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SECHABA

official organ of the african
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THE FIRES OF FREEDOM



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EDITORIAL:

The Fires of Freedom

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THE FIRES OF FREEDOM

It was at 11.40pm when many white residents were shocked, shaken from sleep, streamed from their homes and braved the biting cold in pyjamas and morning gowns to watch the red flames — billowing towers of flame and smoke rising high into the sky.

Sasol and Natreff staff, police, traffic officers and local commandos were called out to deal with the fires — a sea of flames, the fires of freedom, the most beautiful fire which symbolised the largest act of sabotage ever in South Africa. Fire engines with sirens screaming raced to the blazing tanks — 8 of them. At least 20 fire engines from Sasolburg and other towns in the Vaal Triangle and the Wiatersrand were fighting the blaze.

Besides this confusion, there was another commotion: an intensive manhunt. The Chief of the South African CID, General Kobus Visser, took charge of it and Security Police officers aided his men and a Special Police Task Force moved into the Vaal Triangle. Roads in the vicinity of the two plants were closed and motorists had to use alternative routes. Even traffic policemen from nearby municipalities were roped in by the South African Police to seal off Sasolburg and the vicinity with road blocks.

At the House of Assembly there was chaos and pandemonium: the explosions caused a "rumpus".

The blaze turned night into day.

What caused so much anxiety, curiosity and nervousness?

We must remember the significance of oil for the South African industry and the military-industrial complex. The production of oil from coal is an expensive exercise. South Africa does not have oil resources. Oil imports, details of which are classified information were believed to amount to some 250,000 barrels a day (b/d) in 1978:

almost 80% of the transport system depends on liquid fuel power and virtually all the regime's military machine. Shell, BP, Caltex, Mobil and other multinationals are involved.

There is the other aspect to this problem. The growing intensity of the struggle inside the country makes the enemy shiver. The sophistication of the attack, the selection of highly symbolic targets, the coordination of attacks at three different points almost simultaneously, the skill in execution contrast sharply and negates the whole philosophy of Apartheid namely that Africans "have slow thinking processes".

It is significant that this highly successful operation takes place at a time when South Africa is witnessing throughout the country an upsurge of boycott, involving thousands of black students, at schools, colleges and universities, supported by white university students, in protest against inferior education imposed on the black: when the super-exploited black workers in many parts of South Africa are engaged in strikes for higher wages and better working conditions; when there are demonstrations and marches by the clergy against the iniquities of the apartheid system as well as a nation-wide campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

It is in this context that the units of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC guerilla army attacked the oil production complex which fuels South Africa's terror machine.

The writing is on the wall and the South African racists can clearly read it. The two pronged offensive by SWAPO and the ANC is part of the build up towards the final assault on the last bastion of racism and colonial reaction on the African continent.

In successive policy statements the ANC has called on the people of South Africa to attack the colonial racist system on all fronts, while the international community is taking steps to isolate the regime politically, economically and in the field of sport.

The fires of freedom are burning furiously and inextinguishably inside the heartland of apartheid colonial domination.

In this Year of the Charter, the Year of the Workers, the African National Congress pledges to intensify the armed liberation struggle until final victory is attained.

MANDELA SAYS:

UNITE! MOBILISE! FIGHT ON!

"The African National Congress brings you this URGENT CALL TO UNITY AND MASS ACTION by political prisoners on Robben Island to all patriots of our motherland. Nelson Mandela and hundreds of our comrades have been in the racist regime's prisons for more than 17 years. This message by Nelson Mandela addressed to the struggling masses of our country was written to deal with the present crisis gripping our enemy and in the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings. It was smuggled out of Robben Island prison under very difficult conditions and has taken over two years to reach us. Nonetheless we believe the message remains fresh and valid and should be presented to our people. His call to unity and mass action is of particular importance in this The Year of the Charter — 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter. The ANC urges you to respond to this call and make 1980 a year of united mass struggle."

Oliver Tambo: President, ANC.

MANDELA SAYS:—

RACISTS RULE BY THE GUN!

The gun has played an important part in our history. The resistance of the black man to white colonial intrusion was crushed by the gun. Our struggle to liberate ourselves from white domination is held in check by force of arms. From conquest to the present the story is the same. Successive white regimes have repeatedly massacred unarmed defenceless Blacks. And wherever and whenever they have pulled out their guns the ferocity of their fire has been trained on the African people.

Apartheid is the embodiment of the racialism, repression and inhumanity of all previous white supremacist regimes. To see the real face of apartheid we must

look beneath the veil of constitutional formulas, deceptive phrases and playing with words.

The rattle of gunfire and the rumbling of Hippo armoured vehicles since June 1976 have once again torn aside that veil. Spread across the face of our country, in black townships, the racist army and police have been pouring a hail of bullets killing and maiming hundreds of black men, women and children. The toll of the dead and injured already surpasses that of all past massacres carried out by this regime.

Apartheid is the rule of the gun and the hangman. The Hippo, the FN rifle and the gallows are its true symbols. These remain the easiest resort, the everready solution of the race-mad rulers of South Africa.

VAGUE PROMISES, GREATER REPRESSION....

In the midst of the present crisis, while our people count the dead and nurse the injured, they ask themselves: What lies ahead?

From our rulers we can expect nothing. They are the ones who give orders to the **SOLDIER CROUCHING OVER HIS RIFLE**: theirs is the spirit that moves the finger that caresses the trigger.

Vague promises, tinkering with the machinery of apartheid, constitution juggling, massive arrests and detentions side by side with renewed overtures aimed at weakening and forestalling the unity of us blacks and dividing the forces of change — these are the fixed paths along which they will move. For they are neither capable nor willing to heed the verdict of the masses of our people.

THE VERDICT OF JUNE 16!

That verdict is loud and clear: Apartheid



Youth in revolt - Soweto June 1976

has failed. Our people remain unequivocal in its rejection. The young and the old, parent and child, all reject it. At the forefront of this 1976/77 wave of unrest were our students and youth. They come from the universities, high schools and even primary schools. They are a generation whose whole education has been under the diabolical design of the racists to poison the minds and brainwash our children into docile subjects of apartheid rule. But after more than 20 years of Bantu Education the circle is closed and nothing demonstrates the utter bankruptcy of apartheid as the revolt of our youth.

The evils, the cruelty and the inhumanity of apartheid have been there from its inception. And all blacks — Africans, Coloureds and Indians — have opposed it all along the line. What is now unmistakable what the current wave of unrest has sharply highlighted is this: that despite all the window-dressing and smooth talk, apartheid has become intolerable.

This awareness reaches over and beyond the particulars of our enslavement. The

measure of this truth is the recognition by our people that under apartheid our lives, individually and collectively, count for nothing.

UNITE!

We face an enemy that is deep-rooted, an enemy entrenched and determined not to yield. Our march to freedom is long and difficult. But both within and beyond our borders the prospects of victory grow bright.

The first condition for victory is black unity. Every effort to divide the blacks, to woo and pit one black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed. Our people — African, Coloured, Indian and democratic whites — must be united into a single massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action.

Our struggle is growing sharper. This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity. At all levels and in every walk of life we must close ranks. Within the ranks of the people differences must be

submerged to the achievement of a single goal — the complete overthrow of apartheid and racist domination.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

The revulsion of the world against apartheid is growing and the frontiers of white supremacy are shrinking. Mozambique and Angola are free and the war of liberation gathers force in Namibia and Zimbabwe. The soil of our country is destined to be the scene of the fiercest fight and the sharpest battles to rid our continent of

the last vestiges of White minority rule.

The world is on our side. The OAU, the UN and the Anti-Apartheid movement continue to put pressure on the racist rulers of our country. Every effort to isolate South Africa adds strength to our struggle.

At all levels of our struggle, within and outside the country, much has been achieved and much remains to be done. But victory is certain!

WE SALUTE ALL OF YOU!



We who are confined within the grey walls of the Pretoria regime's prisons reach out to our people. With you we count those who have perished by means of the gun and the hangman's rope. We salute all of you — the living, the injured and the dead. For you have dared to rise up against the tyrant's might.

Even as we bow at their graves we remember this: The dead live on as martyrs in our hearts and minds, a reproach to our disunity and the host of shortcomings that accompany divisions among the oppressed, a spur to our efforts to close ranks, and a reminder that the freedom of our people is yet to be won.

We face the future with confidence. For the guns that serve apartheid cannot render it unconquerable. Those who live by the gun shall perish by the gun.

UNITE! MOBILISE! FIGHT ON!

Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of the armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule.

**AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MATLA KE A RONA!**

DON'T FUEL APARTHEID! part 2

Until the revolution, Iran stood out as the chief source of oil for the apartheid economy. The Shah had established an expanding network of relations with Pretoria covering economic, military and nuclear links. The state owned National Iranian Oil Co (NIOC) had taken up 17½ % of the equity in the National Petroleum Refinery in South Africa, and Iranian personnel came to South Africa to work on the construction. 400 Iranian skilled workers were brought to South Africa and were given honorary white status. NIOC was supplying 70% of the crude for the refinery and was represented on the NATREF operations committee.

When the Arab oil producers first imposed their embargo, Iran was supplying 20 - 30% of oil imports. After the embargo Iran increased its exports and prior to the revolution 90% of South Africa's crude imports originated from Iran. Oil from Bahrein, Brunei, Indonesia, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates made up the balance.

Immediately after the cancellation of the Iranian contracts, South African imports dropped dramatically. In the first quarter of 1979, there was a 40% reduction in the volume of imports compared to imports during the last quarter of 1978. In the middle of the year imports were still declining and were believed to be in the region of only 150,000 b/d. South Africa was buying oil mostly on the spot market paying around S35 - 40 at a time when the oil price was under S20. However negotiations were reported to be in progress for long term contracts. (Financial Mail 15.6.79).

In the year since the Iranian embargo of oil to South Africa, it has become evident that oil is reaching South Africa through a number of channels, some known and some as yet unknown. In its efforts to

secure oil supplies, the apartheid regime has secured the collaboration of some governments, the major oil companies and international criminals.

Britain, the regimes long standing ally has assisted by providing direct oil supplies and by facilitating indirect supplies. Currently, about 25,000 b/d is being exported to South Africa from a British colony: the Sultanate of Brunei whose external relations are still controlled by Britain. The oil is supplied under a contract between the London based Shell International Petroleum and Sasol. Shell International Petroleum is a subsidiary of Royal Dutch shell.

At the Guadeloupe Summit Conference attended in early 1979 by the Heads of Government of South Africa's main protectors: the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Federal Republic of Germany, it was agreed that "the United Kingdom and the United States would guarantee South Africa's annual oil imports of 15 million tons for an indefinite period. In return, Pretoria could resume full diplomatic pressure on Salisbury to bring about a peaceful solution there". (FM 9.2.79).

In June 1979, shortly after coming to power the British Conservative Government announced a reversal of policy and allowed deals in which north sea oil would be made available for EEC and IEA markets in exchange for crude oil supplied to South Africa. By this swap arrangement the Thatcher government facilitated the supply of oil to the British Petroleum subsidiary in South Africa via Conoco.

The impression has been created that the British change of policy merely applied to permitting a swap arrangement. However South African reports have stated that the conservative government had ended the ban on the export "direct or indirect" of

north sea oil to South Africa. The regime's Minister of Industry Trade and Consumer Affairs, Dr Schalk van der Merwe said that a number of new oil sources were being investigated and therefore the British decision did not come as a complete surprise. (Citizen 30.6.79).

Senator Horwood, the regime's Minister of Finance returned to South Africa from a European tour just after the British announcement, and told the Rand Daily Mail that the possibility of purchasing north sea oil was one of the topics canvassed by him, and top level discussions and oil negotiations had been conducted (Rand Daily Mail 17.7.79).

There have been few other confirmed reports of governmental connivance in supplying oil to South Africa but numerous press reports of deals. There are however, a number of oil producers who are neither members of the Organisation of Arab Oil Producers nor OPEC and who have made no policy commitment on the supply of oil to the apartheid regime.

Pretoria has shown interest in obtaining oil from Mexico and from China, and consideration is being given to assisting new producers to develop their resources in exchange for long term contracts.

Petroleum products are however being openly exported to South Africa from Italy, US, UK, Netherlands, FRG, Belgium and Luxembourg, Greece, Australia, Japan, Spain, France, Switzerland; Denmark, Canada, Sweden. The products include lubricating oils and greases, pitch and resin, motor spirit and light oils, lamp oil and white spirit, distillate fuels and residual fuel oils.

The Companies

Apartheid's collaborators frequently try and shield themselves behind the activities of "independent" companies. Breaches of the arms embargo and nuclear collaboration are all too frequently blamed on companies over which western governments claim they have no control, though often they own these same companies. Similarly the breach of oil sanctions against Rhodesia has been laid at the door of "companies", notwithstanding the evidence of the know-

ledge and connivance of Ministers in successive British governments and the absolution now conferred by the British government on the companies for their nefarious and illegal activities.

In like manner the main channel used in ensuring the continued flow of oil to the apartheid regime are the major oil companies. Appreciation of their role in evading the embargo imposed by the Arab oil producers in 1973 has often been expressed in South Africa. Thus in December 1973, the Financial Mail commented;

"There can be no greater blessing for South Africa... apart from the fact that Iran is well disposed... than that the oil business is still largely in the hands of international companies with no discernible leanings of excessive patriotism".

Seven months later the same journal reported:

"... the fact is that southern Africa appears to be riding out the seige with very little discomfort on the supply side. This is due at least as much to the ability of the oil majors to maintain flows by a series of complex logistic acrobatics, as to the good offices of Iran".

As we have noted in the case of British Petroleum's swap deal, the logistic acrobatics of oil companies are usually accomplished with the permission of governments supporting apartheid in South Africa.

The Governments of Britain and France have substantial shareholdings and exercise ultimate control over two of the major oil companies operating in South Africa: British Petroleum and Total. The British Government has a majority 51% shareholding in BP and the two Directors it appoints to the Board have the right to veto any decision concerned with foreign relations. Through its 40% shareholding the French Government controls the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (CFP) which in turn has a majority 65.83% shareholding in Total South Africa.

The three other international companies operating in South Africa, Shell, Caltex and Mobil are subsidiaries of Transnational Corporations with their metropolitan bases in the UK/Netherlands for Shell and the United States for Caltex and Mobil.

These five companies together supply nearly 85% of the regional demand for petroleum products. All of South Africa's refineries have been established and are being operated by consortia of these international companies and the South African owned SASOL. These companies are responsible for all the crude oil imported into South Africa.

The Pretoria regime has integrated the oil companies into its plans to counter an oil embargo. Since 1967, it has introduced a series of regulations covering the operation of oil companies, which have been periodically extended and strengthened. These include:

1. The companies are required to make available excess capacity in refineries for refining crude from any source.
2. As required for strategic and logistic reasons specialized petroleum and oil products must be produced regardless of commercial considerations.
3. The construction or expansion of refineries and associated plants require the prior approval of the Secretary for Industries, who has the power also to control location, capacity and products. This power can be exercised against any company that does not co-operate.
4. A minimum of one quarter years supply of oil products including fuel must be stored by the oil companies and a minimum of 12 months supply of the chemicals and lubricants needed for the refineries and other plants must be kept in stock.
5. Companies are prohibited from setting any conditions on sale of their products and certain percentages must be reserved for purchase by sections of the state apparatus including military.

These regulations serve to mobilise the oil companies into the strategic planning for the survival of apartheid. They were not introduced because of any reluctance by the oil companies to co-operated fully with the regime, but they provide an umbrella under which the companies can shelter and continue actively to buttress the apartheid system. The regulations have been used as alibis and have been quoted in Boardrooms and shareholders meetings

as alleged justification for continuing to fuel the repressive machinery of the apartheid regime.

The co-operation of the companies has been richly rewarded by the regime setting fuel prices at a level providing highly profitable returns and permitting the expansion into the most profitable areas of the economy. Thus in addition to their involvement in prospecting and coal mining, nearly half the highly profitable coal export quotas have been given to BP, Shell and Total. The state owned Industrial Development Corporation, has gone into partnership with BP in Sentrachem, the country's largest chemical company. Shell has been given concessions for base metal prospecting and Esso and Total are involved in uranium mining, and prospecting.

BP through its interest in Sentrachem is to be involved in a 4th oil from coal plant. A joint project between Sentrachem and General Mining was announced last month. A different process from that used in SASOL is under investigation. Overseas interests besides BP are probably involved in the technology for it has been announced that 'venting of several hundred tons of the Springbok Flats coal is to be undertaken in overseas pilot plants'. (Citizen 14.2.80)

To protect their profits the companies have embarked with enthusiasm on programmes that will serve to evade an oil embargo. It is known that the oil companies connived with the Smith regime building up oil stocks in Rhodesia and running them down in Zambia just prior to the declaration of UDI.

In South Africa they have expanded their refining capacity, in some cases doubling it and setting up plants for the production of specialized products previously imported into South Africa. Investment funds and technology have flowed in freely for oil exploration, refining, oil pipelines, the petro-chemical industry, mining and transport of minerals. Most important of all, they have ensured that crude oil has continued to come to South Africa notwithstanding embargoes of producer countries.

There is little doubt that the major part of the oil still flowing into South Africa is doing so through the "logistic

acrobatics" of the oil majors. Shortly after the Iran embargo, the Financial Mail reported: "The base load of South Africa's crude oil requirements is probably carried by sources to which the oil majors have access with a reasonable prospect of medium to long term on a contractual basis. In addition to these limited sources, the oil companies and SASOL will probably negotiate term contracts with brokers and take their chances on the spot market."

Given the record of the oil companies in Rhodesia, it can be assumed that some at least of the oil now fuelling apartheid has been brought to South Africa in defiance of the wishes of producer countries who have imposed an embargo. There have been various reports of such oil shipments.

The case of the tanker Salaam which off-loaded 193,000 tons of Kuwaiti oil in Durban came to light because of South African connivance with international criminals and the allegations of fraud. The oil cargo was discharged in Durban at facilities operated by Shell South Africa.

Financial & Ancillary Collaboration

The Pretoria regime's energy programme is receiving large scale financial assistance from companies, banks and governments. The Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) regularly raises loans on the international financial market. Various companies have poured investments into prospecting and mining of coal and uranium. Governments have given export credits freely for reconstruction and equipping of the uranium enrichment plant, SASOL, the Koringa nuclear reactors, the Matla and Duvla and other power stations, and the petrochemical industry.

Equipment for the various projects continues to be provided by a large number of US, British, West German, Austrian and French companies, and technology flows from the companies, from universities and from state financed research institutes.

Thus the collaboration in ensuring the energy needs of the apartheid system extends well beyond the oil companies



alone, and the oil embargo needs to be placed within the context of comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against the regime.

Continued Vulnerability to an Oil Embargo

The expenditure of so much time and resources on ensuring domestic energy needs is testimony to the vulnerability of the apartheid system to an effective oil embargo.

Recognition of the strategic significance of oil and the vulnerability to an embargo has led to the imposition of a cloak of secrecy enforced by penal sanction. After 1973 official statistics on oil imports and exports were no longer published. Apart from more general legislative provisions new legislation was introduced in April 1979 to prevent information about oil as well as other strategic industries being made public. Provision has been made for sentences up to 7 years or fines of R7000 for publishing information about the "source manufacture, transportation, destination, storage, quantity of stock level of any petroleum product" acquired or manufactured in South Africa.

The result has been a paucity of official information and exploitation of the situation by the regime for its own propaganda purposes. The secrecy legislation has also provided a convenient shelter for oil companies, anxious to conceal their activities and their violation of UN sanctions against Rhodesia and their support for the apartheid system.

However, reliable calculations of imports of crude oil vary between an annual rate of 330,000 b/d in 1978 (Bailey and Rivers UN12/78) and a post Iranian revolution figure of 305,000 b/d (FM June 1979). Both these figures exclude what the Financial Mail refers to as "spasmodic purchases for the stockpile". There also seems to be general agreement that the amount of oil required for present consumption by the apartheid economy is in the region of 240,000 b/d.

The regime's own estimates which are inflated, indicate that after SASOL 2 & 3 are in full production, they would be able to meet about 50% of the country's 1978 consumption of oil. (Minister of Economic

Affairs Heunis in Citizen 23.2.79) Thus this figure does not take into account any increases in demand either for the economy or from the military. None of the schemes for alternatives, or further economies in consumption, whether planned or mooted, are on a scale that can bring any significant improvement.

The scale of the necessary programme to achieve self sufficiency and security from an oil embargo, can be gauged by proposals formulated by the energy Adviser to the Anglo-American Corporation, Raymond Cohen. A year ago he explained that to be self sufficient by the turn of the century, South Africa would need 10 more SASOL 2. It would require the biggest investment programme ever undertaken in the country with an expenditure of R1,000 million per annum over the next 20 years ie. investment would amount to 22% of current GNP. He estimated that the country's oil requirements would grow from a present consumption of 270,000 b/d to 500,000 b/d by the year 2,000. (To the Point 20.4.79).

In addition, ESCOM and South African Railways planners and executives have estimated that at least R25 - 30,000 million capital expenditure will be required to keep abreast of power and transport demands as the country moves away from oil to electricity. (Sunday Times 1.7.79)

Were the regime to embark on plans on this scale it would have to be still further dependent upon external financial support. Even with the rise in the gold price, expenditure on such a scale from domestic resources is impossible. The more so, as the apartheid economy will have to cope with further increases in the expenditure on arms for the police and military as the regime faces the escalating challenge of the liberation forces inside South Africa, and its growing isolation internationally.

Thus to reduce any further its vulnerability to an oil embargo, the regime will have to raise massive loans and (international) credits.

Given even a modest reduction in the supply of oil, the regime will be forced to make a choice. An expansion in consumption by the military will have to be accompanied by reductions in the economy.

The ability of the regime to maintain 9

its aggressive actions against its neighbours, and use its repressive apparatus against the oppressed majority in South Africa is and will continue to be related directly to the quantity of oil the regime is able to obtain from outside South Africa. Quite literally, the wheels of apartheid are lubricated and its engines fuelled by imported oil. Deprived of this vital commodity the economic, police and military arms of the apartheid regime would be forced to slow down.

Programme of Action

We, opponents of apartheid, individually and collectively, can make a singular contribution towards the destruction of the predator racist regime by uniting our efforts towards stopping all governments and companies from providing oil to the apartheid system.

The African National Congress recognising that the threat to international peace and security can only be met by the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council against the Pretoria regime, calls for the immediate imposition of a mandatory oil embargo and further calls upon all governments, non-governmental organisations, international and national solidarity organisations, to support this demand.

We call upon all producer countries who have applied oil sanctions against the racist regime to strengthen their control of the final destination of their oil, and through the incorporation of end user clauses in the initial contracts of sale ensure that their oil does not reach the apartheid regime through resale or the agency of any other company or organisation or government.

We call upon the mass movements in the base areas of the oil monopolies — the student, youth, workers, church and trade union organisations to force the governments and monopolies to stop supplies of oil and petroleum products to the racist regime, and in addition to expose the criminal nature of such support.

We call upon the workers in the refineries, on the oil fields and ports, and



those who sail the tankers, to take action that would prevent the supplies of oil to the regime of white domination.

We call upon all countries with tanker fleets to stop the transport to South Africa of all oil and oil products wherever they originate.

We call upon all countries to seize any tanker that has touched South African ports.

We call upon all countries to take immediate action against any company or individuals who supply or transport oil and oil products, or facilitate such supply or transport to South Africa.

We call for an end to all assistance, by way of finance, export credits and guarantees, technology transfer and training, supply of machinery and equipment to any project concerned with securing fuel and energy resources for the racist regime and the apartheid economy. In particular we call for an end to any form of assistance or international involvement in the uranium enrichment plant, nuclear power plants, SASOL projects, oil prospecting and coal and uranium mining.

**DON'T FUEL APARTHEID!
SUPPORT THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
OUR VICTORY IS CERTAIN!
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MATLA KEA RONA!**

MANDELA CAMPAIGN CONTINUES

By the 25th May, 58,109 South Africans, black and white had already signed the petition in a unified manifestation calling on the racist Botha-Malan regime to free Comrade Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners held on Robben Island and in jails throughout South Africa. It is clear that our leaders on Robben Island, even though they have been locked away from all public contact with our people, still command nation-wide support. This is an open rejection of the bantustan puppets imposed on the people by the racist regime.

Throughout the country mobilising meetings have taken place addressed by Bishop Tutu, Zinzi Mandela and other prominent people. At the Greenbury Community Hall in Phoenix, near Durban, over 1000 people unanimously backed a call for the immediate and unconditional release of Comrade Mandela. Dr Farook Meer, the President of the Natal Indian Congress told the meeting: "We must fight and struggle until our real leaders are released". Another meeting which was to be held at the Pietermaritzburg campus of the University of Natal was banned by a local magistrate minutes before it was due to take place. A hastily organised substitute meeting was broken up by Security Police whilst riot police stationed themselves around the campus.

At a meeting addressed by Archbishop Hurley of Durban, Rev. E Mabuza of Umlazi, Zwelakhe Sisulu, President of the Writers' Association of South Africa (WASA), Mr. M.J. Naidoo, Vice-President of the Natal Indian Congress and Mr. Paddy Kearney of Diakon Church Organisation, called on whites opposed to the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners to note that Mandela is a natural hero of Blacks, he was internationally

recognised and many politicians in the U.K. and America supported the campaign. He pointed out that there could only be peace if the Government was representative of all the people in the country. The Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde (Afrikaans Writers Union) called on the racist regime "in the interests of better communication to consider the release of all political prisoners".

In Europe and America, the Free Mandela Campaign has already taken off. In London, 26 Labour Members of Parliament tabled a motion in Parliament calling on the Tory Government to pressurise the Botha-Malan regime to "release Mandela and other political prisoners unconditionally". Their spokesman, Mr. Bob Hughes M.P., urged; "release Mandela so that he could play a full part in democratic and political changes required to end the racist system of apartheid." The British Anti-Apartheid also organised a mass day of action for the release of political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia.

In America, 19 Congressmen, who are all part of the Congressional monitoring group on Southern Africa sent a note to Donald Sole, the racist Ambassador of the Pretoria regime in America, urging the racist regime to release Mandela because "he personifies the black man's struggle against apartheid". In India, Comrade Mandela has been honoured with the Jawaharlal Nehru award for "promoting international understanding and in recognition of his staunch support for freedom, individual liberty, justice and peace".

Through the length and breadth of the country the people are calling for the release of their leaders. However it is typical of some Chiefs who see themselves as future Prime Ministers of South Africa and

the key-points through which all matters concerning freedom and liberation must pass, now find themselves over-shadowed and by-passed by the people's call for the release of their leaders whom they recognise through their unfaltering commitment, dedication and unselfish revolutionary spirit. The people have seen that empty promises and semantics will never win us our freedom. United uncompromising mass action is the key to the overthrow of the racist regime.

Marris Steyn, the racist minister of Coloured and Indian Affairs said that "agitators are using the Free Mandela Campaign to incite unrest and disorder".

It is clear from events in South Africa that whether the racist regime releases our leaders or not, the struggle will continue on all levels until victory has been won. Forward to a people's Government!

STUDENTS UP IN ARMS

To the shouts of: "We hate apartheid! We hate apartheid!", the students called a temporary halt to their nation-wide rejection of apartheid education. This decision they say does not mean that they are accepting or compromising with apartheid; rather, it is a time when they will regroup and reaffirm their demands and take stock of developments so far.

The mood of the students has been reflected through the pledges parents, teachers, church and other groups have made in solidarity with the students. A father of an arrested student said: "Today the children are active. They're talking loud and clear and they're acting on our behalf as well. It is our duty to support them. It is not only their grievances at stake, it's ours as well". In Bosmont, a group of mothers defiantly confronted the armed police thugs and said: "We will make it our duty to protect our children. We will prevent our primary school-children from attending schools that will lead them into the same confused system of education which their elder brothers and sisters are now rejecting".

Throughout the country, parents remain steadfast in their support for the students and they talk sympathetically about their

children: "these days children are silent, families are torn apart: older and younger students are detained; their families are victimised and harassed, the discos are empty, the usual Saturday night TV comedy 'All the family' is banned by students in their homes". The Committee of 61 which has been spearheading the nationwide rejection of apartheid education in a draft document set out their aims:

"We pledge ourselves to work harder in conscientising the community and transform the issue of education into an issue of the fight for fundamental human rights so that we stand united as one community. The concept of education for liberation must be taught in classes. We should refuse to accept passively the blatant tribalism in our syllabi. Instead when we plan peaceful protests the State apparatus steps in with FM rifles, teargas canisters, dogs, pistols and riot police in camouflage uniforms and break up our peaceful meetings. Mr Steyn has not been elected by the mass of the people in this country. Why should we negotiate with those who have come to power undemocratically?"

Soon after the release of this document, 35 members of the Committee of 61 were rounded up and driven by Security Police

to a hall at the Spes Bona High School in Athlone, Cape Town, where they were addressed by Captain G. Strydom saying that the students had to agree to meet Le Grange, the apartheid Minister of Police. The students refused saying that they had no mandate to make decisions for the Committee, since it was a collective decision-making body.

It has been reported that over 1,200 people have been arrested in 6 weeks and the Cape Argus reported that many school-children have mysteriously disappeared from their homes. The Security Police refuse to confirm or release the names of those detained. Thousands of school children also planned a massive demonstration at the D.F. Malan Airport in Cape Town against the Lions rugby team but police road-blocks prevented them from getting there. In Elsie's River, 2 Coloured youths were shot dead by the fascist police. They were said to have been involved in stone-throwing. Police brutality has been widespread.

In Kwa-Mashu, students took Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to task for failing to support them. They said: "What we were waiting for was support not swear words. He must not prevent us, he must move. The issue of Bantu Education was a matter for Pretoria and not the Kwa Zulu Government". Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's tactics have exposed him because he has been taking a position similar to the racist regime. At a mass-meeting called by him, he went on to warn the students that he would eradicate the stupidity of school boycotting in Natal and warned those behind the boycotts that they risked having their skulls cracked since the boycotts had nothing to do with the education system and that it was the work of evil forces who thought in their stupidity that they could attack Inkatha by mobilising children".

It was as a result of this incitement that the Rev. W.B. Mbamba was physically attacked and accused of being behind the boycotts in Kwa Zulu.

The question may arise why has this boycott been started by Coloured students

this time? We all know about the disabilities of the Coloured community. But perhaps at this juncture it will be necessary to mention some of the problems which arose in the last few years. The question of the appointment of members to the toothless Coloured Persons Council instead of the election of members to the CRC brought an end to any illusion that the Coloured community had still some limited "rights and privileges". Besides this problem which angered many leaders and supporters of the Coloured Labour Party (which was in the process of soul-searching regarding the liberation struggle in South Africa); there was the question of mass removals: for instance the removal of thousands of Coloureds from Alexandra Township to Klipspruit near Eldorado Park; the removal of people from District 6 and the refusal to allow them back; in Noordgesig and other areas; there is also the question of rent increases in Mamelodi, Mannenberg and the rising cost of bread and flour; there are some moves to create a Bantustan for the Griqua community of the Coloureds and of course the unending industrial disputes in the region of Cape Town e.g. Karoo Meat Exchange, Ceres, Kromrivier, Table Bay Cold Storage Company 'where workers' committees were not recognised. The workers at Kromrivier Apple Co-op at Grabouw demanded higher wages and reinstatement of dismissed workers — of course the dismissed African workers are sent back to the Transkei. There is also the thorny question of the "Bush College" — the Coloured University of Western Cape (Belville).

All these problems emerged almost at the same time and sent the whole community in uproar. The Coloured community became more than ever convinced that their future lies in struggle; their future is closely intertwined with the future of Africans.

The people know that the struggle is difficult, but nothing and no-one can stand in their way to a free and democratic South Africa.

THE LAND QUESTION

The land question is one of the most acute problems facing the ANC today. Even in 1912 when the ANC was formed this question featured prominently on the agenda. Today when the "leaders" of the Bantustans are buying liquor stores and some shops the masses are landless. Millions of our people are being driven out of their traditional lands and reduced to landlessness. This article which is the first part in a series of articles on this topic deals with the expropriation of African lands and the political implications of this process.

The Natives' Land Act of 1913 has properly been described by the African people as the Act of Dispossession. In a graphic description of the social and economic consequences of the Act, Sol Plaatje, a founder member of the African National Congress, was to write that the African people woke up one morning to find themselves "pariahs" in the land of their birth."

The Act, which effectively reduced African land occupation (not possession) to a mere 7.9% of the total surface area of South Africa, was not the beginning of the process of the forcible expropriation of land from the African peoples, but its legal culmination. The roots of the process is to be found in the period of colonisation by the Dutch and the British from 1652. The process of expropriation continued unabated in a multiplicity of forms and in differing conditions since then. What the Land Act did was to legitimise the unequal distribution of the land that had occurred as result of military conquest annexations and fraud over a period of two-and-a-half centuries between the white minority and the African majority.

The final touch to the Act of Dispossession occurred in 1936 through the

Natives' Trust and Land Act, which released a further 6,209, 857 hectares for African occupation in order to "alleviate pressure" in the then scheduled areas. To-date, however, only 5,764,334 hectares have been increased by the white minority regime from white landowners thus increasing the allocation of land to the African majority, constituting more than 80% of the population, to 12.9% effectively. The 1936 Act was considered the last word on the land question as far as white South Africa and its political representatives were concerned.

For the African people the land question represents today, as it did in the past, a focal point of struggle and confrontation against white supremacy rule as a whole. It is inseparably linked with the struggle for national liberation. A brief look at the history of South Africa confirms the thesis that the land question is at the heart of the national and class question as well as the drive for liberation.

Dutch Colonisation

The beginnings of the land question can be traced back to the earliest days of Dutch settlement when the Dutch East India Company established a refreshment station at the Cape in 1652, with the object of providing fresh supplies to the Company's ships in their lucrative trade with the East. To do so meant growing crops and obtaining meat supplies from the abundant herds of cattle owned by the Khoi people either through barter or purchase. As it turned out the settlers with the complete approval of Jan van Riebeck, who headed the station, resorted to force to appropriate cattle, and slavery for the solution of the labour demands to provide crops. The motive was profits. The Company purchased agricul-

tural produce at fixed prices from the settlers. The problem facing Van Riebeck and the settlers was land and labour simultaneously. Both were solved at the expense of the Khoi and San people and set the stage for the later conquest of land throughout South Africa. The Wars of dispossession were at the same time wars for labour. The first reported clashes between white and black took place in 1659 and has continued to the present day. Land, labour and profit have been issues which form a continuous and constant theme in the history of South Africa.

A feature of Dutch colonialism which was to exercise a decisive influence on the politics of the future was the introduction of slavery as a means of solving the labour needs of the settlers. Defeated Khoi-San clansmen were the immediate source of the system of slavery that developed. Slaves were in addition imported from other areas of the Dutch Empire such as Indonesia and Malaya. By 1711 Dutch settlers numbering about 1700 owned more than 1781 slaves and this figure had risen to almost 11000 in 1778. Slavery became the mode whereby Dutch mercantilism thrived, and since the slaves were to a man drawn from the black peoples, racism became the norm regulating both social and economic relations in South Africa. National and class oppression, rooted in racism, has therefore been a permanent feature of South African society since colonisation. Long after the institution of slavery was abolished by the British in 1883 racism has persisted in our country, albeit in a different form i.e. in the form of wage labour in which skin colour determines not only the role and position of the worker around the means of production, but the degree of exploitation he suffers.

British Imperialism

Except for a very brief period from 1795 when the British took over, the Dutch colonists exercised unbroken control over the land and people in the western Cape. What were the net consequences of Dutch colonialism?

* Where previously exchange of goods between the indigenous Khoi-San and the

settlers relied on barter in its place a cash-economy became firmly established.

* Private ownership of land and individual land tenure appeared *pari passu* with land conquest.

* Slavery became the foundation of the economy and social and economic divisions were in absolute terms of black and white.

* Importantly, both the Khoikhoi and San, except for those clans that succeeded in moving further north and east, had by the end of the 18th century been reduced to landless slaves, having lost cattle and country to Dutch aggression.

The century from 1806 was to witness the completion of the process of expropriation of land from all of the indigenous peoples of South Africa as British imperialism established its hegemony from the Cape and Natal to the Limpopo river.

The process itself was long since British policy vacillated between partial colonialism (secure the Cape route to the East from rival colonial powers) to total annexation. In the event both political necessity in the form of controlling Afrikaner (originally Dutch settlers) expansion and independence as well as the dramatic discovery of diamonds and gold dictated British policy. The initial aims of the British was manifestly not to engage the Empire in costly wars, but to expand production of agricultural and related products for the growing markets in Britain and the empire and to open up the Cape as a market for manufactured goods. The industrial revolution was already well under way in England.

To achieve these initial limited objectives it was seen as necessary to introduce British settlers and the first wave landed at the Cape in 1820.

The main problems facing the British, after establishing an uneasy alliance with the Afrikaners, was land and labour.

Land to satisfy the needs of the expanding world market and of the eastward moving Afrikaner communities and the influx of new settlers. Labour to work the land and produce the surplus necessary for export.

The demands of the situation inevitably led to clashes and later all-out wars between the Xhosa-speaking people on the one hand and Briton and Boer on the other. A similar



pattern of conflict arose with the Zulu-speaking people in Natal.

The epic resistance of Xhosa and Zulu in defence of land, wealth and liberty lasted for well over a century ending only with the defeat of Bambata in 1906. The long, bitter and heroic struggles of these peoples was undoubtedly due to the internal dynamics of their economic, political and social organisation. Unlike the Khoi-San they were both pastoralists and cultivators. Consequently their socio-economic organisation was much more stable and better organised to meet aggression. The fact that they were involved in agricultural production (purely for subsistence in earlier times) meant that there was a capacity to produce a surplus enabling them to sustain resistance over a long period of time.

This notwithstanding each so-called Frontier war in the Eastern Cape saw the Xhosa people driven further eastward until they became encapsulated within the areas roughly corresponding to the present Bantustans of the Transkei and Ciskei.

A similar fate befell the Zulu people in Natal as first the Afrikaners, then British settlers laid claim to large sections of the land crowning military conquest with ownership. The result was that both peoples lost vast tracks of land and much of their wealth in cattle. At the same time a systematic restructuring of their societies was forced upon them. (more of this later).

The Great Trek, the mining revolution and the Land question

An event which was to add significantly to the dimension of the land question was the mass exodus of the Afrikaners from the Cape after the abolition of slavery in 1838. The Great Trek, as it has come to be known had begun in 1836 already. Glorified by Afrikaner historians as an epic of Afrikaner independence and heroism the Trek represented in fact an attempt by them to maintain their pre-capitalist mode of production based on slavery and the social relations arising out of this. More significantly, bands of Voortrekkers

began moving into Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal in search of land, labour and cattle. The peoples affected by this penetration represented the entire spectrum of nationalities then inhabiting South Africa — Zulu, Sotho, Pedi, Tswana, Swazi, Shangaan — all became involved sooner or later with Boer and consequently British. What was at stake was the land they occupied, their wealth in cattle and their independence.

The search for land and labour by the Afrikaners introduced the wars of dispossession throughout the country.

After defeating the Zulu people at Blood river in 1838 the Boers proclaimed Natal a republic laying claim to vast stretches of land. Fearing that the Afrikaners republic would form alliances with rival powers Britain stepped in and annexed Natal in 1843.

In the meantime the Afrikaners established the Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal more by proclamation than by military conquest. Resistance was fierce and prolonged and the Boers were forced to coexist with the various indigenous nationalities in a state of constant war. This was particularly so with the Sotho under the brilliant leadership of Moshoeshoe.

The event which decisively altered the state of war and peace and which was to change the face of South Africa was the discovery of diamonds and gold in rapid succession in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. It brought both the African peoples and the Boers face to face with British imperialism, determined to establish economic dominance over the newly-discovered mineral and labour resources.

The drive for total domination had already commenced with the discovery of diamonds in 1867. British capital which began pouring into the country in the millions had to be safeguarded; a proper system of communications and transport and an infrastructure to support mining operations had to be established nationally; authority in the form of a coercive power had to be maintained. Above all a continuous and readily available supply of labour was required on the diamond fields. All these factors agitated in the

direction of military intervention on a national scale. Having established a tenuous peace with the Boer Republics after the annexation of Griqualand West (Kimberly), the site of the diamond fields, military actions against the African peoples were mounted in swift succession. By 1878 the Griquas, Tswana and KhoiKhoi in Griqualand West were subdued when a rebellion broke out among them. Next the Zulu kingdom under the leadership of Cetshwayo was dismantled after reversing the most humiliating defeat suffered by Britain at the hands of a colonised people at Isandlwana in 1879. At the same time Fingoland (Western Transkei) and Griqualand East (North-east Transkei) were annexed to the Cape. By 1880 the independent kingdom of the Pedi under Sekhukhuni in the northern Transvaal was invaded. The British deposed Sekhukhuni and annexed the land. A military expedition into Bechuanaland (Botswana) proclaimed the area a British Protectorate in 1885. Previously, the Sotho under Moshoeshoe, after a long series of brilliant victories against both Boer and British were forced in 1869 to seek British Protectorate status.

Finally, British dominance was established over the whole of South Africa with the defeat of the Boer Republics in the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1901). The immediate motive for this was discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886. By the time the Act of Union was passed in 1910 African military resistance had all but ceased and the people had been driven into the enclaves of land known as the Reserves. The Land Act of 1913 legalised this expropriation of land by military conquest, annexation and fraudulent land dealings.

Consequences of the Wars of Dispossession

We noted earlier that the process of land expropriation by both Dutch colonialism and British imperialism arose primarily out of economic consideration prevalent at different times. Closely linked with this was the demand for labour. An expansion in the internal market as well as the growth of international trade placed pressures on the colonial economy for extended

production in crop farming and animal husbandry. This inevitably required a larger labour force and more land for cultivation, grazing and raising cattle and sheep. Land conquest was a means of dealing with the land question at the expense of the African peoples. But the issue of labour did not resolve itself as easily. For as long as the African people had means of subsistence through land the attractions of entering the cash economy was minimal. Dutch colonialism resorted to slavery to solve the labour question. At the same time the virtual destruction of the internal cohesion of Khoi-San nomadic societies through the loss of land and cattle provided an additional source of labour. African societies, as noted earlier, were at a relatively higher stage of socio-economic development. The abolition of slavery demanded therefore the entry of "free" labourers into the market economy. The achievement of this aim, slow and prolonged, but dramatically accelerated after the mining revolution, is the history of the transformation of the African people from free, independent cultivators-pastoralists to peasants gradually integrated in the wider social and economic system of the colonial economy; from relatively independent peasants to dependent sharecroppers, labour tenants, agricultural workers, proletarians and migrant labourers completely dependent on the commercialised agricultural economy and later the capitalist economy that emerged with diamond and gold mining.

This transformation assumed different forms and emerged under the impact of various factors and forces in the four provinces and an examination of the process is important for an understanding of the evolution of the land question even as it exists today.

The Cape

In the Cape the following pattern roughly emerged during the successive stages of the development of the economy.

In the period of Dutch colonialism contact between colonists and the Xhosa, when not in conflict, was through trade by barter. Cattle, mainly, though not extensively, because of its social and

economic value, was exchanged for various items of colonial goods. This developed to the further exchange of hides and some agricultural surplus such as corn. Afrikaner traders began plying a regular trade thus adding impetus to the production and exchange of goods.

Under British imperialism the trade between the cash economy and that of the Xhosa increased, but in a way which did not alter the mode of production of the society nor threatened its internal organisation. A combination of forces gradually impacted to change this. Money as a means of paying certain state taxes resulted in a shift from simple barter and acted in a way as to force the production of a surplus marketable product. This shift was accentuated by the presence of a growing number of professional traders in contact with Xhosa society on a more or less permanent basis. Together with this there gradually emerged a network of small shopkeepers. All of these tended to influence Xhosa society away from a subsistence economy toward the market economy of the Cape. The decisive influence in this direction, however appears to have been that of the missionaries who established themselves within Xhosa society. Whilst spreading Christianity they at the same time became the voice of the growing cash economy and its social norms. They became the advocates of commercial trade and progress through the ownership of private property. In short, their role was one of transforming the institutions, organisation, social, political and economic life of the people in the image of capitalist norms. As John Phillip, one of the most famous of the missionaries was to write:

"Tribes in a savage state are generally without houses, gardens and fixed property. By...getting them to build houses, enclose gardens, cultivate corn land, accumulate property, and by increasing their artificial wants, you increase their dependency on the colony ..."

Under their influence crop diversification increased as did the introduction of modern farming techniques and implements.

Under these conditions and influences Xhosa society underwent a gradually accelerating cleavage into a class (the

minority) which increasingly engaged and became integrated into the market economy and its social relations based on ownership of land and the sale of a surplus, and the section which continued with the traditional mode of production, but who of necessity produced a surplus to meet the demands of the state.

The further transformation that occurred was due to the combination of the wars of dispossession, natural disasters, the increasing pressures on available land by the influx from Natal of large numbers of peoples displaced as a result of the military campaigns of Shaka (the imfecane or difaqane) and the incident which resulted in the wholesale slaughter of cattle as a means to reverse the tide of military fortunes of the Xhosa against Boer and Briton. All these events escalated land hunger, landlessness, poverty and above all inadequate means of subsistence. The consequences of this saw the emergence of labour tenants and squatters on white owned farms as well as agricultural workers and tenants for rent on land owned by the land companies. By 1893 for example the number leaving the Transkei was approximately 27,500; by the turn of the century this had risen to 50,000 and by the time of the 1913 Land Act it was 100,000. Most of them as labourers on the gold mines and industries in the Transvaal.

What has to be appreciated equally is that the rich peasants that emerged in Xhosa society and more pronouncedly in Zulu society withstood the calamities that befell the majority by virtue of being capitalist farmers in their own right. They owned land as private property, accumulated capital through producing a surplus converted into capital, and importantly, were involved in the purchase of land claimed by colonists as a result of conquest.

Natal

In Natal a similar pattern emerged though later and under the impact of different circumstances.

After the annexation of Natal by the British in 1843 vast tracks of territory came to be concentrated in the hands of

monopolies such as the Natal Land and Colonial Company. It is estimated that of the 6,000,000 acres proclaimed for white ownership nearly 5,000,000 was owned by a handful of individuals and companies. The rest was owned by British settlers who had been brought to the colony from Britain. An area of approximately 2,000,000 acres was allocated to the Zulu people for occupation. And even this was fiercely resisted by Dutch and British colonists.

The problem of labour to work the lands remained a persistent one. Lacking a powerful coercive machinery to enforce the division of land both settlers and the colonial administration were powerless to prevent Zulu pastoralists and cultivators from settling on both "crown lands" (land held by the state) as well as privately owned land.

So acute was the problem of labour that in 1860 the Natal Administration, on the urgings of colonists, had to import indentured Indian workers from India to work mainly on the monopoly sugar cane estates. This was the beginning of the Indian people's entry into South Africa.

But the policy which seemed to have altered the mode of production of Zulu society radically was the rent and purchase policy followed by the monopoly landowners. Africans were allowed and encouraged to cultivate the land for an annual rent to the landlord (many of them absentee landlords), produce cash crops for sale to traders and merchants, and allowed to repurchase land owned by private companies and individuals. The process of re-purchasing of such land had also occurred in the Cape and was a feature of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

In Natal, however, this process of land purchase advanced the furthest. The factor which gave this process its greatest impetus was the discovery of diamonds in 1867. Natal with its natural sea outlet and Durban began developing rapidly. And so did the economy. Zulu subsistence farming became transformed into cash crop farming. The methods of farming became revolutionised with the introduction of modern implements. Crops were diversified as was animal husbandry. As in the Cape, for example, sheep farming became an attractive proposi-



tion as the demand for wool increased rapidly.

Indeed, so intense, widespread and successful was agricultural production among the Zulu cultivators that most of the colony of Natal was fed on produce from their land.

As with Xhosa society the use of land not merely as means of subsistence but as means of production to produce a marketable surplus for cash transformed Zulu society economically and socially. Class stratification made its appearance and had its genesis in this process. Again, as in the Cape, there emerged a class of powerful,

rich peasants in Zulu society, together with a numerically larger class of peasants who had access to means of subsistence through land and were able to produce a sufficient surplus product to pay rent where this was necessary as well as meet state taxes in cash.

But the discovery of diamonds and later gold, the increasing expansion of the Natal economy as well as political forces in the form of both white farmowners and monopoly landholders also exercised a contradictory influence on Zulu peasants and cash crop production. This pressure with the increasing importance of Natal,

especially after the discovery of gold, and its economic prosperity. The pressures first crystallised around the land question.

The expansion of the South African economy as a whole in the period of the mining revolution was generally reflected in a substantial rise in the value of land. Cash crop farming became the second most important industry after mining making farming an increasingly attractive proposition for white farmers and entrepreneurs. In control of the political machinery in Natal they began urging greater restrictions on the use by Africans of European-owned lands. The first targets of these attacks were the African peasants who rented land and the labour tenants on white farms.

At the same time the commercialisation of white farming was speeded up enormously by colonial aid and subsidies through promoting land occupation, improvements in cultivation by modern techniques, implements and crop-improvement chemicals, and the granting of loans on favourable terms.

Steep increases in rents, state taxes, eviction of labour tenants, demands from them for payment in cash rather than labour or in produce all acted in a way to move increasing numbers of the small peasants off the land onto white farms as labourers or labour tenants. In short, they lost their independence as producers. Added to this was the restrictions imposed on the number of sheep and cattle per acre and the havoc wreaked by epidemics like Rinderpest and East Coast fever affecting livestock.

These pressures did not of course have the same disastrous effects on all peasants. The class of rich peasants, both those who owned their land privately as well as those in the officially allocated land, survived them. In the event, however, they were also affected by the law introduced at the time prohibiting the sale of land in the white sector to Africans.

By the turn of the century therefore class differentiation had advanced quite far in Zulu society. Among the peasantry there emerged two distinct sections: a class of rich peasants or capitalist farmers who were engaged in cash crop farming

and who generally owned their own land and hired the labour of others (as labour tenants in the main) to produce a surplus for the market economy, and a class of peasants proper, mainly farming for subsistence and a small surplus to pay for state taxes in cash, but working the land through the family and relatives. At the same time we find a class of agricultural labourers on white farms (among them were squatters and labour tenants as well as full-time agricultural workers) and a growing body of industrial workers and migrant labourers.





Deprived of their birthright

The process of class differentiation on the lines of the Cape and Natal and the radical restructuring of the socio-economic basis of African society occurred in both the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. It occurred under different economic (mainly mining) and political conditions after penetration of these regions by first the Afrikaners and later the British.

By the time of the Land Act of 1913 therefore, the African peoples throughout South Africa had already been deprived claim over most of the country and African society had already been fundamentally altered. Class stratification had developed, and importantly, increasing numbers of the people were becoming permanently proletarianised as they were forced into the industrial sectors of a developing capitalist economy. At the same time a class of semi-proletarians who performed wage labour for certain periods (mainly on the mines) and returned to the Reserves where they had access to some means of subsistence in land emerged as a distinct section of the working class in South Africa — the migrant labourers.

The Act of Union which established South Africa as a state, established the dominance of the white minority, and more importantly, of the capitalist class, over the political and economic process. It left the African majority together with the Indian and Coloured peoples powerless to influence policy. At the same time, the Act of Union created the necessary instrument of coercion, the state, to enforce the interests of the ruling class.

The 1913 Land Act legalised the disposition of land thus completing the total hegemony of the white ruling class politically and economically over the whole of South Africa. It created thereby, with minor differences in the later period, today's Bantustans. In our next article on this question we shall deal with the land question after 1913 and the struggle for national liberation.

CHARLOTTE MAXEKE

A FABULOUS WOMAN

In December 1935 at a meeting of the All-African Convention Dr. A.B. Xuma, later to be the President-General of the ANC, characterised Mrs. Charlotte Maxeke as "the mother of African freedom in this country". And Professor Jabavu of Fort Hare is said to have described her on another occasion as "one of the great figures of Bantu progressive life and one of the best known figures in public life in South Africa". And this year, the ANC Women's Section named a kindergaten/nursery in Morogoro, Tanzania: "The Charlotte Maxeke Child Care Centre".

Who was Charlotte Maxeke? What had she done to merit such praises and honour? What has made her name retain its magic for decades?

Unfortunatley, so little is known about her. Even authoritative studies on our movement only mention her name by way of passing reference.

On the occasion of August 9, the South African Women's Day, Sechaba feels it is our duty and obligation to attempt to write her story — by no means a full biography — so that we are in a better position to remember our heroes and heroines, people who by their deeds and thoughts have left a legacy and heritage we younger generations have inherited.

Young Student

Charlotte Makgomo Manye was born at Ramokgopa in the Pietersburg district on April 7, 1874. As a young girl she had a lovely deep voice; sang in concerts in many places including Kimberley. She later joined a group of singers organised by a Mr. Bam



which later toured England "where she sang before Royalties" — Queen Victoria. Two years later the group travelled to Canada and the United States where she was offered an opportunity for university training.

She entered the Wilberforce University in Cleveland, Ohio — a university which was controlled by the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church; a church run by Afro-Americans. At the university — it is said — she made friends with some future leaders of the black community in the United States and "often lectured in America on the needs of her people at home"

That was not all. She wrote to Rev. M.M. Mokone who had founded the Ethiopian Church in Pretoria telling him about the AME Church. On Rev. Mokone's initiative the fourth Annual Conference of the Ethiopian Church decided to merge the Ethiopian Church with the AME Church. That was in 1896. This is how the AME Church penetrated to South Africa.

While still at Wilberforce she met and married Rev. Marshall Maxeke who was also a student there. From then onwards she became known as Charlotte Maxeke.

Mrs Maxeke Returns Home

In 1905 she graduated and earned a B.Sc. degree — perhaps the first African woman from South Africa to earn a bachelor's degree. Together with her husband they returned home to found the Wilberforce Institute, later to be one of the leading Transvaal higher schools of learning for Africans. She began active pioneer work in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. She then left for Ramokgopa where she opened a college which did not succeed perhaps because of financial difficulties.

Then a call came which was to her a direct challenge for her future work. In 1912 they were invited by Chief Enock Mamba — the paramount Chief of the Thembus — to open and take charge of a college (private school) on his farm. The Maxekes went without waste of time. The school produced a good number of high school young men and women but the cost of maintaining the school was exorbitant.

But their work went beyond the walls of the classroom. Mrs Maxeke was drawn into the life of the Thembus; she took a full place in their councils and often spoke in the court of the Chief.

Her Political Career

The Maxekes had to leave for Johannesburg owing to failure of health. There she soon became a leader in church work and social service. The AME Church elected her president of the Women's Missionary Society in recognition of her leadership — an office she held for a decade. Her gift of eloquence in English and African languages made her a popular speaker. (It is said she once spoke on the same platform as Queen Victoria's grand-daughter, Princess Alice). She was so interested in the welfare of her people that she addressed conferences on the social life of the Africans; she was so outspoken on social issues that she was called to give evidence before government commissions dealing with African Affairs.

In 1919 she achieved political prominence as a leader of women demonstrators against proposals to extend the pass system to women. She thus decided to found, what was then called the Bantu Women's League which T.D. Mveli-Skota calls "the African Women's League... a branch of the African National Congress". She became the President of the ANC Women's League "for many years". As President of this newly formed African Women's League she led a delegation to the Prime Minister to discuss the question of the passes for women in the Free State. Charlotte Maxeke's Women's Section, which had branches almost all over the country, demonstrated widely and occasionally successfully against passes for women.

It should be remembered that the question of passes in the Free State forced women as early as 1913 to go beyond petitions and deputations by refusing to carry passes and backed their action with mass demonstrations.

In workers' struggles she was never an onlooker; she was very much involved. In 1920 she extended her support to the early efforts of Clements Kadalie and Selby Msimang to launch a national trade union movement for Africans.

In the documents on the history of our people the name of Mrs Maxeke appears next to the names of African and ANC giants of the time: Selby Msimang, Lehana, Makgatho, Mapikela, Ndhlovu, Fenyang, Zibi, Jabavu, Langa, Molema, Pelem, Bokleni, Kuzwayo, Majozi, Moilola, Mopeli, Mphahlele, Takalani, Thema etc.

She was one of the contributors in the discussion in 1923 on the question of "registration of the Natives", the pass laws.

In the many meetings she attended she called for joint conferences of Africans and Whites to analyse the situation of urban African women; she also featured in discussions about the "Administration of Justice" asking for the setting up of juvenile courts to deal with cases of children. She demanded that women magistrates should be appointed for these courts because the "present method" of treating children as adults and "sending them to gaols and reformatories was utterly ruinous".

Charlotte Maxeke was not only an activist: she always sought to combine her actions with reflection; theory with practice. When T.D. Mveli-Skota wrote and published in 1931 the African Register, an African Who's Who in South Africa, the main contributors of biographical sketches in this pioneer work were Sol Plaatje, George Champion, Josiah Gumede, Daniel Letanka and of course Charlotte Maxeke. She made use of her journalistic skills as she and her husband were also editors of local African newspapers.

One of Charlotte's greatest contributions to the analysis of the women question in South Africa was the address she made on "Social Conditions Among Bantu Women and Girls" at a conference of "European and Bantu Christian Student Associations" at Fort Hare held from June 27 to July 3, 1930.

In this address she discussed questions connected with the African home and family; the role of the woman in the family and she went on to enumerate the "many problems pressing in upon us" to disturb the peaceful working of the homes.

These problems, according to her, were the adverse effects of migratory system —

"the stream of Native life into the towns" — and the laws and regulations which prevent the wife from living with her husband. She was very articulate in presenting the effects of racial discrimination, the problems of domestic servants, religious aspects, "work permits", the social effects of racism on the wife and children, the land questions which she called a "very acute" question: indeed according to her South Africa in terms of the land available to the Africans was "shrinking daily" and cattle diseases were ruining African wealth which is "gradually decaying".

She was dramatic and convincing in presenting her case. Let us take as an example the question of a dilemma which faces the wife of a migrant worker: she has either to look after the children or for employment. Therefore she decides on a "home industry" which takes the form of the brewing and selling of Skokiaan (a concoction):

"Thus the woman starts on a career of crime for herself and her children, a career which often takes her and her children right down the depths of immorality and misery....

"The woman, poor unfortunate victim of circumstances, goes to prison, and the children are left even more desolate than when their mother left them to earn her living...by selling Skokiaan."

One of Charlotte Maxeke's favourite topics was the question of African unity — and not just in South Africa but on a continental scale — and this was four decades before the formation of the OAU.

Knowing the need for her wide service, the town authorities in Johannesburg appointed her Native Probation Officer for African juvenile delinquents to the Magistrates' Court and she also ran an employment agency for African women. This gave her an insight into:

- * the problems and difficulties of girls and women who frequented her office;
- * the laws, magistrates' behaviour and the attitudes of law officials.

She visited the four women's prisons in the country; she could influence the prisoners; she found work for the women who had finished their sentence and cared

for prisoners' children while their mothers were in gaol. She acted as advisor and friend and on behalf of many African men and women who knew her for miles around. Not content with seeking to help the prisoners, she worked to remove the causes of crime.

Her Unforgettable Role

In 1939 she died at the age of 65. Throughout her life she showed outstanding qualities as an ANC activist, social worker, teacher, journalist, leader in the AME church — which she represented at a conference in the US in 1928 — and a thinker. She had a keen sense of humour, sane judgment and kindly heart as G.A. Gollock describes her in her book *Daughters of Africa*.

Another aspect of her character is depicted by T.D. Mveli-Skota:

“Such a zealous leader was Mrs. Maxeke that on one occasion, for fear that she would miss the opening of a conference, of which she was president, decided to travel by a SAR coal truck from Johannesburg to Bloemfontein the night before the opening of the conference, and was there on time. She sacrificed comfort and sleep for duty”.

It is true that not all her ideas — and those of her contemporaries — can be acceptable today. Even the language she uses — the language of her generation — differs from ours. The conciliatory nature of her speeches (“Let us try to make our Christianity practical”) is typical of the pronouncements of the day whose characteristic message was to “make the white man understand our plight”.

This is not surprising because the policy of the ANC has changed radically over the years. We have become much more mature and articulate in the expression of our goals, identification of the enemy and mapping out our strategy and tactics to achieve our goal which we define as national self-determination and liberation of the Africans and other racially and nationally oppressed black communities; thanks to the foundations laid by and pioneering work of people like Charlotte Maxeke.

26 Her very participation in Congress activities

— and she was not alone — and in the general struggle of the African people symbolised the determination and willingness of the ANC to involve women and crystallised the belief of our movement in the equality of both sexes. Women like Charlotte Maxeke contributed tremendously to this realisation.

The activities of Mrs. Maxeke indirectly led some women — including Mrs. Albertina Sisulu — to join the ANC Youth League in the 40s and the ANC later formed the ANC Women's League which in turn led to the formation of the Federation of South African Women.

On the occasion of August 9, we remember women like Mary Moodley, Lilian Ngoyi, Kate Molale and fighters like Dorothy Nyembe, Esther Maleke and many other daughters and granddaughters of Charlotte Maxeke. The Charlotte Maxeke Child Care Centre will definitely produce more Charlotte Maxekes.

MRS GANDHI: THE FREEDOM CHARTER

Twenty five years ago, the historic Congress of the People at Kliptown adopted the Freedom Charter of South Africa. The Charter has provided inspiration and a concrete programme of action for all those South Africans who are committed to their country's liberation from apartheid.

As always, India stands unreservedly by the commitment, spelt out so clearly by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, to support the people of South Africa in their struggle to end racial injustice and discrimination. Once again, the Government and people of India identify themselves wholly with the cause of the struggle for the eradication of apartheid and the unification of all people of South Africa, regardless of their race, colour or creed.

Indira Gandhi
New Delhi, May 21, 1980

BOYCOT THE SAIC!

Below we reproduce an article which was first published in Jana Shakti, a bulletin distributed amongst the Indian community at home.

Jana Shakti congratulates the Natal Indian Congress, other patriotic organisations and prominent Indian personalities in amicably resolving their differences on the question of the tactic to be employed in the common opposition to the bogus SAIC. We hail their united call for the total boycott of the SAIC "election" due to be held in March 1980. This is in accord with the wishes and desires of the over-whelming majority of our people and there can be no doubt that the Call will meet with their full and enthusiastic approval.

On this issue of the boycott of the "elections" as in every aspect of the struggle against apartheid and for freedom, the key to success is the unity and organisation of the people. Tactics are not immutable nor a matter of principle. The question is to find the most effective tactic to achieve our set aim — in this case, the destruction of dummy institutions imposed on the people by the enemy for the survival of white domination.

Let us look at the SAIC

Fundamentally, the South African Indian Council was imposed on the Indian people in a period of mounting black opposition to Apartheid. It began with the creation in 1961 of the Department of Indian Affairs and the Minister was empowered to appoint a "National Indian Council" to advise him on certain Indian matters of the regime's choosing. Faced with the hostile opposition of the Indian community little

progress was made. In 1963 100 Indians were invited to attend a "conference" in Pretoria. This was done secretly and the participants were carefully chosen collaborators who had no mandate from the people.

Following this "conference" the appointment of a 21 man National Indian Council was announced. Even the hand-picked collaborators could not be trusted and the Secretary of Indian Affairs was to act as chairman. The Congress Movement totally rejected this scheme. Our people's hostility was such that only the most rabid reactionaries and sell-outs accepted their appointments.

In 1972 the size of the Council was increased to 30, of these 25 would be appointed and 5 elected. In 1973 it was announced that 15 members would be appointed and 15 elected through "electoral colleges" comprising members of Indian local Authorities, Local Affairs Management and Consultative Committees. In both instances a boycott of the "elections" was called for.

Throughout the sixties and into the seventies we actively opposed the SAIC. As we foresaw and as experience was to confirm, the SAIC solved none of our basic problems, such as, Group Areas, education, housing, health, work and unemployment. Even those sectors that had illusions about the SAIC began to reject it.

The people's rejection of the SAIC was manifest when we refused to register for the electoral roll, leading inevitably to the measures taken by the racist regime to coerce us into participation. In March 1980, 40 members are to be elected on a common voters roll and 5 nominated.

Why has the regime shifted from its original plan of an appointed body to a 27

a predominantly elected one? Did the regime have a mad streak of "liberalism"? Does it believe that the Indians can now be trusted to elect "yes men"?

It is apparent that the forthcoming election is a crucial first phase in the regime's attempt to incorporate the so-called Indian leaders into the white-dominated political apparatus envisaged by the Tri-Parliamentary System. J.N. Reddy the arch turncoat, for example argues that "not until the SAIC held full elections had it the rights to commit the Indian community to any new political dispensation proposed by the government".

The appearance of a few Blacks in an advisory capacity in the white political structure, as envisaged by the 3-Parliamentary scheme, will do nothing to change the power vested in racist white hands. The real object of the exercise is to "Indianise" our oppression and to isolate the Indian and Coloured people from their African compatriots, thereby hoping to prolong white domination.

We therefore cannot look at the question of the SAIC elections in isolation from the overall political, economic and social situation in the country. This must be viewed as one aspect of the regime's broad strategy which includes the partial relaxation of "petty Apartheid", the move to so-called multi-national sports, the acceleration of the Bantustan programme, the constitutional proposals, the further regulation and control of black labour following on the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions, etc.

Why has the regime been forced to make these changes.

- a. the change in the balance of forces internationally, and, after the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, in Southern Africa in favour of the forces of national liberation in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa;
- b. the growing strength, stature and success of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, SWAPO in Namibia and the African National Congress in South Africa in organising and mobilising the masses

of the oppressed and exploited for the armed seizure of political power;

- c. the heightened mass upsurge, particularly in the post-Soweto period, of resistance to and defiance of the racist regime of South Africa by all sections of the oppressed, with increasing numbers seeking out and joining the ranks of the ANC as the surest means of organised revolutionary struggle; the increasing success of our movement in the processes of mass political mobilisation, strengthening of our underground structures and preparations for the launching of the armed struggle as reflected by the growing armed confrontations now taking place inside our country between the racist forces and units of MK;

- d. the acute economic crisis which has gripped the world capitalist, and as an integral part of it, the South African economy which is now going through a recession with a very low growth rate; rising unemployment affecting even white workers and with an estimated 2 million unemployed among black workers; rising prices especially in basic necessities such as food, fuel and clothing. To further fuel this economic crisis is the energy crisis resulting from the oil embargo imposed against the racist regime by the new government of Iran which previously supplied 95% of the country's oil needs;
- e. the continued and increasing isolation of the regime internationally — politically, economically, diplomatically and culturally — making it difficult for the regime's allies to come to its open support and to block moves to impose mandatory economic sanctions and an oil embargo to supplement the arms embargo, ineffectual as it is at the moment.

These are the main elements of the crisis for the Apartheid regime impelling it to take measures inside and outside the country to cope with, divert and absorb the assault on it. It is also within this context that the regime has opted for the policy of Kragdadigheid reflecting itself in the brutal and bloody repression of all radical opposi-

tion inside the country especially revolutionary cadres of our movement, as well as the murderous acts of aggression against the Front Line states to stop them from supporting the armed liberation struggles. It is this policy which is moving the regime to a growing political, economic and military support for the Muzorewa/Smith clique in Zimbabwe and its own unilaterally imposed National Assembly in Namibia against the UN proposals.

The Nature and Purpose of "reforms"

None of these so-called reforms are capable of solving the real issue in our country, i.e., the destruction of the Apartheid system and the creation of a democratic non-racial South Africa free of exploitation. It is clear that the central aim of the "reforms" is:

1. to weaken and divide the oppressed, particularly the Coloured and Indian peoples from their African compatriots, thus attempting to breach the growing unity of the oppressed. This unity is an essential prerequisite for our final victory. In boycotting the elections we will forcibly demonstrate our fundamental belief that freedom is indivisible and that there can be no substitute for total political, economic and social independence.
2. to win the active collaboration of that tiny section of our community who hope to gain by playing the racist game.
3. to create illusions of change and divert our people from our basic demands as envisaged in the Freedom Charter.
4. to drive a wedge between the people and the liberation movement, headed by the ANC.
5. to break out of its international isolation, by seeking, with the aid of its imperialist allies, to project a new "liberal" image.

Mobilisation

We must not allow a basis for the creation of Muzorewas, Sitholes and Savimbis in South Africa. Our struggle is not for token changes but for a fundamental transforma-

tion of the whole Apartheid system and the creation of genuine People's Power. As we have shown, the SAIC, like all other dummy institutions, is an integral part of the regime's total strategy. Its very nature and the clearly limited and controlled areas of operations is calculated to ensure that participation within the institutions is designed to divert our politics into channels acceptable to the regime and hence, irrelevant to our basic interests.

At this stage when there is a revolutionary upsurge in our country and when the majority of our people have experienced the fraudulent nature of dummy institutions and have no confidence in them, the most effective tactic is the boycott tactic.

The crucial task of mobilising our people around the main issues facing them both now and in the future cannot be carried out from within such institutions. To achieve this we have to find the organisational structures and methods which have their roots among the masses and which relate to their aspirations. It is therefore imperative that we ensure that existing community organisations and groups are strengthened and that they tackle these specific issues through all forms of struggle.

The election issue is one such opportunity to carry out the mass mobilisation of our people. Many leading political, religious, cultural, sporting, educational, welfare and civic organisations and personalities have come out in active support for the boycott call. Our people's mood of militant resistance is clearly shown by the failure of the sell-out Reform and Democratic Parties to organise meetings and to establish branches in our community. Furthermore, although registration is compulsory only 70% of the eligible voters have registered to date. Before registration was made compulsory, only 11% had registered even after the closing date had been extended a few times.

It is imperative that an active country wide campaign be mounted to convince all our people:

- a. that despite the elective principle now governing membership to the Council its character and role as an instrument

- of our own oppression has not altered;
- b. that the new Constitutional proposals cannot in any way be an alternative for our demand for a single Parliament consisting of democratically elected representatives of all the people of our country;
 - c. that these are measures designed to further entrench white supremacy rule with out approval.

The campaign should call for the rejection of both the SAIC and the new Constitution as irrelevant to our fundamental aspirations which we share in common with our African, Coloured and democratic White compatriots and which are enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

At the same time we should seize the opportunity afforded us by the imposed elections to broaden the political consciousness of our people around the burning issues confronting them daily as well as in the long term, issues which the SAIC has in the past been unable to solve and which in future it will be powerless to solve because they lie at the heart of the oppressive and exploitative system of Apartheid. These are:

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

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

These are the issues confronting us and they are the ones we have honestly and in the simplest possible manner to put before our people. These are the issues which should form the demands and basis of our campaign.

The election campaign provides us with one opportunity for mass political mobilisation. The daily problems and conditions afford us the continuing base for this process. In no circumstances must the election issue create the illusion that the SAIC can serve any useful purpose in this process or that it can be used as a platform for furthering our basic aspirations.

Our Tasks

- † Support and strengthen the anti-election campaign in every area. All organisations and individuals must unite and be actively involved.
- † Help to raise the political consciousness of the masses of our people. The boycott campaign should be the launching pad for a programme of mass mobilisation with a view towards drawing our people into the mainstream of opposition to all facets of the Apartheid system.
- † Build a unity in action of Africans, Indians, Coloureds and democratic Whites.

Reject all dummy institutions !

Boycott the SAIC elections!

Fight for the demands enshrined in the
FREEDOM CHARTER!

OBITUARY: KATE MOLALE

A dark cloud has befallen the struggling peoples of South Africa again. We have been robbed of two dedicated fighters — Comrade Kate Molale and Comrade Peter Sithole. Both met their untimely death in a car accident on May 3, 1980, in Tanzania. Comrade Peter Sithole died on the spot, while Comrade Kate was in a coma until May 9 when she passed away. The African National Congress dips its revolutionary banner in memory of these patriots who have dedicated their lives to the liberation struggle of our country.

For us, the women of South Africa, the loss of Comrade Kate means a lot. She was one of the fine daughters of the soil, who, from their youth days, have never known any life but the life of struggle for a free South Africa. Born on January 22, 1928, Comrade Kate became an active militant of the ANC Sophiatown branch in the early 50s. She was one of the leaders of the campaign against the racist regime's actions of forced removal of the people of Sophiatown.

In 1954 Comrade Kate was elected secretary of the ANC Sophiatown branch. This was a period when the notorious Bantu Education Act was introduced and fierce campaigns were being launched against this slave education. Comrade Kate participated in these campaigns actively, her branch organised very successful pickets. She played a leading role in organising the Pioneer organisation in Sophiatown, then known as the Masupatsela (guides), which was initiated by our late comrade, Duma Nokwe, under her guidance. The Masupatsela played an important part during the Bantu Education boycott, and for many months children in Sophiatown, Brakpan, Orlando, Randfontein, Alexandra and many other parts of the

Transvaal and the Cape stayed away from school.

Comrade Kate taught our children the true history of our country and prepared them for a life of struggle. At big rallies and important demonstrations, she was seen giving instructions to the Masupatsela in their uniform of black, green and gold, carrying placards, bringing water to the thirsty, singing freedom songs, selling posters and pamphlets etc. and carrying out many other important duties.

In 1955 she was in the Johannesburg delegation which went to the Native Commissioner to protest against the extension of passes to women, documents which had already brought untold misery to our men. The answer they received from the Native Commissioner was that he was not involved in the decision binding women to carry passes. He advised them to go to Pretoria to put their grievances before the Prime Minister. As they left the Native Commissioner's office, the delegation was arrested and charged.

Comrade Kate played an important role in the drawing up of the Freedom Charter and its adoption in 1955. She was one of the people who went around the country conducting a survey of what the people of South Africa would want their country to be after liberation — this is the Freedom Charter whose 25th anniversary we are celebrating this year. She was one of the women who went around the country organising women for the successful August 9, 1956 Anti-pass campaign. Comrade Kate was an active participant of the Alexandra bus boycott of 1957, which spread to other areas. She was very active in the anti-rent campaign and went around organising people not to pay the increased rents. Due to her

leadership qualities Comrade Kate served in the National Executive of the Women's League of the African National Congress, and had also served as Secretary of the ANC Youth League for the Transvaal Region.

Comrade Kate worked and campaigned whenever the ANC Executive needed her militant clear voice and spirit to mobilise our people against race and national oppression. She was always found among men doing the toughest tasks. She was far-sighted, a comrade who used to push her point and stuck to her principles at all times.

As a result of her activities, Comrade Kate was regarded as very dangerous by the regime. With the introduction of 90-day detention, she was amongst those detained. After her release she was forced to go underground.

Comrade Kate became a mother to hundreds of young men and women who left our motherland to join the People's army. Away from their parents, they needed a comrade who would respond to their needs and problems, and Kate served them well in this capacity. Between 1970 and 1975, Comrade Kate was assigned the task of representing our Women's Section in the Women's International Democratic Federation, the WIDF. It was during this period that she travelled widely to the Soviet Union and other European countries, Canada, Latin America and many other places. She was part of the delegation led by President O.R. Tambo which visited Cuba in 1978 during the World Youth and Students' Festival. At all these meetings and conferences, symposiums and seminars, she ably stated our case, soliciting and gaining support and solidarity for our struggle.

At the end of her term in office at the WIDF Comrade Kate was based in Morogoro, Tanzania, where she devoted herself to looking after the children born in exile, while their mothers carried on with their revolutionary duties. It was while there that our beloved mother and leader met her untimely death after a car accident. Through her death we have lost yet another, fighter, a dedicated comrade who gave

up all of her life to the struggle for freedom. Comrade Kate joins the list of our fallen heroines: Lillian Ngoyi, Mary Moodley, Vera Poonen, and many others to whom we give eternal glory. When freedom comes we shall attribute to selfless devotion and dedication. We pledge to continue where they left off.

Robala Ka Kgotso Mma Rona

MOSADI

Where is Mosadi
With her hands bloody
Carrying in 1976 bo-Hector
With baas thinking himself better.

Mosadi suffering pain
And struggling to break chain
Searches behind her neck
Looking for "ngwana" behind her neck.

Sans breath from toddler,
And everything seems to falter
"malnutrition!" she cries out
'causes death, the defeating bart'.

Through the drought-fed veld
with cattle sans fat
Mosadi fetches water,
whilst husband slaves for Botha

Migratory labour is her danger
But it's capitalists favour
Strong-hearted and brave
She is protector to the brave

Discrimination against
With baas nought to bargain
Tool is she in capitalist society
causing great anxiety

Maatla kea Setshaba
She supplies us manna
promoting our freedom
which is blossoming in the season.

Lemmy Mathebula

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