemy's hands by ignoring the class struggle as though we suffer only race and national oppression. Of the three kinds of oppression, however, class exploitation is the most basic and the most deadly. It is the root cause of all other kinds of oppression.

These are important issues. Our organisation should debate them again and again until we come to an agreement. We shall return to them many times in this series of articles. Let us begin by looking at the relation between capitalism and race discrimination.

Colonial Capitalism.

The whites who first came to Africa some 500 years ago were traders, bringing cloth, beads, ironware, firearms and firewater to exchange for gold, precious stones, ivory and slaves. Profits made from the trade were exported to Europe and used to develop the commercial capitalism that paved the way for industrial capitalism in the 1700s.

The flag followed trade. Forts were built along the West Coast of Africa to protect the traders and to house the slaves before they were shipped to plantations and mines in America. Whereas slaves in olden times were drawn from all races (the word itself is said to have come from Slav, because many people of Slavic origin were enslaved) now it was linked to the Black people of Africa.

Slaves are chattels, property that can be bought, sold or killed at the whim of the owner. Slaves,

said the ancient Greeks, must be inferior or they would not be slaves! The system of slavery, therefore, gave rise to the widespread opinion among peoples of Western Europe, who profited most from the slave trade, that mankind was divided into superior White and inferior Black races.

The Dutch brought with them the attitudes of racial arrogance and the practice of slavery when they settled in the Cape in 1652. By that time, they had gained a name for being successful slavers. Karl Marx singled them out as the head capitalistic nation of the 17th century. Quoting various writers, he drew attention to their 'treachery, bribery, massacre and meanness' in colonies where they used trained man stealers to get slaves for Java.

Unable to enslave the local population the colonists imported slaves from Malasia and West Africa into the Cape. Thus four 'social classes' emerged: white slave owners and black slaves; white wage workers (who usually turned to farming and became slave owners on their own) and the 'free blacks', against whom the colonists made war to obtain land, cattle, and labour.

Wealth accumulated by robbery, wars, fraud and deception formed the foundations of colonial capitalism in South Africa and of industrial capitalism in Europe. The two kinds of capitalism - colonial and industrial - developed together, in a single, interacting process. In Marx's words: 'The colonies secured a market for the budding manufactures, and, through the monopoly of the market, an increased accumulation. The treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement, and murder, floated back to the mother-country and were there turned into capital. Holland, which first fully developed the colonial system, in 1648 already stood at their height of its commercial greatness'.

The Dutch introduced slavery to South Africa. The British, 200 years later, abolished slavery, to the great annoyance of the slave owners, some of whom packed their ox wagons and trekked with wives, children and slaves into the interior to form Boer Republics and to continue the system of colonial exploitation. But Boer and Briton combined forces to defeat the independent states in the interior and to lay the foundations of industrial capitalism in South Africa.

Imperialism

Industrial capitalism in turn led to the growth of modern imperialism. Lenin called it 'the highest and last stage' in the development of capitalism. It was monopoly, parasitic, and dying capitalism, he said, and sprang from the concentration of production, the seizure of sources of raw materials, the growth of big banks, and colonial policy. To the numerous

'old' motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for spheres of influence, i.e., for spheres for profitable deals, concessions, monopoly profits and so on, economic territory in general'.

We see in this passage many features of the methods used by big, multinational firms in independent African and Asian states. That is why we speak of 'neo-colonialism', the strategy used by imperialist states in the period after the attainment of independence by the former colonies.

When Vorster promises 'independence' for the Transkei, he has in mind the creation of a 'neo-colonial' situation. The Transkei, under its own government, will be subsidised, supervised, directed and controlled by Pretoria, the centre of a budding South African imperialism.

The white bourgeoisie of Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban have no objection to eating and drinking with Matanzima, Buthelezi and other Bantustan leaders in hotels. They belong to the same class, have common interests and can join hands in exploiting the mass of workers and peasants. As and when the apartheid notices disappear, and Mqhayi's dream comes true, an alliance will have been formed between white and black capitalism, politicians, bureaucrats and intellectuals.

As for the Black worker and peasant, his poverty will be sufficient to keep him out of the hotels, bars and public places now reserved for whites only.



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