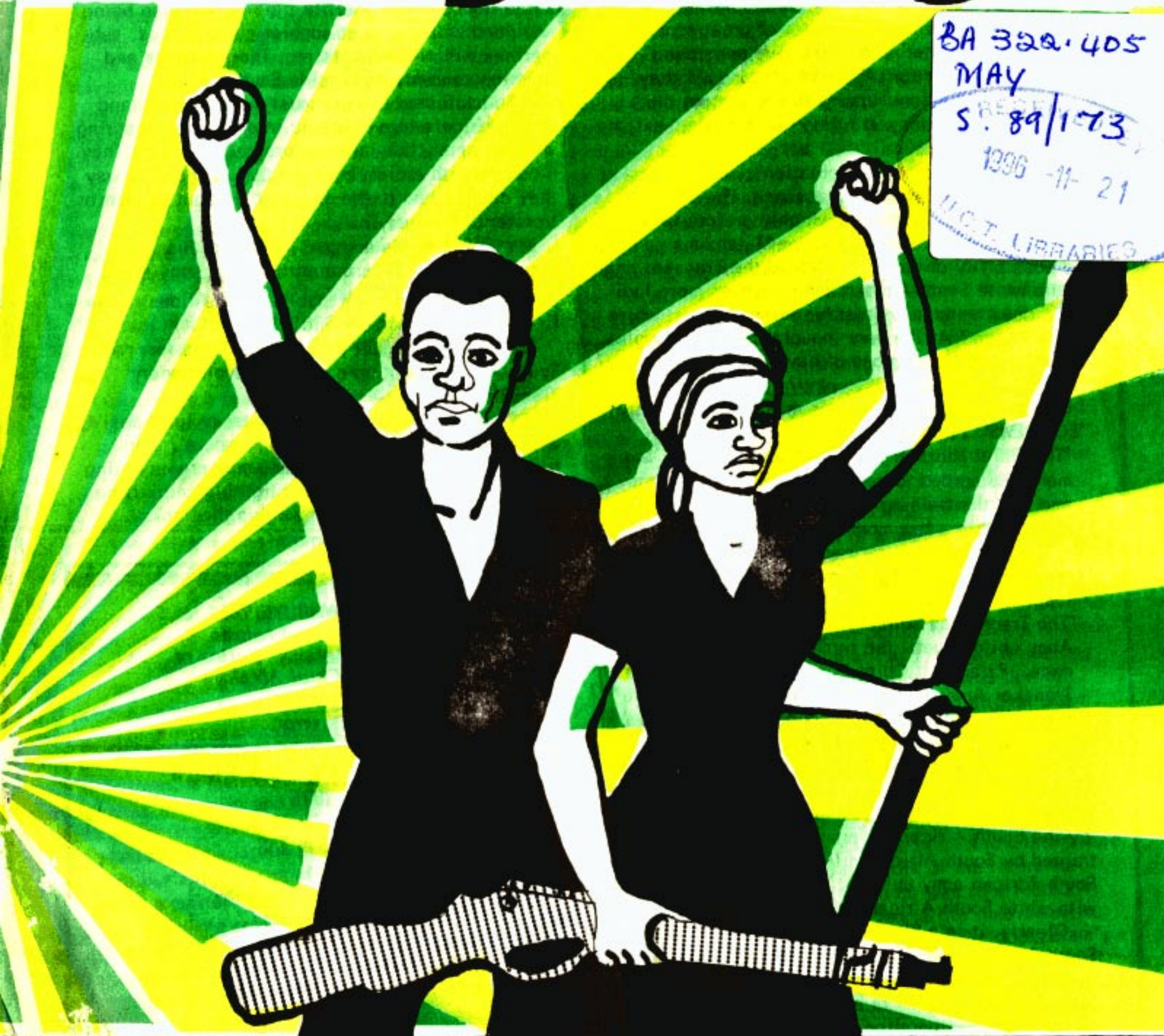


JUNE 75

# mayibuyye



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# EDITORIAL

It was recently announced by Kaiser Matanzima, so-called "Chief Minister" of the Transkei bantustans that the Transkei is to have its own army. We will not have a debate here into the fraudulent nature of the bantustan schemes. Suffice to say that "leaders" of the bantustans are puppets and stooges of the racist regime.

But in a situation of increasing militarisation of the South African economy (the latest budget sets aside over R900 million for military purposes), the announcement by Matanzima is a matter of great concern.

States acquire armies for defensive purposes, if they feel threatened, or for offensive purposes, if they have aggressive intentions; armies are to protect the interest of the state and ruling class against external and internal forces.

By no stretch of the imagination can the Transkei be regarded as a state in any sense. The Transkei is surrounded by South Africa which, therefore, is the only external force of relevance. Does Matanzima envisage the possibility of having to defend the Transkei against the white South African army, or, even more ludicrous, does he have aggressive intent against white South Africa? At the very thought, the mind boggles. What then, is the purpose of having a Transkei army? What role is it expected to play?

Let us hear from the horse's mouth. We quote from "ECUNEWS" (16/4/75) :-

"The Chief Minister said the South African government has agreed to help build the Transkei Army and that the training for the first recruits would begin within a few months. Chief Matanzima said a South African military adviser team would assess Transkei candidates aged between 17 and 25 for leadership training.

"The Transkeian soldiers will wear South African Army uniform until the territory gained Independence. Paramount Chief Matanzima said that the Transkei Army would fight side-by-side with the South African army if independent Transkei was attacked by foreign powers and that his men would also be put at the disposal of South Africa in the case of attack."

There you have it. The Transkei army will be a) built by the South African government; b) picked and trained by South African military advisers; c) wearing South African army uniform; d) fighting side-by-side with white South African soldiers.

Clearly, it is a Black army sponsored by racist South Africa to protect the interests of apartheid and, in effect, assist in the continued oppression and subjugation of Blacks. It is an army of traitors to the cause of Black liberation which will be used against freedom fighters.

In addition, such a bantustan army, selected and brainwashed by racist army officers, could, in time,

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become a pillar of white South Africa's aggressive designs in Africa. The South African armed forces, aside from counter-guerrilla training, are also being equipped with the most sophisticated planes, submarines, missiles, rockets, etc. Their purpose and function can only be outside South Africa.

The bantustan leaders must surely understand South Africa's true strategic interest in sponsoring a Black army - they are traitors but not idiots. They connive with racism because that is the only way they can hold on to the crumbs doled out to them by Vorster & Company.

Let us quote Matanzima: "I regard this (Transkei Army-Ed) as one of the most convincing demonstrations of the Republic's bona fides in the field of Black advancement."

Black advancement a la Matanzima is for racist South Africa to set up a counter-revolutionary Transkei army.

The liberation forces will sooner or later deal with traitors like the Bantustan "leaders". The tragedy is that in the meantime, they are assisting in laying the basis for Blacks fighting and killing Blacks. History will never forgive them this terrible crime.

## CORRECTION

In the last issue of MAYIBUYE, Vol 1, No. 5 page 8, line 13 of the second column - should have "Chief Abraham Moiloa of Zeerust" instead of "Chief Abraham Mopedi of Zeerust" as printed.

We apologise for this error.

MAYIBUYE Vol. 1, No. 6  
June 1975

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# BRAM FISCHER

AN AFRIKANER OF A NEW TYPE

On Thursday May 8, 1975, news of Bram Fischer's death was flashed around the world from the home of his brother in Bloemfontein. His death was as remarkable and extra-ordinary as his life - the apartheid regime persecuted even his remains by demanding that Bram's family hand over his ashes to the prisons department. Equally remarkable were the poems of praise for Bram in the enemy press - journalists & editors who reviled and feared him in life were constrained, albeit grudgingly, to acknowledge the greatness and goodness of the man.

Who was this man, Bram Fischer, that his mortal days seemed to be larger than life and yet, in death, too, he is immortal? He spent the last ten years of his life in a maximum security prison, having been sentenced to life imprisonment for his courageous role in the liberation underground inside South Africa. When his health began to fail because of harsh prison conditions and because of the ravages of cancer, appeals were lodged from all over the world, calling upon the racist regime to release him. But to no avail; Bram was regarded as too dangerous. Only on his deathbed was he released in his brother's custody and, as we have said, the racists claimed him back shortly after death. One of those who spoke for Bram's release was Helen Suzman, the Progressive Party Member of Parliament. An insight into the principled position Bram always took is recounted by Mrs Suzman. She recalls that Bram insisted she gives no undertakings on his behalf to the apartheid regime in exchange for his release.

Bram Fischer was a leading member of the South African Communist Party and he died a committed communist. Yet, he came from a well-known Afrikaner family whose members were committed to the Boer cause - a cause backed by Calvinist fanaticism and dedicated to Afrikaner purity and hegemony. From such a narrow, chauvinistic background was born Bram Fischer, the internationalist. His grandfather was Prime Minister of the Orange River colony. His father was Judge-President of the Orange Free State. Bram's childhood and schooling up to university was similar to that of hundreds of Afrikaners lucky to be born into the elite. The change came in 1931-34 when Bram went to read jurisprudence and economics at New College, Oxford. At this time, he visited the Soviet Union - an event which made a lasting impression on him and influenced his subsequent political thinking.

On his return, he married Mollie Krige, also from a well-known Afrikaner family and niece of Mrs Smuts, wife of Prime Minister Jan Smuts. During all the later years of struggle and sacrifice, Mollie proved to be not only a loving wife but a good comrade and dedicated freedom fighter. It is a matter of speculation how much she was influenced by Bram's principles and idealism, but knowing Bram and the effect he had on all those who came near him, one can be certain his influence was not inconsiderable. Bram himself was influenced by such veteran communists as Bill Andrews, Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, etc and joined the Communist Party which was then legal. Once in the struggle for liberation, Bram sacrificed all in the fight for freedom. He became a leading member of the Johannesburg Bar, a Queen's Counsel and served a term as chairman of the Johannesburg Bar Council. He became an expert on several aspects of law and his services were much sought after, but, true to his principles, Bram put himself

at the disposal of the liberation struggle and featured in many major political court battles, notably the Treason Trial of the late 'fifties and the Rivonia Trial of 1963. He himself was arrested on more than one occasion for opposing the apartheid regime.

During the 'fifties the Communist Party was banned and Bram played a leading role in organising the underground C.P. He, however, did not lose sight of the mass legal struggle, and, through the Congress of Democrats, continued his efforts in the Congress movement. Despite his gigantic intellect and energy, Bram was essentially a humble and modest person, a reflection of his deep-seated humanity. He abhorred and rejected apartheid not only in words but in deeds. Not only did he adopt and bring up an African child as his own (something now illegal) but his home was always open to visitors of all races and for political fund-raising parties and celebrations.

Bram Fischer was a life-long communist, a Marxist Leninist, and he made it clear he was proud to be so; he believed in socialism as scientifically inevitable and fought for it. But equally, he was a Congressite and fought on the Congress platform. He subscribed to and championed the demands enshrined in the historic Freedom Charter, a basic Congress document.

Bram Fischer was a giant of a man; a man of firm conviction, lofty ideals, high principles and total dedication. The historic step he took in 1965 reveals sharply the determination and dedication of the man. In that year he was arrested by the political police for being a member of the banned C.P. (Communist Party) and for furthering the aims of communism. At that time he was due to appear for one of the parties in an international court case in London (a reflection of his stature in the legal profession). Reluctantly, the racists agreed to release him on condition he undertook to return to South Africa and on payment of R 10,000 bail. After the case, true to his undertaking, he returned to South Africa and only then did he jump bail. He, however, remained underground in disguise and continued the work of the liberation movement for ten months before he was re-arrested. At his trial where he was sentenced to life imprisonment, Bram delivered a 4½ hour address from the dock. Bram's speech, like that of Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia Trial, is a document of brilliance and incisive political analysis - it is a document which will continue to inspire & educate many a revolutionary in our country.

Bram Fischer is dead but his high-mindedness, his dedication, principles and self-sacrifice will be remembered long after his persecutors have been destroyed and forgotten in the limbo of history.

Hamba Kahle, Bram!

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# URBAN BLACK 'HOUSING'

Urban Black "Housing" - we have inserted quotation marks round the word "housing" for, in South Africa, it is euphemistic to describe the appalling living conditions of urban Blacks as "housing".

There are those who say apartheid is crumbling and, in time will die a natural death. As evidence of this they point to the fact that many parks and park benches can now be used by Africans, that Blacks can now use elevators in many public buildings, that some previously all-white theatres now admit Blacks, that in a few expensive hotels, Blacks and Whites can eat and drink together. These starry-eyed optimists further argue their position by demonstrating that the acute shortage of skilled workers will result in the breakdown of job reservation and eventually of apartheid. We do not agree with them, but it is not our purpose in this article to show them how wrong they are.

Most of such theorists of the inevitable breakdown of apartheid are, consciously or unconsciously, attempting to undermine the struggle for national liberation and majority rule in South Africa. It would seem they expect oppressed Blacks to quietly suffer the agonies of apartheid and await a future millenium when 'things will all come right'. We quote below remarks made by a Black man from the city of East London: -

"If the Council did care, they would have made efforts long ago to look into our needs, and give us decent homes to live in like human beings. Why must we have to suffer like this? Surely we are not animals to live here in the bush."

This is what apartheid is about - about human suffering and degradation; not merely about park benches, hotels, theatres, etc which the vast majority of Blacks are, in any case, not able to afford. Africans in the urban areas of South Africa are herded into huge 'ghettoes' (called 'townships') where they live in over-crowded, undersized houses, in enormous bachelor hostels (even if they are married), in slum shanties and many in the bush. From here they commute by bicycle, bus, train, etc to labour in the white man's factories and mines at poverty wages. Despite the appalling conditions in these ghettoes, at least they offer the possibility of some kind of employment as opposed to the barren, sterile, unproductive rural areas (called 'homelands'). So, in addition to those who stay legally in the ghettoes, there are thousands who crowd into them illegally, breaking the hated Pass Laws, and thereby live permanently in the shadow of arrest and imprisonment. Many are compelled by law, by poor wages, by lack of accommodation, by their precarious existence to leave their wives and children in the rural areas. Family life is disrupted, children do not know their father, unnatural sexual perversions are rife, illness and death of one's nearest and dearest is not heard of until days have passed.

We cannot here go into much detail about the actual conditions of life in the various urban centres. However, a few examples will amply illustrate the heart-breaking situation.

## SOWETO

Soweto, outside Johannesburg, is the most organised Black Ghetto in South Africa: the racist regime even regards it as a 'showpiece of what we are doing for Bantu'. Soweto presently accommodates over a million Africans who live in row upon row of monotonously identical box-like houses. The houses are tiny, with no electricity and less than a quarter have cold running water - none have hot water. There are no bathrooms internal doors. The majority share communal taps and toilets. A large number of Soweto residents stay there illegally and are therefore not entitled to even these matchbox-like houses and in addition about 20,000 families are on the waiting list for houses. Those who have houses are obliged through friendship, family ties or the need to earn a little extra money, to offer accommodation to those without - this aggravates the problem of over-crowding. On average ten people live in each house. More than half the residents are under 35 years of age (a testimony to the racist regime's policy of only permitting able-bodied young men to seek work and reside in urban areas). One in six has never been to school and only a handful have had more than five years at school.

Soweto, despite its size, has few recreational facilities - cinemas, sportsfields, an odd swimming-pool. There are few clinics and only one hospital. There is minimal street lighting consisting of bright lights on top of 30 metre masts and these are restricted to only the central areas where about 50,000 people live. The remainder of Soweto is in darkness with crime being rampant as a result of unemployment, illegal existence, lack of schooling - many regard it as unsafe to walk by night. Another constant hazard is police harassment. The police make frequent midnight raids in search of illegal residents and, in a police state, they do not have search warrants, nor do they courteously knock on the door and wait; they do not respect the privacy of either male or female.

Ill-educated white functionaries, who man the West Rand Administration Board, have enormous powers over the lives of the residents of Soweto. As a result, corruption is rife; they have to be bribed for all sorts so-called 'favours' from getting a house to getting a permit for a relative to stay with them.

Such is the unhappy existence in Soweto - and yet apartheid South Africa is proud of it as an example of "how well we treat our bantu".

## ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP and HOSTELS

This is another ghetto on the Rand. According to a member of the all-white Randburg Town Council, African residents were living in overcrowded, squalid conditions. Another described many of the houses as shanties with mud floors, poor ventilation, no water sewerage. "We are sickened when we go on inspection there" he is quoted as saying.

But worse are the single-sex hostels built to accommodate over 60,000 men and women. Most of the reside

are married but they do not have their spouses or their children with them. They live in small dormitories shared by six to eight strangers with only one small window; there is one overhead light, no plugs, no tables or chairs; their only possessions are a bed and a locker. There is no privacy, no carpets, no comforts and there is constant supervision to ensure you have no guests. All occupants of a dormitory have to share and cook on a single gas ring. About 70 people have to share five communal showers and toilets. The hostels are surrounded and the only entrance is a ten-foot high gate.

And for over 60,000 people this is home for all their working lives - no recreation, no comfort, no family life; this is "housing" for Blacks in apartheid South Africa.

### THE BUCKET SYSTEM

Residents of East Rand ghettos live in similar conditions to the above. In addition, there is a bucket system resulting in excreta splashing into yards and on the streets where it is collected. There is a permanent stink and constant health hazard. As one resident put it, "Imagine, in these days of men on the moon and heart transplants, we still have to use buckets."

### WESTERN CAPE

George is a small town in the Western Cape, but has been growing because of industrialisation. Conditions of life are miserable for the 20,000 coloured residents of George who live in slum-like conditions. A University of Stellenbosch report states:-

- There is one small house for every nine people.
- There is only one water tap for every 90 people.
- There is one telephone box for all 20,000 residents.
- There is no police station. The streets are dark.
- There are no facilities for cultural activities.
- The crime rate is very high.

### CLERMONT TOWNSHIP

This is an African township in the industrial heart of Natal. Officially, it accommodates 25,000 people, but in fact over 60,000 live here. They work in nearby industries the biggest of which is the Frame Textile Group, already notorious for the poverty wages it pays its Black workers.

Clermont is hopelessly overcrowded and the people live in poverty and filth. Twelve to 20 sleep in a single room in two or three shifts for which privilege they pay R4 per month to sleep two to a bed or K2.50 to sleep on the floor. The workers are open to such exploitation as there is no official housing or even hostels. Unscrupulous landlords take total advantage of this predicament.

The rooms which they share with so many others have no lights, water or toilets. Single women are often obliged to share such rooms with men, as there is no other accommodation. Many thousands cannot even find accommodation in such overcrowded rooms and have to sleep in the open or broken down cars or in tin or plywood shanties. Clermont has a poor water supply and no sanitation; no electricity, no lighting, no police station. The township stinks and there is a high crime rate.

Neither industry nor government nor the local authority is concerned about the conditions of squalor in Clermont. The Frame group employs between 12,000 and

15,000 workers; every year workers are recruited from the rural areas to work in the factories at miserable wages, but no thought is given to their housing. Mr Philip Frame is once reported to have said about the housing for African workers:

"I couldn't tell you; I don't deal with workers. I am the Chairman of the Company. You must ask management that. I haven't a clue what they do with them."

Such is the callous attitude to Black workers of a leading South African industrialist and yet we are told that industrialists are agitating for reforms in the apartheid set-up. One dreads to think what "reforms" they have in mind.

### THE BUSH DWELLERS

Many urban African dwellers cannot even get the miserable accommodation offered by the townships - they are obliged to live in the bush outside towns. From there they go out in the day to work (if they have employment) and return to the bush at night. To illustrate the life of the bush dwellers, we quote the words of one of them:-

"We did not come to live here in the bush because we wanted to, but circumstances forced us to do so. At present we are living in appalling conditions. The area is unhygienic and unhealthy for human occupation.

"We have no water, no lights or toilet facilities. Water we have to borrow from our neighbours in the townships. We have to go into the bush to relieve ourselves. No one seems to be concerned about our plight. How can we bring up our children like this? When they grow up, how can we ever explain to them the reason for our sorrowful plight? To us it appears that we are the forgotten children of God."

This then is apartheid in action; apartheid is not about park benches, hotels or theatres. It is about the people of South Africa and their comfort, about the men, women and children - all 20 million of them. When their living conditions in the urban areas are such as we have described, what can be their condition of life away from the urban areas? How can you reform such things? Surely, it is only the seizure of power by the Black majority which will begin to define the necessary change? *Amandhla.*

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# APARTHEID AND BLACK ARTISTS

South Africa's talented Blacks are the hardiest breed the world has ever seen, according to a commentator in South Africa's *The Sunday Tribune* newspaper of March 23, 1975.

Mr Ian Bernhardt, a director of the African Music and Drama Association (AMDA) was commenting on hardships encountered by South Africa's many talented Black musicians, singers and actors as a result of government legislation - hardships which, over the years, have led to an exodus of Black talent to countries abroad where they have for the most part, been met with acclaim & recognition.

Meanwhile, the list of exiled entertainers is a formidable one. It includes not only Blacks but a number of prominent South Africans of other races. According to the report, the artists who have remained in the country have either succumbed to the temptation of becoming employed as messengers or labourers, or have become frustrated and unemployed. For them, there is the occasional temporary theatrical or musical employment opportunity, but these are few and far between.

Speaking at AMDA headquarters in Johannesburg, Mr Bernhardt wryly pointed out that he knew of one very talented actor who had played on Broadway and London and who had then become homesick: -

"He now runs a very successful shebeen in one of the townships" Mr Bernhardt said, adding "If I was given the hypothetical choice of dispensing with one single piece of existing legislation, it would be the law relating to the employment of Black musicians and artists.

"Their talents are so artificially and effectively blocked that there are only few pockets of employment available to a very limited number of the most extremely talented Blacks. If Black musicians, for example, could go into the Carlton or President hotels of this country for performances, we would experience a radical upliftment of the entertainment business.

"But, under the Group Areas Act and various liquor laws, this of course is impossible." Mr Bernhardt pointed out that, in addition to the steady flow of entertainers into exile abroad, the ranks of South Africa's Black talent have been further depleted by the deaths "due to frustration of expression" of a number of musicians including composer-pianist Gideon Nxumalo and Nick Moyake, saxophonist, who were well-known for their musicianship both locally and abroad and who literally drank themselves to death.

"The same socio-political and radical pressures that caused their deaths are also responsible for the disturbing number of psychiatric cases among those talented Blacks who are still alive."

Mr Bernhardt said that, even with the breaching of cultural edifices and the staging of highly successful Black musicals such as *Ipi-Tombi* and *Meropa*; South Africa is in a "cultural abyss" which could easily be filled with the wealth of Black talent locally at hand.

Playwright Gibson Kente, a protege of Mr Bernhardt, had this to say about the difficulties imposed on him by officialdom. "I recently had a staging of my play *Too Late* stopped by a local township superintendent.



This resulted in a great deal of inconvenience and involved the booking of alternative dates after the script had been submitted to the chief of the Vaal complex Administration Board who subsequently approved it. To me this is only a reflection of the total lack of cohesion in the Bantu Administration Boards system. It is deplorable that an ordinary superintendent who has no understanding of drama is in a position to ban a show without even having seen it. Such superintendents usually rely on information from informers who quote lines out of context."

Mr Bernhardt's comments only show that he sympathises with the plight of the Black artists because of his commercial business interest. If the apartheid hindrances were relaxed, he would make thousands of rands out of talented Blacks. At present, in African theatre, art and literature in apartheid South Africa, there is no room for any genuine artist to express or speak to the world in forceful reproach at what they see and feel as oppression.

There are those few artists who have succumbed to the situation - commercial artists like Gibson Kente who write, compose, read, sing and dance for the sole purpose of selling to the public what officialdom wants to hear of Africans. Business-minded men like Ian Bernhardt finance such productions because they are cheap to stage and bring in good profit. After all, Black labour - even if it is artistic - is the cheapest in apartheid South Africa.

It is not surprising that in order to stage a play in Black areas, an artist like Gison Kente has to submit his script to an official of the Bantu Administration Board - a body which in fact is a machine of the fascist apartheid regime and knows nothing about creative art. Having his script sanctioned by an apartheid government official shows how the minority regime extends its fascist repression to control the communication and artist media.

In the segregated theatres, where such Black artists perform, the image of the African is distorted. The role of an African is renegated to that of devoted slaves who "know their place" and are "satirized by their white

# TRIBE AND NATION

OUR STAND on the burning issue of national unity has been clear and consistent since the formation of the African National Congress in 1912.

Congress was formed to mobilise our people against the spread of oppression that followed the Anglo-Boer war, the granting of responsible government to the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and their unification with the Cape and Natal. Black and Brown South Africans had no say at all in the making of the Union. Britain and the white minority forced union on them, in the interests of imperialism and the Randlords of the gold mines.

British capitalism and Boer nationalism joined hands under an all-white parliament. It began the long, endless

## APARTHEID AND BLACK ARTISTS

masters". Their cultural background is presented as that of archaic tribal days of witchdoctors and wild belligerent tribal warriors. Despite the degrading work these artists produce and represent, they do work under intolerable conditions. Most of them are full-time workers in the cities performing and rehearsing after a hard day at work. Those unemployed find it difficult to obtain daily labourers permits' to enable them to work as full-time artists. Their workshops are in the dilapidated areas of the city, buildings under constant threat of closure because of government's policy of racially segregated public recreation centres.

There are many South African writers in jail because of their opposition to apartheid-like Govan Mbeki, IOJ (International Organisation of Journalists) award winner for 1970 and author of "South Africa's Peasants Revolt" now serving a life sentence for sabotage - on the notorious Robben Island. Others are living under savage restrictions which cripple their relationships with their fellowmen, outlaw them from society and even make it an offence to write or prepare any material for publication. Under most banning orders imposed in South Africa today - and there are hundreds and hundreds of them - to have a page even of manuscript or a sheet of paper in a typewriter can constitute a criminal offence, punishable by a minimum of one year or up to 10 years imprisonment or even the death penalty if the subject is construed as encouragement to 'sabotage' or 'terrorism'. Little wonder that in these circumstances the creative spirit is often crushed. The S.A. racist regime is terrified to let the Black voice be heard. It is therefore prepared to cut people off from their own culture. This is cultural genocide - a crime against the human spirit. On the other hand, the bitter tears of exile and repression have nourished the roots of a sturdy and genuinely South African culture, as Sechaba Vol 5, No 9 (Sept. 1971) correctly puts it. It is therefore the duty of every artist to discover these "roots".

ANC has consistently and constantly said that the future belongs to the masses and only those who ally themselves with the masses have a future.

business of turning out colour-bar laws. One of the first was the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911. It gave the Randlords a free hand to recruit our men for forced labour in the mines. The passing of that Act was a great victory for the imperialists and capitalists.

## United Front

Black unity was the only possible answer to White unity. Pixley ka Isaka Seme, the founder of Congress, sent out a call in 1911 to all tribes - Xhosa, Fingo, Zulu, Tsonga, Sotho - and urged them to set aside their differences. "We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today" he said.

In this spirit of unity, Congress undertook in its constitution of 1912 to "encourage mutual understanding and to bring together into common action as one political people all tribes and clans"; to "defend their freedom, rights and privileges" through "combined effort and united political organisation"; to discourage contend against and eliminate racialism and tribal feuds

Twenty years later in 1932, when his presidency was under heavy fire, Seme repeated his message: "We shall be made slaves indeed unless we can unite and become a nation. If we desire unity, then we must form the African National Congress into a solid and impregnable fortress for the defence of our Liberty, even on this Continent, which is our birthright."

These words still ring true and have an even greater urgency today. For the enemy is bent on undoing the bonds that tie us together and make us strong. He abuses the language of decolonisation and distorts the great principle of national self-determination in official declarations that promise us "self-government" and even "independence" in the eight separate areas reserved for us.

## Self-Determination

Our programme demands the creation of a single, non-racial society, majority rule over the whole country, and a large-scale redistribution of wealth. The racists offer instead to partition the country in such a way as to leave the white minority in undisputed possession of 87% of the land, its accumulated wealth, and political control over Black satellite states.

We understand the aims of the policy and its effects. Oliver Tambo outlined them in his speech to the Council of Foreign Ministers of the OAU at Dar-es-salaam in April. Bantustans, he said, are "an attempt to retribalise and divide the African population and thereby to strike a deadly blow at the very foundations of the national liberation struggle". Bantustan leaders are "tribal functionaries" and "puppet figureheads". Their mission is to carry out apartheid and sell it to the outside world in the new strategy of detente.

Although the Matanzimas may seem to have only a small part in the strategy, it would fail hopelessly without their collaboration. Some puppet leaders, like

Buthelezi, act as if they want to use their official position to expose apartheid and destroy it from within. They deceive themselves and their followers. The agents of oppression cannot free the oppressed; the forces of counter-revolution cannot undertake the work of our revolution.

Our revolution will succeed when the mass of our people - workers, peasants and intellectuals - seize power from the capitalist class and its racist underlings. We do not ask for "self-determination". That slogan, however progressive it may sound, is counter-revolutionary in the specific historical and social conditions of South Africa. It is an independent, self-governing state, and not a colony of a far-away imperialism. Our demand for political power under majority rule covers the whole of South Africa, and is absolutely opposed to its fragmentation into small separate states. We shall never give up an inch to the Boers.

National self-determination simply means that every nation should be free to secede from a stronger nation of which it is a part and form a separate state under its own government. The principle is sound and progressive. In applying it, however, we need to take note of the actual historical and social conditions existing in the particular society under discussion. For instance, does the principle apply to the many language communities, commonly called "tribes", that make up almost every African state? Is a "tribe" entitled to break away and set up its own state?

### *Language, Race, Nation*

In Joseph Stalin's famous definition, the nation is: -  
"a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture".

People who live together, speak the same language, work and trade together and have a common history are bound to share some values and feelings. Language and culture often go hand in hand, though it cannot be said that the one is the cause of the other.

Persons speaking the same language who have been separated for a long time may form different nations. The English and the Americans, the French and the Canadians are examples. On the other hand, members of different language groups who share a common territory, economy and political system may merge into a single nation, as in the case of Switzerland. In fact, most nations, whether in Africa, Asia, Europe and America, came into being through the fusion of what were once separate language and cultural communities.

Stalin pointed out "there is in fact no *single* distinguishing characteristic of a nation." It has many different elements - national character, language, economy, territory, national consciousness - any one of which may stand out above the others. One alone is not enough, however, to mark out a nation. It can be said to exist only when a people share a number of the elements and, above all, show that they have a national consciousness by

acting collectively in defence of their language, territory and separate identity.

The Boers use two elements - language and race (or skin colour) - to divide South Africans; and use one or the other to suit their interests. Thus they claim that Afrikaners and English people, who speak different languages, belong to one 'nation' because of their common race. Yet Africans, who also belong to one race, are divided into separate 'nations' because they speak different languages. In spite of this general rule the Transkei and Ciskei are separate 'homelands' though both regions are inhabited by Xhosa-speaking Africans. Another absurdity is the position of the Coloured. They speak English or Afrikaans, have white ancestors, and do not occupy a territory of their own; yet they are said to form a 'nation'.

Pretoria's bureaucrats and politicians enforce this system of classification from above and against the wishes of the great majority of the population. Black and Brown have fought against white oppression for centuries, and struggle actively for equality and social justice within a single society. Pretoria over-rides their claim to national unity and follows only one rule: what is good for Afrikanerdom is good for South Africa.

We reject this shameless impudence. It is not for the oppressor to tell us what 'nation' we belong to, or how to shape our future. We shall not allow him to 'retribalise' us and put the clock back to the days of colonial wars when settlers and soldiers, taking advantage of our disunity, defeated us piecemeal, and conquered one tribal state after another. Our 'tribes' must not become 'nations' or develop a 'tribal' consciousness which will only strengthen the forces of counter-revolution.

The whites stole our land and turned us into wage-earners. Our men and women migrated to towns and farms, where more than half the population live in non-tribal communities. They speak the language of resistance to oppression and share a national consciousness that cuts across tribal divisions. Much as we may love our language and culture, we refuse to let them stand in the way of our movement to freedom from imperialism and capitalist exploitation.

Our national policy is the same as that of independent African states. They too insist on unity, attack tribal separatism, and oppose, if necessary with armed force, any attempt by a regional or language group to break away from the state. African governments do not concede the right of self-determination to 'tribes' for the simple reason that a surrender to separatist tendencies would fragment the state into warring groups and make it an easy prey to imperialist forces.

National liberation and nation-building are a single process. It begins in the period of colonial rule and foreign domination, and continues after independence. We in South Africa are still in the first stage. The policies we adopt now, however, will do much to shape our future. Therefore, we need to make up our minds about the relation between African nationalism and the different language-cultural groups to which South Africans of all races belong.