

# SECHABA

**official organ of the african  
national congress south africa**

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## SECHABA

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# THE BUILDING OF A NATION

After the festivities, activities and holidays marking the end of the year and the beginning of the next, the leaders of the African people converged on Bloemfontein on January 8, 1912, to found the African Nation, to become one people and to continue their centuries-old struggle against whites as one Black people that spoke and acted through the African National Congress which, established on that day, concretised the existence of this nation and gave it form and character.

On that day, having reviewed the past, the nation proceeded to work out the strategy of struggle for the future; and as they left Bloemfontein for their respective centres throughout the length and breadth of South Africa and the then Protectorates, a new era in the history of our people had been ushered in, the era of political struggle that was expected to rise through successive levels of conflict till freedom was won.

Because of its position in the year's calendar and the vital issues discussed on that first January 8, this date represents for us the beginning of our political year and becomes the occasion for New Year messages to our people. It is for all these reasons that we meet, wherever we may be, to observe the occasion of January 8. Its historic significance has all too often been underplayed. In fact January 8th is the birthday not merely of the ANC, but of a nation – the owners of the land, of the country. January 8, 1972 is especially important because the ANC will be 60 years old. This will be an occasion of the greatest significance. But before we make any further reference to it let us pause to greet and salute our people, the militants

and revolutionaries of our country, our supporters at home, our brothers in Africa, our close friends and comrades-in-arms – the Socialist countries, the revolutionary peoples and supporters of our cause in Asia, Western Europe, North and South America, in Canada and the West Indies. We salute the heroic people of Vietnam and the fighting militants of Palestine. New Year greetings to the Youth everywhere, especially our own Youth. We greet too the sister Parties and revolutionaries – ZAPU, MPLA, FRELIMO, SWAPO, PAIGC and others. We wish them all a great year, a year of victories, a year of continuing unity among the masses of the fighting people, the armed forces and the revolutionary leadership.

We thank them all for the support and encouragement they have given us in the past year and we look forward to a year of increased mutual co-operation and assistance – a year of consolidation of unity among us all, and of decisive advances in our common struggle.

The year now ending has been marked by vital decisions taken by the National Executive Committee and the Revolutionary Council in pursuance of our 1969 Morogoro programme. It has been a year in which we made progress on a scale we have not known for some time, thanks to the devotion of the Comrades assigned various tasks in the Revolutionary Council programme.

The year has also been one of encouragement and inspiration from inside our country. It has further given proof of the indomitable spirit of our people and of their rejection of white rule and all the evil it embodies. Not for many

years have we heard them speak out with such defiance of the acts of intimidation and victimisation to which the fascists resort whenever they hear a word of protest. There is no doubt that the propaganda of the ANC, the leaflets distributed by our underground, has given the people new courage and fresh confidence. They know it is leaflets today; but they know too it will be THE BARK OF OUR GUNS SOON!

This spirit is strengthened by the courage and inspiration of our leaders and colleagues in South Africa's jails – on Robben Island and elsewhere; by revolutionaries of the calibre of James April, by the vast mass of silent, invisible supporters of the struggle who form part of the ANC underground all over South Africa; by the militant morale of activists and leaders released at the end of their long terms of imprisonment. Indeed no less a fiend than the notorious Swanepoel has let it be known that Vorster's jails have become breeding nests for ANC revolutionaries. The Special Branch complains that our people look for the nearest ANC underground cell as soon as they are released from jail. Hence the bannings, house arrests and other restrictions imposed on people supposed to have been broken and politically destroyed by long terms of tortuous imprisonment. But we dare not understate the magnitude of our problems. Sixty years is a very long time for fruitless struggle for freedom in an era in which government of the people by the people for the people is an accepted definition of democracy; an era rocked by two world wars of unprecedented magnitude; an era that embraces the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights; an era during which man recalling the unspeakable horrors of Nazism, has called on the South African racists to abandon racism and apartheid. Within this 60 years and before our very eyes, the Great October Socialist Revolution broke out to change the course of human history for all time.

Within our lifetime, man has gone to walk on the moon, he has placed vehicles on it and driven them across its surface by remote control – miracles indeed in our lifetime! To the East and to the West of the Continent of Africa, nations and peoples, once the defenceless prey of colonialist plunder, have

risen on the ruins of demolished colonial empires. When the ANC first sang the great song of Africa, our National Anthem – Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika, Morena Boloka Sechaba Sa Heso – Africa was still called the "Dark Continent", her light having been extinguished by the thieves who came from Europe to loot her wealth and her manpower. But today the bright light of political freedom and independence – the light of a great future, burns and shines over most of Africa. Beyond its reach in the rest of Africa lies dark dungeons of colonial and racist white minority rule, and the darkest of them all is Fascist South Africa.

Let us today put to ourselves the question that must be in the minds of our people whenever they ponder their history: What accounts for the fact that we, the first to rise as a national liberation movement in Africa, are now, 60 years later, counted among the very last few whose colonial status has still not altered in centuries? Why have we so far, and after so long, failed to wipe out and liquidate the source of our daily misery, persecution and humiliation, and replace it with our own power and our own sense of human justice? Why have we become the most pitied, often the most despised, the most led, the most helped, and not infrequently the most harrassed? Why has our status increasingly become that of foreigners, as generation followed generation, in our country, and ultimately foreigners everywhere else? Why have we become more homeless the louder the enemy has mouthed the word "homeland"? What explains the fact that we, who resisted Africa's White invader with arms in countless battles for over 100 years, have now become the motionless background against which the activities of others stand out in bold relief – why are we the still platform on which they dine, feast and dance and who call us "Bantus"? Why are we the football that they kick from pillar to post, who want to exercise their strength in our country and even outside its borders?

Why are we where we are – violently oppressed, brutally exploited and racially persecuted and insulted – which is worse than where we were this day 60 years ago? This is surely one of the rarest questions that a people could put to itself at the end of sixty

years of continuous and courageous struggle and sacrifice.

The answer cannot be quick or easy. But it must be found – and found, not in words but in deeds, in action, in struggle.

We must find it here, outside South Africa, we must find it in our country, as individuals, as organised units and collectives, and even as fighting people, a fighting force nearly eighteen million strong. Let us go forth and find it before the next anniversary of Lekgotla la Sechaba, even before the Spear of the Nation turns eleven. And as we assemble on each of these anniversaries, let us bring with us solid evidence of the emerging answer, vividly written in the record of our work and achievements between now and then.

Thus our underground workers, our planning teams, our men, women and youth everywhere – our entire oppressed people and anti-fascist democrats – all have a historic year on their hands: the year to find a historic answer. It will surely be part of the great answer for the Black man in our country to begin, this year, to recognise himself for the giant among giants that he is, – a giant at least in his own Africa, on his own soil, if nowhere else. We must assert his imposing stature, White people should stop making laws for us or talking about us in their white Parliament. We must reject the role of slave who is told whom to work for and what meagre wages to accept. We must be workers by will, not convicts sentenced to hard labour by whites for the offence of being what they derogatorily call "Bantu". We must take renewed pride in our Black skin and defend it against insults and indignities.

In thus asserting our stature and our dignity as men in the land of our forefathers and ancestors, in our country and our home, we must not hesitate to return blow for a blow; for many a blow will be rained on us the moment we stand up and declare ourselves full human beings. Neither the political oppressor, the economic exploiter, nor the racial bigot should be allowed to get away with it any longer. SIXTY YEARS of peace in slavery is for us sixty years too many. Let every act of white violence in any form breed Black violence in any form. This surely is the lesson of the past 60 cruel and

tortuous years, to say nothing of the blood-thirsty plunder and pillage that preceded this period.

And this year, the lesson will be driven home with military parades, gleeful gloating and boastful outbursts when, on May 31, Racism celebrates 11 years of Republican terrorism in our country. We shall be reminded, with a display of white guns, ill-gotten wealth and the pomp of Fascist power, of that week in May 1961, when the then Union Defence Force left its barracks in full strength and preceded to violently suppress a non-violent national strike, led by Nelson Mandela and supported by the oppressed millions and by all the progressive and right-thinking people of South Africa – a strike, incidentally, which was called precisely to challenge the creation of an exclusively white man's republic on African soil, without even the courtesy of a consultation with the African and other oppressed and peace-loving South Africans, who constitute the majority that should determine the socio-political structure of a proper South African state.

It was the armed repression of the peaceful protest to the creation of this white, racist and fascist Republic which marked the end of non-violence as a strategic phase and introduced the historical necessity for armed struggle.

For this reason alone, 1972, is a standing challenge to every oppressed, exploited and humiliated man of our country – every Black and every revolutionary, to let no day go by without his or her delivering a blow at the racist Republic regime and its backers. We should strike at this regime each day of this year, in one way or another – as an act of mourning for those the regime has killed; as an act of condolence for the bereaved widows, husbands, and parents, for the orphaned children and for the families it has destroyed as an act of solidarity with and active support for those it has tortured, jailed and imprisoned; and finally, as an act directly aimed at the forcible and immediate destruction of the white regime.

The preparations of the ANC for its 60th anniversary must commence today and should find expression in the challenge by our people of every manifestation of white dominance, in a determined assertion of their human dignity and their rights to every square inch of

land in South Africa, and in an intensified struggle against exploitation.

We must call attention to the specific and concrete form which racism assumes in South Africa, and renders it necessary that in its South African version this racism should be defined and identified in simple, tangible and realistic terms. The African – the Black man – the Indian and Coloured – all these people, these human beings, live and suffer misery, humiliation, discrimination, exploitation and political oppression at the hands of other people, other human beings. **Their enemy as a people is a people. The inhumanity they suffer as man is the inhumanity of man. In South Africa, therefore, the enemy of the Black man is the White man.** The struggle against racism, exploitation and oppression in South Africa is, whatever its many class ramifications, a straight confrontation between the Whites who have seized and hold all power, and the Blacks who have been robbed of everything and are the daily victims of brutal policies conceived, enforced and maintained by the white man. It is therefore in the sphere of race that the struggle for power, against racism, colonialism and imperialism begins. For the oppressed in South Africa there is no other realistic form in which to combat racism, for there is no clearer form in which racism in that country has expressed itself.

If on occasion the Black man's struggle for freedom should appear to the onlooker to be racialistic in its form, that will only be because the white man has deliberately, over many decades, closed every alternative course for the Black man. It will only mean that white racialism in South Africa, which will be 320 years old on April 6 this year, has been breeding counter-racialism despite our determined efforts, over many decades, to resist this process.

We shall need to pay a great deal more attention to, and be more deeply involved in guiding and providing necessary information for the offensive against the South African racists and their Portuguese and Rhodesian cohorts. Already we have much cause for worry. A few examples will suffice; the seizure of Malawi, now the scene of busy comings-in and goings-out by top ranking officials, Cabinet Ministers and military person-

nel from the conquering fascists of the South; the claim by the same Fascists that Malagasy has become another Malawi; the Racists' concentration of attention on the Ivory Coast and some of the other members of OCAM, coupled with France's campaign to prepare certain English-speaking States in Africa to surrender to the South African regime – a campaign designed to provide France with added protection for her murderous arms deals with that kill-kill regime; the question of a dialogue with South Africa – a disturbing measure of Vorster's success in his campaign to subdue and re-colonise some African Independent States, thereby dealing a dangerous blow at African unity as expressed through the striking power of the O.A.U.; the invasion of Guinea which heralds a new and armed offensive against independent Africa in preparation for which Vorster is arming to the teeth and buying up arms from the enemies of Africa and the defenders of white minority rule and colonialism.

But if the blood-suckers of our country appear to be winning one or two new Black co-suckers, the titanic struggle which the militant leaders of Africa are waging against colonialism and racialism in Africa, supported by all the anti-imperialist forces of the world, is gaining momentum from year to year.

To ensure that we give full time and attention to the cause and to our tasks for 1972, we shall need to tackle our work unpestered by enemy and similar distractions and provocations, be consolidated and ready to fight everything and everyone our enemies may choose to place in the way with the object of obstructing the progress of our people's struggle.

Let everyone of us work harder this year than ever before. Time is against us if from every sphere of our activities we are to reap a rich harvest of achievements and victories with which to greet and salute the 60th year of our National Organisation, our Nation.

On this historic occasion let us resolve to put the enemy to flight at every encounter, to frustrate his agents and expose them to the wrath of the masses, to consolidate the unity of all revolutionary forces in our movement, tighten the bonds of alliance across Africa and beyond her shores, raise still higher the level of the struggle in

our country and move with cautious but revolutionary speed towards the seizure of power and the conquest of freedom, towards the liquidation of white rule and the construction by the masses as a whole of a South Africa of all races, colours and creeds, living together, under a Black majority as fellow-countrymen of equal worth.

Towards the attainment of this historic objective, January 8, 1972, is a significant milestone. It should, as it did 60 years ago, re-vitalise us, and accelerate the spread of revolutionary action to every part of the racist regime, and to wherever an oppressed and exploited man is to be found. It would be appropriate, on this occasion, to meet in a

great get together of a united people of South Africa in twos and threes, in scores and hundreds – meet and then move forward to the attack, and to victory.

Likewise, the preparations for observance of Mkhonto Day, December 16, our Heroes' Day, should begin now and express themselves in fresh enrolment for hard and bitter service for our people, in dedication and discipline, in activities characterised by enduring dynamism, in building up a solid and hard-hitting force of cadres in and outside South Africa, and in ensuring a discharge of leadership responsibilities with a degree of effi-

ciency and devotion worthy of the great names in Umkhonto We Sizwe who have fallen in struggle or have been captured by the enemy: Mokgomanane, Castro, Ndaba, Saloojee, Linda, Benson, Paul Petersen, Sparks Pooe, Mercy Shabalala, Setlhogo, KenKen, Watson, Goldberg, Ratas and many others. Towards the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Army under whose young banners they served, let us play our individual and collective part this year, and for their sake let us come together in unity, and fight together to victory.

**AMANDLAI  
MAATLAI**

## **Another Detainee Murdered after Nation-wide Police Swoop**

In a nation-wide swoop on the week of the 23rd October, the South African police:

- murdered a teacher Mr. Ahmed Timol;
- beat up medical student Mr. Mohamed Salim Seedat so badly that he is in hospital;
- detained at least 10 South African Indian and one white students in solitary confinement;
- Raided the homes of over 100 Churchmen, Journalists, Student leaders, Teachers and university Lecturers; and
- confiscated typewriters, duplicating machines and bundles of letters and documents.

In each case the warrants were in terms of the notorious Terrorism and Suppression of Communism Acts and related to activities connected with the actions of the underground African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Those in detention and held incommunicado are apart from Timol and Seedat, Mrs Amina Desai, a 55 year old mother of four children. (Further details in next issue)

Among those raided by the police were Mrs. Winnie Mandela, who has been arrested, detained in solitary confinement, charged, house-arrested and subsequently sentenced to six months imprisonment. Mrs. Mandela has been harrassed by the police ever since her husband, ANC leader Nelson Mandela was jailed for life in 1963.

Others included Miss Shanti Naidoo, who was recently arrested, detained and tortured for nearly a year in solitary confinement, Miss Ilse Fisher, daughter of Bram Fisher serving life imprisonment, Mr. and Mrs. Eli Weinberg, both of whom have been recently released after long terms in prison for activities connected with the ANC, Father Cosmo Desmond, whose exposures of conditions in African Areas recei-

ved world-wide publicity recently, Mr. John Sutherland, editor of the **Port Elizabeth Evening Post**, Dr. Francis Wilson, senior lecturer in economics and editor of the journal **South African Outlook**, and scores of other lecturers and student leaders.

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## **SECHABA COMMENTS**

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The vicious murder of Mr. Timol, which brings the total of deaths in detention to 17, the torture of other detainees and these latest raids by the South African Gestapo is a clear sign of the panic that is gripping the ruling fascist regime in South Africa.

The widespread anger of the people against fascist tyranny running rampant in our country, has manifested itself in numerous actions by the people in recent months and true to form, the government has once again resorted to its usual action of murder, raids, arrests, detentions without trial and torture in order to intimidate our people.

The ANC underground movement, steeled in clandestine struggle for over a decade will continue to baffle the white fascist police with its daring over and over again as it has done in the recent past. Fascist brutality of the nature reported here has failed to intimidate our people in the past and shall fail again.

**We Shall Resist White Tyranny Whatever The Cost!  
Freedom or Death!**

**We Shall Win!**

**AMANDLAI AMANDLAI**

# 1912 - 1972

# 60 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Landmarks in the History  
of the African National Congress  
of South Africa

## Introduction

On April 6, 1652, the first white Dutch settlers landed at the Cape to establish a half-way house to supply fresh provisions for their ships going to the East.

Not long after, however, they began to enslave the local African inhabitants, confiscate their cattle and drive them off their land. This led to many armed conflicts until the second half of 18th century, when the white invaders were reduced to roving bands of brigands. Towards the end of the 1700's, however, Britain which was allied to Holland in the war against Republican France, sent in her military forces to aid the Dutch settlers.

This brought about a complete change in the resistance of our people. The British armed with the most modern weapons of war and their long experience of intrigue defeated our people who were poorly armed and fighting separately as tribal groups. Despite these weaknesses, it was only in 1906, that our people were finally crushed militarily by the overwhelming might of the most powerful country in the world at that time.

Within four years of the final battle, the British government, despite widespread opposition from our people, granted "independence" to the white minority and the Union of South Africa, which excluded Africans and other non-whites, was established in place of the four existing Provincial regimes.

## 1912:

The African leaders of the day were shocked into action. Calling for the unity of all tribal groups, Dr. Pixley ka Izaka Seme, a prominent leader and lawyer, in an article published in 1911 declared:

"The demon of racialism, the aberrations of Xhosa-Fingo feuds, the animosity that exists between Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other native, must be buried and forgotten ... We are one people".

Other leaders like Dr. J.L. Dube, D.S. Setaka, S.M. Kakgatho, Sol. T. Platjje, Dr. W.D. Rubusana and T.M. Mapi-kela took up the call and on January 8, 1912, a remarkable and historic conference was held in Bloemfontein. Every tribal group was represented; intellectuals and chiefs, workers and peasants. Zulus, Xhosas, Tswanas, Sothos, Vendas, Shangaans, Tongas, and others who had hitherto looked on each other with suspicion were for the first time united on a common platform.

At the end of their deliberations



**Pixley ka Izaka Seme – founder member of ANC**



**Rev. John L. Dube – first President of ANC**



**Rev. Z. Mahabane – past President – ANC**

emerged the African National Congress of South Africa. On that day the African nation was born.

### 1913:

In the meantime, the white minority regime passed the Land Act of 1913. Under this law the whites took for themselves 87 per cent of the land leaving the remaining 13 per cent for the African people who constituted more than four fifths of the total population.

The ANC correctly saw that this iniquitous legislation was designed to impoverish our people and to compel them to work forever for the white man on his mines, his farms and his factories.

A deputation was sent to London in 1913–14 to plead their cause with the British government which retained po-

wers to veto any discriminatory legislation passed by the white South African parliament. The British government, using the outbreak of World War I as an excuse, refused to help. At the end of the war, in 1919 another deputation met the British authorities and again the British government rejected its pleas and asked the delegation to negotiate with the South African government against whom the Africans sought British protection and assistance in the first place.

### 1920:

In the twenties the struggle shifted mainly into the economic plane. With rapid industrialisation taking place African workers in their thousands were drawn into secondary industry. Trade Union activity was stepped up under the leadership of Clements Ka-

dalie and his Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU). Scores of strikes by African workers were brutally suppressed by the army and the police. The ANC organised many campaigns against the brutality of the oppressors, vigorously denouncing the massacres of striking workers and calling on the people to rally behind the I.C.U.'s struggle for higher wages and better working conditions.

### 1930:

During this period the I.C.U. and the ANC used a variety of methods of struggle. The courts of law were used especially against employers to obtain proper working conditions and to combat assaults and unlawful dismissals. Civil disobedience was used to obtain the right of Africans to travel on passenger trains in all provin-

**Left to right – Prof. Z. K. Matthews, Paul Mosaka, the late Paramount Chief of the Zulus M. Ka Dinizulu, Selope Thema, Paramount Chief Victor Poto**





A demonstration led by ANC Women



Walter Sisulu  
Oliver Tambo



Anton Lembede  
Nelson Mandela



ces and to walk on the pavements. Powerful demonstrations against the pass laws led to numerous clashes with armed police resulting in hundreds of Africans being killed. December 16, 1930 saw the murder by police of Johannes Nkosi and two others who were addressing an anti-Pass meeting in Durban. Over 200 Africans were subsequently deported from Durban to their distant reserves

**1935:**

One of the biggest agitations in our history occurred in protest against the removal of African voters in the Cape Province from the common roll. It should be noted that up to this time African males with certain qualifications were allowed to vote in the Cape Province, although they were not allowed to stand for elections



In 1936, the ANC convened a special Convention of all African organisations, political, social, cultural and religious, to meet this crisis. However, the 'agitation' was not followed by mass action and failed to prevent the removal of the last group of Africans who had the vote.

**1946:**

On June 13, 1946, the South African Indian Congress started a civil disobedience campaign against various laws designed to ruin the Indian people economically as a prelude to their repatriation to India. During the same year the African Mine Workers Union, led by J.B. Marks who was president both of the A.M.W.U. and the Transvaal ANC came out on strike. Over 100,000 African miners struck work and the army was called out by the racists and in an unprecedented wave of brutality the strike was crushed.

In the general elections of 1948, Dr. Malan and his pro-Nazi Nationalist Party, came into power on a programme of intensifying racial oppression by the enforcement of what they called Apartheid.

In 1949, the ANC challenged this vicious undemocratic policy by adopting a Programme of Action. Among others, the programme laid down new methods of struggle viz. civil disobedience, strikes, boycotts, non-co-operation and open defiance of unjust laws, with the main object of building the national liberation movement into a powerful mass movement embracing all sections of the people.

**1950:**

In the meantime the question of unity among all genuine democratic forces,



J. B. Marks - former President of Mine-workers Union



Dr. Y. M. Dadoo - President of the SAIC

the people of Indian origin, the Coloured peoples and white rebels, which had received the serious attention of the ANC in the forties began to take a more concrete shape in 1947 with the signing of a pact of co-operation between the Indian and African people by their respective leaders, Dr. A.B. Xuma, President of the ANC, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo and Dr. G.M. Naicker, the President of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses respectively. This unity was consolidated in joint action on May 1, 1950, when the ANC and S.A.I.C. in the Transvaal called a general strike in this Province against the government's attack on the freedom of speech and the banning of

some of the leaders of the Congresses. On June 26 of the same year, the ANC and the S.A.I.C., together called a day of mourning in the form of a nationwide general strike to mourn the victims of police shootings during the Transvaal May Day strike and as a protest against new repressive legislation.

**1952:**

In December 1951, the ANC National Conference in Bloemfontein resolved to embark upon a massive Campaign of Defiance of Apartheid laws. On June 26, 1952 together with the South African Indian Congress, the ANC led by Chief A.J. Lutuli, Walter Sisulu, Go-

Anti-Pass demonstration







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**Chief Lutuli – "Founder of the modern ANC"**

van Mbeki, Nelson Mandela, O.R. Tambo and others – the founders of the modern ANC., – launched the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. The Defiance Campaign carried on through 1953 covering all major centres in South Africa. Over 8,000 volunteers belonging to the ANC and its allies defied Apartheid and were jailed. In 1954, the ANC, launched a struggle against the imposition of the inferior Bantu Education System calculated to reduce African youth into 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for the White man. Massive agitation took place among the parents and teachers and a boycott was organised against Bantu Education schools. Meanwhile, the alliance between the S.A.I.C. and the ANC was extended further when it was joined by the African Peoples Organisation (representing

the Coloureds) and its successor the Coloured People's Congress. Later, during the Defiance Campaign of 1952 some progressive Whites joined the struggle on the side of the oppressed people, and the Congress of Democrats was formed.

This alliance was further strengthened with the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the only non-racial Trade Union Federation in South Africa, actively joining in.

Having succeeded substantially in mobilising the various African tribal groupings into a single fighting nation, the African National Congress in keeping with its overall strategy, to lead a united front of all anti-racist and democratic forces, hammered out a common programme with the representatives of the various racial groups and the trade union movement. This pro-

gramme was further crystalised when on June 26, 1955 at the historic Congress of the People, the fighting demands of the people were enshrined in the Freedom Charter, after a year-long campaign. The success of this campaign and the widespread support the Charter received from the people did not go un-noticed by the racist regime in South Africa.

In 1956, the political police swooped and arrested 156 leaders of the ANC and its allies and charged them with High Treason using the Freedom Charter as the basis of its charge. It was alleged that the ANC planned a revolutionary overthrow of the regime. In 1957, the ANC together with local Residents Associations organised the Great Rand and Pretoria bus boycott. In April 1958, the ANC organised another one day national strike.

### **1960:**

In 1959 at its national conference in Durban, the ANC resolved to conduct, during the following year a massive nationwide struggle against the Pass Laws. This campaign was under way when the P.A.C. sought to wreck it by launching its passive resistance campaign only ten days before the National Anti-Pass Campaign was to begin on 31st March, 1960. When the police shot the people at Sharpeville and P.A.C. was in disarray the ANC called a national one day strike on March 28, 1960 and ordered massive burning of passes. The South African regime, alarmed by the powerful wave of mass action by the masses of our people, declared the African National Congress illegal. The ANC refused to accept the order of the powers that be, and decided to continue the struggle as an underground and illegal organisation.

Following the banning of the African National Congress, the movement decided to operate on two levels – internally in South Africa and externally on the international arena. The external mission of the African National Congress is headed by Oliver Tambo who presently is the Acting President-General of the ANC. The mandate of the external mission of the ANC was to mobilise democratic and progressive opinion in Africa and the world to support our struggle. Our external mission forged strong links first of all with the All African People's Conference and during the second Congress of this Movement which was held in Tunis in 1960, the African National Congress was elected to its steering Committee. Our organisation played an important role in the work of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement and is a member of the permanent Secreta-



**Dr. G. M. Naicker - banned President of SAIC**



**Moses Kotane - Treasurer of ANC**

riat of the Movement whose head-quarters are in Cairo.

In Europe and America, in the Socialist countries, in Asia and Latin America at U.N. and in other International platforms, the African National Congress resolutely raised the voice and demands of our people. The African National Congress was one of the founders of the Anti-Apartheid Movement which was established in the early sixties in Great Britain which has now spread to other parts of the world and has today become one of the major forces which mobilises world opinion against the iniquities of racial oppression and apartheid.

However the ANC did not once suggest that we looked for deliverence and salvation from outside the borders of our own country. We believe that the cornerstone of our struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa lies inside South Africa itself.


**Mass meeting in London demands release of SA political prisoners**



# 1961 - 1971



# 10 YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE



Meanwhile inside South Africa the ANC underground began plans for the establishment of Umkhonto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) the military wing of the Congress under the leadership of Nelson Mandela.

By December 1961 M.K., as Umkhonto we Sizwe later became popularly known, was ready to announce its existence. On the 16th of the same month M.K. announced to South Africa and the world that a new revolutionary stage in our struggle had been reached.

On that day, bombs shattered government installations. M.K. leaflets were distributed explaining the background to its formation. It proclaimed selected sabotage, pointing out that loss of life would be avoided and that targets would be government installations. The White ruling class was still given a chance to change its ways before the country could be plunged into a civil war.

M.K. suffered some casualties from its very inception. On December 16, 1961, we lost Comrade Molefe who died in action in Johannesburg from a premature bomb explosion. Later some comrades were arrested and detained. Among these were comrades Govan Mbeki, Joseph Jack, Harold Strachan, Soyeye, L.B. Ramotse. All, except Strachan, were imprisoned. All these M.K. pioneers stood firmly and refused to be broken down by police interrogation. The activities of M.K. increased in scope and quality and began to spread to all the major towns of South Africa. The enemy was caught flat footed and was unable to dismantle the M.K. organisation. Every week brought news of systematic sabotage and M.K. cadres were quickly improving their skill. Among the exploits of M.K. was the bombing of the office of the Minister of Agriculture in Pretoria, the demolition of pylons in Natal and on the Rand and the bombing of the offices of **Die Nataller**, official organ of the Nationalist Party in Natal.

A revolutionary situation was unfolding in the country; it was becoming clear that the Blacks and other revolutionaries were no longer prepared to live in the old way and were determined to take risks to bring about a change. The ruling class realised that their old methods of rule were inadequate. Their methods had failed to crush M.K. Vorster, a known fascist who was then the Minister of Justice sought draconian measures from the White parliament to crush UMKHONTO WE SIZWE. The notorious General Laws Amendment Act known as the Sabotage Act was passed and it em-



**Wilton Mkwai – serving life imprisonment**



**Indres Naidoo sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in 1963 for sabotage**



**Billy Nair – SACTU regional secretary – sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for sabotage in 1964**

powered the South African courts to impose a death sentence in cases of sabotage. The Act was intended to deal with the increasing cases of sabotage which were becoming bolder and more resourceful. Those comrades who were caught were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Among these were Benjamin Turok,

Andrew Masondo, Mzwandile Mdingi, Rex Lupondwana, Reggie Vandeyar, Indres Naidoo, Laloo Chiba and many others. The police openly used torture and beatings with impunity. Despite frequent exposure of the use of torture by the police in the course of interrogation, the authorities did nothing to stop this practice.

## **Torture**

Umkhonto continued to operate despite the high rate of casualties. The enemy was getting desperate as the effectiveness of its security was beginning to be questioned and the image of a

**ZAPU/ANC Guerrillas at flag raising ceremony**





Denis Goldberg

Ahmed Kathrada



All four are serving life imprisonment



Bram Fisher

Govan Mbeki



individuals. Notorious traitors emerged who enthusiastically betrayed their former comrades. The most serious blow was the discovery of the headquarters of the High Command of M.K. in Rivonia. The enemy was thus able to smash the very heart of the organisation and this was a very serious setback. The regional commands had also been bled white and only tattered and badly mauled remnants remained. Show trials were staged where agent provocateurs had a field day. The most notorious of the provocateurs were Kholisile Mdwayi, Patrick Mthembu, Bruno Mtolo, Gerald Ludi, Bartholomew Hlapane and Zizi Njikelane. These agents of the enemy sent many of our comrades to long terms of imprisonment. The leaders of the movement were also given life sentences thanks to the evidence of these agents.

Despite the sentences and executions, the fascists failed to break the back of the organisation. Umkhonto continued to operate and Vorster who after the Rivonia arrests had boasted that he had smashed the organisation was forced to swallow his words. The movement quickly regrouped and new leaders took the place of those arrested and fallen.

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## Guerilla Warfare

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While Umkhonto was carrying on with audacious acts of sabotage, the High Command was preparing for the second phase of the struggle. Cadres had been secretly sent out of South Africa to friendly and fraternal countries to undergo training in guerrilla warfare. The ANC had established an external mission to prepare training places for its cadres. These cadres were to be infiltrated into the country on completing their training and to impart the military skills acquired to the Umkhonto units inside the country.

While the cadres were undergoing training, the leaders and the organisation were mobilising the people and generating a climate for the armed struggle.

The arrest of the top echelon of the leadership of the movement affected the maturity and implementation of the plans which had already been drawn up. The enemy was now in possession of vital information which had direct bearing on this vital phase of the struggle. The communication lines between the internal and external machineries of the movement were seriously disrupted and thus coordina-

tough and efficient police force was getting dented. The only answer was to ask the White parliament to legalise torture and detention. The 90-Day Detention Law was passed. Never before had the ruling class been forced to resort to such barbarous measures to contend with the militancy of the movement. The ruling class was forced to take Umkhonto seriously and thus went into a wholesale onslaught. All the known leading members of the ANC were detained under the ninety day detention law and were put into solitary confinement and tortured. This new vicious law caught us unpre-

pared. The movement had not drilled its cadres about behaving in situations of this kind. The police began to use electric torture and held all the suspects incommunicado. Still suffering from the habit of semi-legal days prior to the banning of the movement, we had not yet devised a tight conspiratorial method of work which made it extremely difficult for people to know more than they were entitled to. The looseness in the machinery of the organisation made betrayal by the weak and the provocateurs easy. Those who broke down were able to betray many units and

tion was hampered. Meanwhile, the men had finished their training and were itching for action and physical confrontation with the enemy. Apart from the wounds inflicted by the enemy on the movement, there were also some objective factors militating against the movement. These were the absence of friendly countries on the borders of South Africa and problems of logistic lines. As a result of these difficulties, mistakes were made and erroneous lines adopted. In the meantime, the enemy was consolidating itself.

Fascist South Africa began to support and stabilise tottering regimes in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. There was this challenge of an unholy alliance among the colonialist forces in Southern Africa. The ANC and its military wing UMKHONTO WE SIZWE recognised the need to intensify cooperation and coordination with other fighting movements in Southern Africa. It was against this background that the alliance with ZAPU was formed in 1967. The aim was never to commit men to fighting in Zimbabwe but with the help of our Zimbabwe comrades to procure and secure routes to South Africa. Zimbabwe was to

be one of the many routes the movement had decided to use in its efforts to get cadres into the country. It was a decision taken after long and frank discussion. Members of M.K. took part in these discussions and the decision was generally welcomed.

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## Lutuli Detachment

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After undergoing intensive training, the Lutuli Detachment was the first to go into action in Rhodesia. Unlike their forebearers, the Lutuli Detachment was armed with guns and it was ready to make the supreme effort for the transformation of the South African society. Inspired by the magnificent and glorious tradition of their forefathers, the detachment was brimming with morale and determination and marched through the bushes of Zimbabwe, skirted hills and scaled down mountains unperturbed by exaggerated stories of the might of the White army.

This was a revolutionary detachment, spurred on not by mercenary considerations but by absolute dedication to the struggle for the liberation of

the Black people of South Africa and for the realisation of the ideals of the Freedom Charter. In its ranks were to be found men from all corners of South Africa. It was a truly national detachment. Its discipline was not only conscious but very high. There are three memorable occasions on which the Detachment engaged the Rhodesian armed forces each time putting them to shameless flight. The equipment captured included machine guns, sub-machine guns, rifles by the dozen, ammunition, radios and much needed food supplies. On the whole the detachment fought very well as a unit but certain names remain outstanding and when we write the history of our struggle, these brave sons of our country will take their places among those who shed blood to rid our country of tyranny and colonialism.

The story of what became known as the Wankie campaigns would be incomplete without mentioning comrades whose dauntlessness and courage will always be a source of inspiration to our people. These were:

**Delmas Sibanyoni**, a light machine gunner who halted the advance of a Rhodesian African Rifles (RAR) platoon

Umkhonto guerrillas





Dorothy Nyembe - ANC women's leader - 15 years imprisonment

and never withdraw until his machine gun position was destroyed by a helicopter.

**James Masimini**, who though mortally wounded volunteered to cover the retreat of his comrades until he himself was killed by enemy fire.

**Andries Motsepe**, the brave and energetic commander who tirelessly commanded his men forcing the RAR to retreat under cover of darkness.

**Charles Sishuba** whose bravery was an inspiration to all the comrades.

**Sparks Molo**, young and brave.

**Donda**, powerful, tireless and ready to undertake any tough mission.

**Balo**, calm and determined.

**Jack Simelane**, that tower of strength, nimble and agile and always full of energy.

**Paul Peterson**, who, single handed, fought the Rhodesian Security Forces refusing to surrender until he was killed.

These comrades fell in the course of duty. We vow to avenge their deaths, to redouble our efforts and to bring to fruition the liberation of our Mot-

herland which was so dear to their hearts.

Some members of the Lutuli Detachment were captured and subsequently imprisoned both in Rhodesia, South Africa and Botswana. Among those serving life imprisonment in Rhodesia are:

**Bertwekk Tamane**, son of that outstanding veteran revolutionary women's leader, Dora Tamane.

**Freddie Mainzi**, youth leader from Cape Town.

**Oscar Thulo Bophela**, who surrendered a bright educational career and opted for the struggle.

In South African prisons are the following:

**Peter Tlodi**, former leader of ANC Youth League at Fort Hare presently serving an 18 year sentence on Robben Island.

Youthful **Kenneth Nkomo** presently serving a sentence of ten years on Robben Island.

**Alfred Mambasa Scott** robust and fit - a tower of strength - serving a sentence of eighteen years.

Umkhonto militants destroy a pylon in Pinetown near Durban

### Eastern Front

While the fight on the Wankie front was going on, the alliance was also probing possibilities on the eastern side of Zimbabwe. Here, again members of Umkhonto We Sizwe played a distinguished role in what came to be known as the 'eastern front' or Sipolilo operations. It was the activities of these militants which caused the South African ruling class to intervene openly on the side of the Rhodesian White settlers. The feats of these comrades will never be forgotten in the annals of our country. Some of them lost their lives on Zimbabwean soil fighting South African Imperialism, others were captured and arrested and are at present serving life imprisonment in Smith's prisons as well as in Vorster's prisons. It is the imperative duty of our movement to strive to keep a record of these heroes who never flinched even under the most difficult conditions.

Among those who fell were:

**Patrick Malooa**, former president of



Umkhonto soldier on sentry duty

the African National Congress Youth League and ex-treason trialist.

**Michael Pooe**, who played an active role in M.K. activities in the Rand.

**Benson Ntsele**, affectionately known as commisar.

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Others were captured and are serving life imprisonment in Smith's prisons. Among these are:

**George Mofusi**, an M.K. veteran from East London.

**Ralph Mzamo**, who worked for a long time with both the South African peoples newspapers New Age and Spark, in Port Elizabeth.

**Willie Motaau** from Johannesburg

**Linda Ntsele** from Johannesburg

Among those who managed to find their way to South Africa and were captured by the enemy and subsequently sentenced were: **Molafe Mabalane** and **Jarius Sikhumula**.

Earlier I pointed out that Zimbabwe was one of the routes the movement used to filter men into the country. M.K. men were filtered into the country with varying degrees of success through others routes: The famous Maritzburg trial was an illustration of some of the subtle methods used. The enemy as usual had thought that he had crushed M.K. in Zimbabwe. The subsequent activities in the country again proved him a liar. Among those who featured at the Maritzburg trial were young men like **Amos Lengisi**, **Mathews Ngcobo**, and **Mzomi**.

Like all struggles, the Zimbabwe operations were a school of revolution to the M.K. cadres. They were not only baptised in battle but were also able

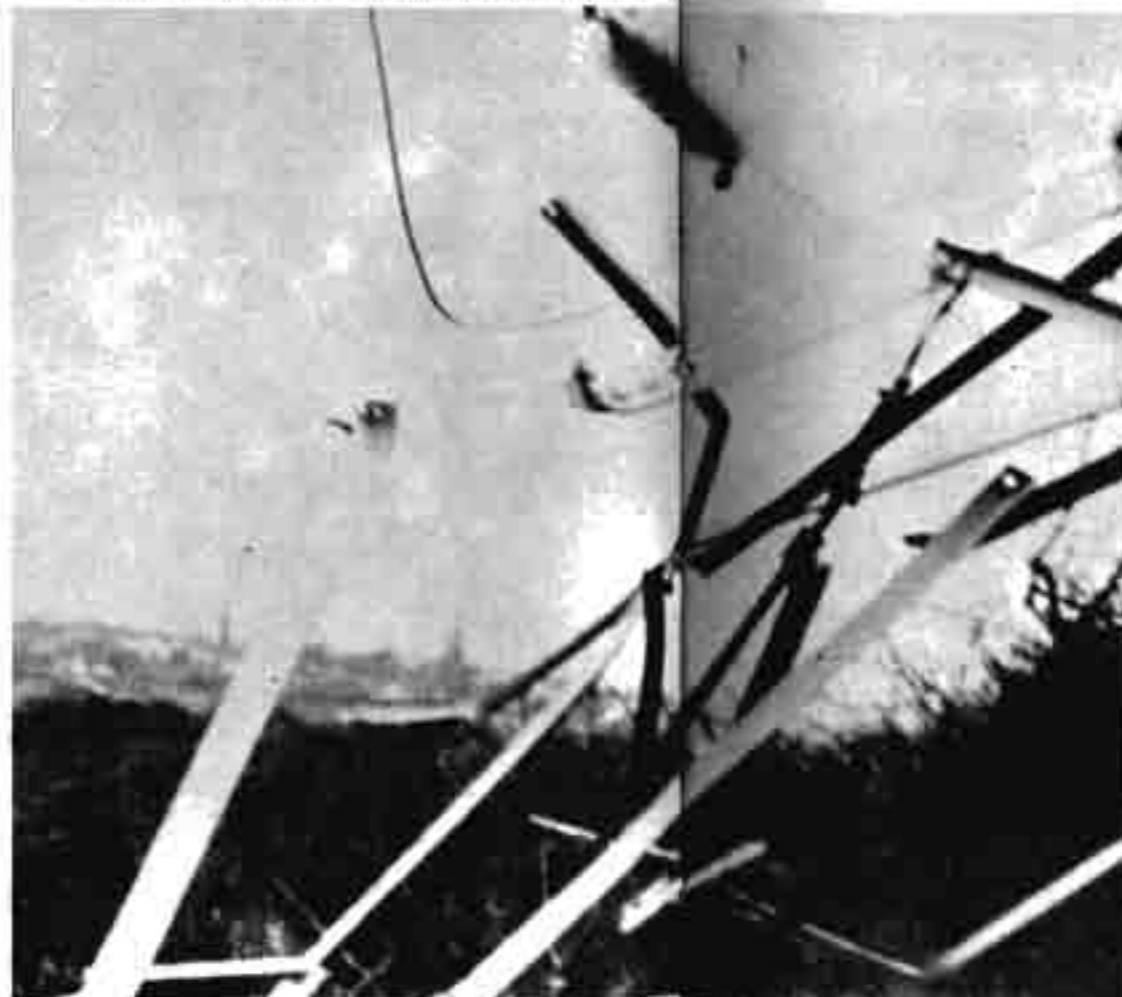
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The years of struggle have steeled and hardened M.K. Dealing with a brutal, sadistic and perfidious enemy which is well supported by imperialism, M.K. men have realised the need for organisation and are fully conscious of their historical duty.

On the 10th Anniversary of its formation, M.K. wants to remind its members both inside and outside of the immense responsibility history has imposed on them. The leaders of M.K., men like **Mandela**, **Mhlaba**, **Mkwayi** and **Mlangeni** have shown the road to sacrifice. No force on earth must stop us. **James April**\* the most recent cadre to be arrested in South Africa, claimed in Court when charged, that **the Black man must get his freedom and that the ANC can never be destroyed! We guarantee this!**

AMANDLA NGA WETHU!  
Maatla Ke Arona!  
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Note:  
\* Full reports of April's case appeared in Sechaba Vol. 5 Nos 7 and 8.







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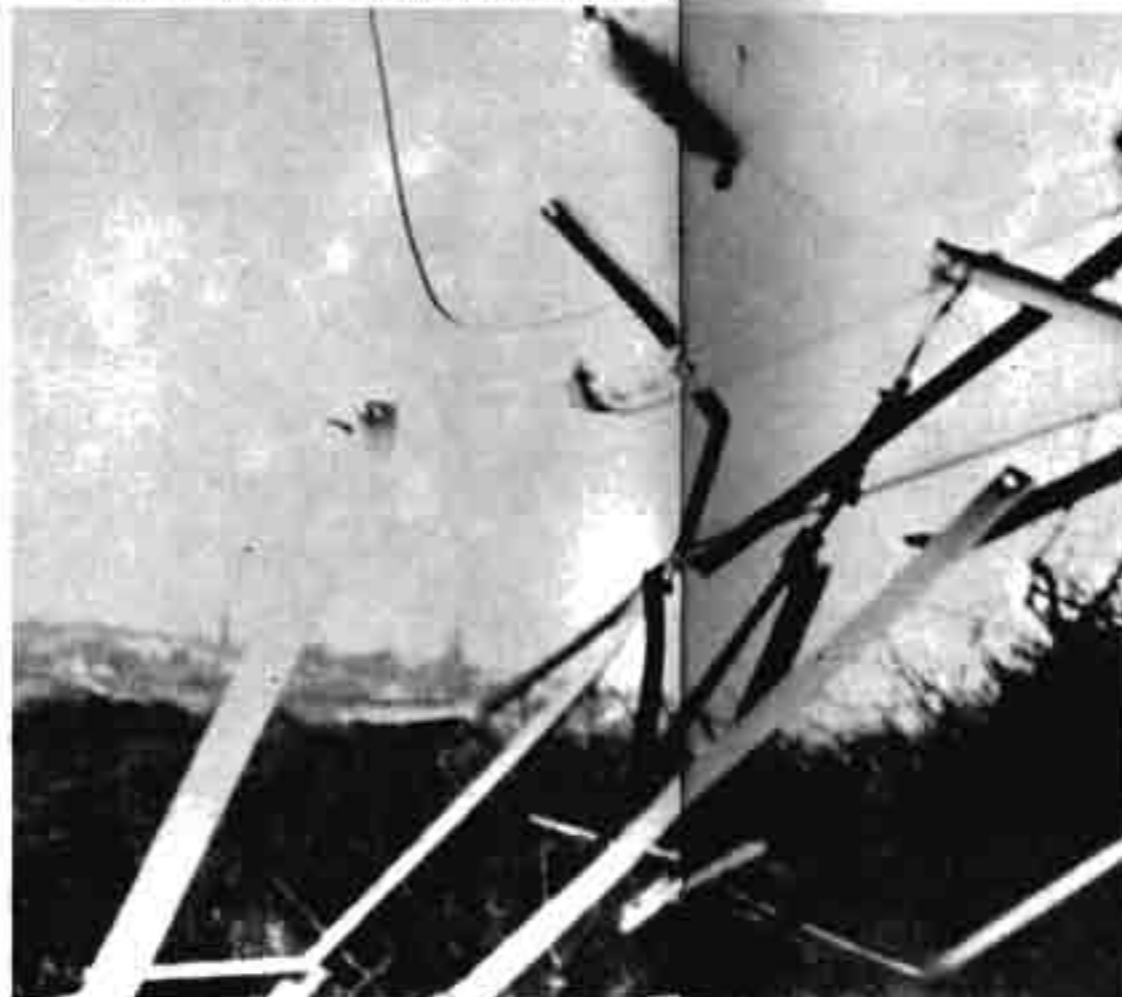
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# THE TIME FOR ACTION HAS COME

Report of an important meeting of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress

The meeting of the extended National Executive held in Zambia, August 27-31st, examined important documents dealing with the current political situation in our fatherland... the documents entitled "Suggested Tactics and Strategy in the Mobilisation of the Africans for Revolution", "Concerning Certain Political Problems Raised by the Internal Situation at Home", "Brief Background of Colonialism" and on "The Role of the Trade Union Movement in the Impending Revolution". In addition, two more documents relevant to these subjects were delivered on behalf of some Lusaka comrades and by a group of leading comrades in London who have just come out of South Africa.

The frank debate which ensued revealed a most heartening identity of view on the assessment of the situation and was punctuated with constructive contributions on the political and revolutionary action our movement is called upon to undertake in the situation. The following emerged as a result of the discussions:

## The Political Situation

A veritable political crisis is unfolding in South Africa, a situation is fast de-



Massive demonstrations were organised against the racist SA Rugby team in all centres in Australia as these two pictures from Melbourne and Sydney show

veloping characterised by the growth of poverty and ruin of the masses after a period of barbaric repression by the regime which included the banning of our organisation, the arrest of numerous leaders of our people and the suppression of all legal forms of political expression. Our people are refusing to reconcile themselves to the regime of racist colonialist oppression and exploitation. On the other hand the ruling class itself is revealing inability to rule in the old way and is in fact undergoing a political crisis.

The South African racist fascist regime has over the past two decades progressively intensified its political domination and economic exploitation of the majority. Having suppressed all forms of political and legal protest, the regime has turned the country into a vast political prison wherein torture, and the hangman's rope are the order of the day. Economically our people have been reduced to a situation of desperation as a result of:

- the expulsion of thousands of our people from the cities to the so-called "Bantu homelands";
- the overcrowding of the so-called Bantu homelands due to the government policy of injecting vast

armies of Africans into these areas; ● the creation of the so-called resettlement camps where released political prisoners and those Africans no longer required by White employers have been dumped and abandoned.

These new factors in the economic impoverishment of our people come over and above the age-old forms of exploitation marked by land hunger, poverty wages, closure of skilled work to our people, influx control.

## Social Crisis

The colonialist racist oppression or the so-called apartheid system has been unmasked as never before as a shameless system of brutal exploitation of the Black man for the luxury and comfort of the White man. This system has assumed new forms of callousness whereby those whom the White no longer requires, are purely and simply discarded.

On the other hand this present social crisis has produced a vast army of victims WHO HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE AND EVERYTHING TO GAIN BY THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM.



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## South Africa's Imperialism

In a desperate bid to win new markets for its products, and capital, the South African regime, under the guise of the so-called outward looking policy has embarked on a policy of naked aggression, threats and blackmail of African countries. The regime occupies Namibia, provides military and economic support for Portuguese colonialists and Rhodesian racists. Meanwhile major Western Powers such as Britain, France, the United States and Federal Germany continue to increase their investments in South Africa.

## The Content of our Struggle

The debate confirmed that the main content of our struggle is the national liberation of the African majority, the rightful owners of the land.

A close analysis of the situation shows that the African people both in the rural and urban areas are in a state of revolt. After a period of lull there has been a new upsurge of strikes among African workers. Sections of our rural population who have been ordered to leave their land by the racist colonialist regime are resisting. Black students are asserting their national pride and rejecting the standards laid down by the White supremacists. Voices of protest are emerging even from such unexpected quarters as African chiefs. The development among the chiefs, who are civil servants, is clearly a reflection of pressure from below, the pressure of the masses.

In a word, these "new" militant demands from our people, echoed from all corners of the country, are in fact the same demands which the African National Congress has been making on behalf of our people for years, i. e. the demands for higher wages, for the abolition of job reservation, proper education, the expropriation of all our land from the Whites etc.

The ANC is irrevocably committed to the struggle of the people to win these just demands but recognise that they must be fought for and won in the context of the fundamental struggle for the transfer of political power to the African majority. Bitter experience has led the ANC to the conclusion that the issue of transfer of power in South Africa cannot be achieved without recourse to armed struggle, to which all other forms of struggle, are complementary. The other forms are however essential as providing a broad base for mass resistance and revolutionary consciousness.



Aroused by the militancy of the Black Students, White Students in the Witwatersrand march in protest against banning of Winnie Mandela and 21 others early this year

## The Oppressed Minorities

The two million Coloured population in our country is up in arms. Never before on such a broad scale have the Coloured people stood up to demand their legitimate human rights. Militant action such as the bus boycott by the Coloureds in Port Elizabeth clearly reflects the new mood.

It is the historic duty of the ANC to forge a more powerful alliance with the leading organisations and the masses of the Coloured people. There exists long standing co-operation in struggle between our people and the people of Indian descent in our country. This alliance must be consolidated and brought up to conform to the changed situation. In forging a

broad and deep alliance of the Black People in South Africa against White domination and for Freedom, the ANC will persistently advocate armed struggle as the main weapon of bringing about revolutionary change.

## The Working Class

In the situation now prevailing in South Africa, the ANC recognises the urgent and vital need for intensive organisation of the workers around the day to day and other burning issues affecting them in the economic and social spheres. Working closely with the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the ANC will, in particular ensure the mobilisation of the vast army of Black workers who constitute a

most powerful and major revolutionary base.

## The Rural Population

The land hunger inflicted by the regime on our rural population has long been a fundamental issue of protest among the African people, in as much as it is the cornerstone of the present system of cheap labour and blatant exploitation of our people by the South African mining and White farming interests.

Today, the land issue has become explosive as a result of natural population growth, coupled with the expulsion from the cities and the White farms of hundreds of thousands of African workers, who are squeezed

into the barren and overcrowded 12 per cent of the country's land surface, consequently, our rural population has been reduced into landless nomads. In handling the land question, the ANC will bear in mind both the short and long term demands of our people. Above all, the fundamental issue of the forceful expropriation of the African land by White colonial invaders stands as a glaring and cruel injustice, which the Bantustan policy only serves to accentuate.

## The Students Professional Groups

Examination of the situation demonstrates that Black students, Black Churchmen, teachers and other such

groups are speaking out in a determined bid to restore the dignity, pride and self-sufficiency of the Black man. This is a very important group of people, capable of providing leadership and consequently requiring our closest attention and guidance.

## Leadership Vacuum

Considering the question of the leadership vacuum which was occasioned by the arrest of high ranking leaders of the ANC and our allied organisations in the early sixties, the conference considered it of paramount importance to put an end to this state of affairs.

In the concrete situation that exists this matter assumes great importance bearing in mind the enemy's strategy of dialogue and the vital need to give guidance to the emerging spirit of revolt among our people.

## Action

A political crisis which calls for direct action on the part of our organisation and people is fast developing in our country. There is an urgent need for the African National Congress to give more effective guidance and leadership to the masses of the people by firmly establishing its presence with and among them in their political, economic, social and cultural activities and at every point and level of encounter with the the oppressor. It is equally necessary to convince all oppressed nationalities that in this historic struggle, their destiny lies with the African people.

The ANC welcomes into the ranks of the revolution those individual Whites who are rebels from the White ruling class and who fully support the just struggle of the Black man. The meeting considered that direct action on the part of our masses must be placed on the agenda at once.

The meeting above all considered that conditions are maturing in our country, which correctly exploited, could raise our struggle to new revolutionary heights. The time for resolute action has come was the Keynote of the discussions. Among several resolutions adopted were:

## EXTERNAL SOLIDARITY WORK

This enlarged meeting of the National Executive Committee of the African

## South Africa's Imperialism

In a desperate bid to win new markets for its products, and capital, the South African regime, under the guise of the so-called outward looking policy has embarked on a policy of naked aggression, threats and blackmail of African countries. The regime occupies Namibia, provides military and economic support for Portuguese colonialists and Rhodesian racists. Meanwhile major Western Powers such as Britain, France, the United States and Federal Germany continue to increase their investments in South Africa.

## The Content of our Struggle

The debate confirmed that the main content of our struggle is the national liberation of the African majority, the rightful owners of the land.

A close analysis of the situation shows that the African people both in the rural and urban areas are in a state of revolt. After a period of lull there has been a new upsurge of strikes among African workers. Sections of our rural population who have been ordered to leave their land by the racist colonialist regime are resisting. Black students are asserting their national pride and rejecting the standards laid down by the White supremacists. Voices of protest are emerging even from such unexpected quarters as African chiefs. The development among the chiefs, who are civil servants, is clearly a reflection of pressure from below, the pressure of the masses.

In a word, these "new" militant demands from our people, echoed from all corners of the country, are in fact the same demands which the African National Congress has been making on behalf of our people for years, i. e. the demands for higher wages, for the abolition of job reservation, proper education, the expropriation of all our land from the Whites etc.

The ANC is irrevocably committed to the struggle of the people to win these just demands but recognise that they must be fought for and won in the context of the fundamental struggle for the transfer of political power to the African majority. Bitter experience has led the ANC to the conclusion that the issue of transfer of power in South Africa cannot be achieved without recourse to armed struggle, to which all other forms of struggle, are complementary. The other forms are however essential as providing a broad base for mass resistance and revolutionary consciousness.



Aroused by the militancy of the Black Students, White Students in the Witwatersrand march in protest against banning of Winnie Mandela and 21 others early this year

## The Oppressed Minorities

The two million Coloured population in our country is up in arms. Never before on such a broad scale have the Coloured people stood up to demand their legitimate human rights. Militant action such as the bus boycott by the Coloureds in Port Elizabeth clearly reflects the new mood.

It is the historic duty of the ANC to forge a more powerful alliance with the leading organisations and the masses of the Coloured people. There exists long standing co-operation in struggle between our people and the people of Indian descent in our country. This alliance must be consolidated and brought up to conform to the changed situation. In forging a

broad and deep alliance of the Black People in South Africa against White domination and for Freedom, the ANC will persistently advocate armed struggle as the main weapon of bringing about revolutionary change.

## The Working Class

In the situation now prevailing in South Africa, the ANC recognises the urgent and vital need for intensive organisation of the workers around the day to day and other burning issues affecting them in the economic and social spheres. Working closely with the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the ANC will, in particular ensure the mobilisation of the vast army of Black workers who constitute a

most powerful and major revolutionary base.

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Among several resolutions adopted were:

## EXTERNAL SOLIDARITY WORK

This enlarged meeting of the National Executive Committee of the African

National Congress held in Zambia from August 27-31, 1971, having considered the Report of the Secretariat, covering the period from the Morogoro Conference of April, 1969, to the present, and having reviewed the work of the External Mission in organising international solidarity with the struggle of our people over the last decade,

**Acclaims** the successes registered by our movement in exposing the true nature of the oppressive South African Apartheid regime and for initiating actions aimed at its isolation internationally and, in particular:

**Hails** the principled stand taken by progressive international organisations, particularly the OAU, which overwhelmingly rejected any attempts to engage in a dialogue with racist South Africa at the expense of their oppressed South African brothers.

**The meeting**, however, notes:

- 1) that thanks to the active support of the Western Powers, acting contrary to U.N. resolutions and world opinion, the South African racist regime continues to maintain its political, economic, and military offensive;
- 2) that the present economic crisis facing South Africa and the Western Imperialist countries tends to increase the economic penetration of Western capital into South Africa, and South Africa on its part is embarking on an imperialist path aimed at political, economic and military domination of the African continent;
- 3) that as a result of a concerted campaign by the South African racists and their imperialist allies to win over

the newly independent African States, employing methods which include bribery and outright economic blackmail, a few countries on our continent, ignoring OAU resolutions, have resorted to experimenting with the policy of so-called dialogue with the South African regime.

We wish to draw the attention of the African Governments as well as that of the anti-imperialist forces that by the so-called policy of dialogue, the South African racist regime seeks to take a step calculated to:

- Isolate the South African Liberation Movement;
- Entrench White minority rule in Southern Africa;
- Disrupt African Unity;
- Subvert the African revolution;
- Open the door to the re-conquest of Africa.

**The meeting** therefore, whilst recognising that the work of the external mission is complementary to the struggle for liberation inside South Africa:

1. calls on the NEC to invite the attention of the OAU to the danger of dialogue as advocated by the South African regime.
2. Directs the NEC to intensify our work in countries such as France, Italy, United States, West Germany, Japan and others supporting South Africa with a view to building up strong solidarity movements aimed at thwarting the growing involvement of these governments on the side of the South African racist regime and against our people.
3. Recommends that the NEC re-orientate our international work away from mere moral condemnation of apart-

heid by the people of the world, and to direct it towards committed support for our armed struggle based on acceptance of the ANC as the sole representative of our struggling people and as the alternative government for South Africa.

4. Considers it advisable that a special committee be set up to prepare a strategy and guidelines for our external solidarity work in the current situation.

## YOUTH AND STUDENTS

1. This meeting notes with pleasure that the African students in particular and other Black students generally, have emerged as a powerful potential revolutionary force capable of playing a vital role in the South African revolution.

2. The establishment of the South African Students Organisation, whose main aims are to unite all Black students, to project the true image and dignity of the Black man, and to assert the right and ability of the Black man to lead where in the past he followed white leadership, is a welcome and necessary trend in the situation prevailing in our country.

3. This meeting therefore recommends:

a. That the NEC takes steps to keep all South African Students outside South Africa fully informed on the trends and political developments in our country.

b. That a regular News Bulletin addressed to the Youth in South Africa be issued by the Youth section inside South Africa.

4. This meeting instructs the NEC to strengthen the ANC Youth and Students Section so that it can effectively perform the following tasks, inter alia -

1. To play a more active role in organising and keeping in more dynamic contact with our Students and Youth all over the world;
2. To organise political lectures and seminars in all areas where we have a number of students and Youth concentrated and thereby orientate them towards more active participation in the South African revolution;
3. To plan educational programmes for selected ANC Students, with the object of meeting the short and long term needs of our struggle and our people;
4. To initiate preparations for the convening of a general conference of all our students and Youth abroad.

A pause in between sessions at the ANC Youth & Students Summer School held in the GDR recently.



# OUR REVOLUTION

by Paul Petersen



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**Paul Petersen who was discovered by Rhodesian Army Forces in Zimbabwe while on his way to South Africa, in August 1967, refused to surrender and fought single-handed until his ammunition ran out and he was killed. Among his papers was this article which formed one of a series of lectures he delivered to members of his UMKHONTO WE SIZWE Unit**

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The African National Congress and its allies have committed themselves to the revolutionary liberation of the people of South Africa. It is not today that they decided this. In an earlier discussion we mentioned the importance of preparing the people for revolution, of convincing them of the historic mission that they have to perform. The carrying out of these tasks were part and parcel of the revolution. The revolution does not start when the first bullet is fired. In any case, many bullets have already been fired in the course of the struggle. But the fact that this period is relatively peaceful does not mean that it was not, or is not part of the revolution. It is true that in the past people did not inevitably face death when they carried out this work. But does that mean that they would not willingly have faced death? Let us think of those who have already given their lives, Mini, Looksmart, Khayinga, Mkaba, Babla and many other brave and heroic men. These were men who had taken their decision long ago. They had already,

in their modest way, inscribed their names in the pages of our history. And when the supreme sacrifice had to be made, they were not found wanting. They did not withdraw when the struggle entered this stage. To them it was the logical development of their years of hard work. They did not waver in the face of the new conditions because for them this was not an unexpected development. They expected this.

But salted as the leadership of the ANC is in the art of leadership, experienced as they are in taking grave decisions, they are now faced with the supreme task. All the years of struggle are about to culminate in the supreme event. If ever the leadership had to act with the deepest sense of responsibility, the time is now. A certain course of action, once started, cannot merely be withdrawn. If the decision was wrong the damage might be disastrous. A serious leadership does not make experiments with nations as a guinea pig. A decision must be taken after serious considerations and must be taken after much debate.

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## If We Must Die

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It is not only our lives that we must consider. We are not here concerned about the question whether we are scared to die or not. To people like ourselves that question should not even arise. The point is that the revolution does not

end with our death. The revolution goes on, life will go on. But if we must die, let it not be as the result of an act of reckless impatience. Because such an act will mean not only our death but it will cause harm to the revolution. If we act recklessly and in so doing we cause a tragedy in South Africa, will our crime be made smaller by the fact that we too had died? If a drunken driver causes an accident in which he and many other people die, will his crime be any smaller because he too is dead? Revolutionary people do not think like that. A revolutionary is a revolutionary because he loves life. But his love of life is not the selfish love of life. That is why the police can never understand the mentality of the revolutionary. They try to bribe him to betray his comrades. They try to make him buy his own life with the life of his comrades. But what did Mini do?

A revolutionary dedicates himself to the cause of a better life. In order to achieve this he will sacrifice his own life. A revolutionary loves life and he knows that life does not end when he himself has died. He knows that life, the life that he loved, will go on in the smiles, laughter of happy children. He knows that life will go on in the smiles of beautiful girls for their youthful lovers. He knows that life will go on in the hearts of a nation that will remember him. This is the life for which he gladly gives his own.

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## Leadership

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Let us now turn to the question of leadership. Many times we hear comrades saying that we are all future leaders. In many cases this will be so and we should therefore look at the whole question.

There was once a very strong tendency amongst some thinkers to scorn the whole idea of leadership. These people, anarchists and so on, felt that a leadership was not really necessary in revolution. Now, they did not have these ideas because they disliked leaders. They based their ideas on their mistaken and mechanistic understanding of history. These people thought that social progress takes place spontaneously, automatically. They felt that history is governed by such rigid laws that it had just to be left to develop spontaneously. If this was so, they argued, there was clearly no need for any organised leadership. In fact, the leadership, by interfering with normal development could even be an hindrance.

Today this idea is rejected entirely. It is accepted that revolution cannot be expected to take place automatically. It is accepted that revolution must be a planned act, that it must be directed, and for this leadership is vitally necessary. Furthermore, a revolution is such a complex affair, it has so many aspects that it requires a central body to co-ordinate all these various aspects of the revolution. Every aspect of the revolution is related to another. The central body, the leadership, has the task of uniting all the various aspects of the revolution into one mighty flood.

Now for such a central leadership to perform its tasks efficiently it must obviously have the absolute confidence of the organisation. The leadership alone is informed about the various aspects of the revolution. Therefore, for

example if it instructs the intelligence department to perform a certain task, the intelligence department may not always see the significance of that task, it may not see how this task fits in with the general trend of the revolution. The intelligence department may even think that the job is a waste of time. But the intelligence department is concerned with only one aspect of the revolution. It is not informed about the activities of the other departments. But the leadership is informed. The leadership combines the tasks of all the various departments. It is in a position to see the significance of the actions of each department. But the leadership cannot explain each action to the whole organisation. This would be breaking one of the basic laws of revolutionary conduct.

In other words once we have appointed a leadership, we must put our undivided trust and confidence in that leadership. The leadership consists of men and women who have shown that they deserve that trust. The ability and dedication that they have already displayed makes us to put our faith in them. And when they are appointed they are entrusted with the job of guiding the revolution. They are entrusted with the task of taking decisions. And we are also giving them the assurance that we shall not question these decisions. As long as the leadership remains in the leadership they have the right to expect our fullest trust.

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## Political Experience

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But the question of leadership does not end there. When a leadership is appointed that leadership assumes certain responsibilities. First of all the leadership should have a clear understanding of the goal of the revolution. The leadership must know what methods are best suited to achieving that goal. These are not easy tasks. The persons who are to perform these tasks must be capable people. And the first thing is that they should be politically experienced. But what exactly do we understand by the term "politically experienced"? The leadership must have had long contact with the people. It must know the desires and the mood of the people. The leadership must know the power of the state, its economic, military and political strength. The leadership must be aware of the strength of its own forces, of the determination of the people to sacrifice for the revolution. The ability of the people to take state power and to run and improve the economy. The leadership must be experienced enough to see further than the taking of state power. It must be clear in its mind how this new state is going to be defended. It must have no illusions about the conditions that may arise in the country after power is in the hands of the people. We will all agree that these are tremendous tasks. But even this is not all. The leadership must be able to see the revolution in the context of international politics. It must be mature enough to see that the revolution is not an isolated event but that it is a step in the universal march of humanity into a better life. The leadership must be experienced enough to see that insofar as the revolution forms part of the worldwide revolution it will be opposed by worldwide reaction. The leadership must be aware of this. It must be able to deal with this development. The leadership must be able to deal with the day to day business of conducting and directing



each phase of the revolution. It must look after each tiny step that is taken. The leadership must be experienced enough not to be demoralised when the revolution suffers certain setbacks. It must be experienced and realistic enough to anticipate such setbacks. It must be prepared for such setbacks.

The leadership has a host of other tasks, each, however small, contributing to the development of the revolution. These tasks are too many for any one person to perform. That is why we speak of a leadership and not of leaders. Because there must be division of labour, there must be a group of persons to perform these tasks. Each person must be a master at his own particular job and collectively the leadership must be capable of performing all these many and difficult tasks.

These then are some of the things that we must take into consideration when we think about the task of leadership.

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## Learn From The Masses

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In our case we are fortunate in having a group of men who have proved over many difficult years their ability to perform these tasks. The only thing the leadership has undertaken is to guide the revolution along the road to success. It has undertaken to see to it that the revolution does not end in chaos. It has undertaken to perform the difficult task of directing the forces of progress.

This is something that is sometimes forgotten, the leadership does not only play a passive role. It plays a very positive role of guiding and directing. It must be in constant touch with the masses but it must not lag behind the masses. It must learn from the masses, but it must not adopt mistaken views of the masses. The leadership must lead. It must correct the people where they are wrong. It must convince the people of the correctness of its policies. This job is also complicated by the conditions of illegal work. It is difficult to establish and to maintain contact. Contact is sometimes broken and is difficult to re-establish.

These then are some of the things that we must have in mind when we look at a revolutionary leadership. The question to ask is, whether the leadership is performing these tasks. There is no other criterion. Nobody has promised anybody that the life of a revolutionary is going to be an easy one. The leadership has undertaken to guide the revolution to a successful completion. In the course of doing this many unpleasant decisions have to be taken. The people have put their trust in the leadership to have the courage to take these decisions. Above all the leadership must be responsible and mature people. They should never give in to the temptations of impatience, they must be courageous enough to keep the higher interests of the revolution always in mind. They must not be so weak as to be pressurised into acts of recklessness and bravado. They must not become the victims of a desire to be popular when that popularity must be bought with acts of irresponsibility.

In all these things the leadership must be sure of the trust of their followers. They depend on their followers for inspi-

ration and help in the difficult moments of stress. They depend on the people for constructive criticisms. But they can only be handicapped by backbiting and sniping.

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## Great Task

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Comrades we are faced with a great task. We live in a period when all mankind is emerging from centuries of strife and conflict. We live in a time when the prospect of peace and happiness has come within the reach of all. But before the dawn of a new life comes fully over the horizon there is still one battle to be fought. Before mothers may love their children and guide them into a world of peace and plenty they will first see them being torn away from their homes. There is a bit of the idealist in all of us. Who can resist the temptation to take a peep behind the curtain that divides the present from the bright future? And having seen what tomorrow has in store for us it is hard to be patient, it is hard to wait when the joy of freedom is so near. No one can be blamed for wanting to tear aside that curtain and to step over the threshold into a new life. But we must be careful. Let us not allow tomorrow to be put once more beyond our grasp. It has taken much toil. But the last step will be the hardest of all. It has taken much care and preparation to bring us so invitingly close to victory. It will take more care and hard work to make the promise a reality. It would be a betrayal of all those who have struggled valiantly if we should now, in one tragic act of recklessness destroy everything.

**The struggle goes on.** Nothing can stop it. Nothing can prevent it. There are many soldiers of freedom. Nothing can stop them from being born. Each of us has his task in the great fight. Let us not despair. Despair is an enemy of the revolutionary. Let us truly believe that victory will come. Let us be eager but let us also take care that eagerness does not endanger the revolution. Above all let us take this business of revolution seriously. Let us take politics seriously because revolution is a political act. It is true that we may not like politics. But then very few people like politics. Many of us here would have preferred to be working in a factory or doing some such useful thing.

Many of us would have preferred to continue our studies. Many of us would have preferred the arms of a sweetheart. All of us have mothers and fathers and brothers and sisters. Many of us have little ones. But such is the cruelty of revolution. These are the things that we have vowed should never again have to happen to the youth of our country. Let us not fail them comrades. Let us not act so that the generations of the future may blame their misery on our impatience. Comrades, mankind is about to step out of darkness into the brightness of a new day. For centuries there has been darkness. Now there will be light. We, each one of us will play his part. We are participants in the greatest events in the life of mankind. As one of the greatest martyrs of freedom begged his people from the gallows, we must remind ourselves, "comrades be vigilant"

**LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS!**

**LONG LIVE PEACE AND PROGRESS!**

**LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA!**

# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

## 1. SEGREGATION AND FORCED REMOVALS

According to the South African Government the Africans who constitute 70 per cent of the population have rights only in the scattered reserves ("Homelands") which are now less than 12 per cent of the area of the country and will eventually be expanded to cover thirteen per cent. It claims that the rest of the country is a "white area".

The Government also claims that the Africans constitute eight or nine "nations" and that the reserves are their "homelands". These "homelands" constitute scattered pieces of land, as follows:

Ethnic Group	Population (1960 census)	Number of separate pieces of land in the reserve
Xhosa	3,045,000	19
Zulu	2,867,000	29
Swazi	334,000	3
North Sotho	971,000	3
South Sotho	1,283,000	1
Tswana	1,149,000	19
Tsonga (Shangaan)	511,000	4
Venda	246,000	3

More than forty per cent of the economically active men in the reserves are absent at any given time, working in the mines, factories, farms and ho-

mes in the white areas. The number of jobs created in the past ten years for Africans in industry in the "homelands" is only about 2,000.

Segregation is enforced in Umtata, the capital of Transkei, the first "Bantustan". The centre of the town is still scheduled for white occupation and public facilities remain firmly segregated. It is unwise to attempt to entertain Blacks, however distinguished, in the white hotels... Other public facilities like post offices are also still segregated. Port St. John, the only port in Transkei, is still reserved for white occupation.

The Group Areas Act, provides for designation of areas for occupation by racial groups or sub-groups, and the forced removal of members of other racial groups to their "own" areas. The Minister of Community Development gave the following statistics for families ordered removed in terms



of proclamation under the Group Areas Act:

Whites	1,578 families
Coloured persons	70,889 families
Indian	38,180 families
Chinese	933 families

## 2. EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES

In 1967, there were 158,000 white skilled artisans in South Africa, against 21,800 non-Whites.

There was not one registered African apprentice in the whole of South Africa in 1967 and 1968.

Because of labour shortage in recent years, many non-Whites have been

Children of Caroline & Elias Motsoaledi being cared for by their grandmother. Elias is serving life imprisonment on Robben Island

A typical South African scene. An elderly African is stopped by the police to control his "Pass"

Living conditions in District Six - Cape Town



employed in formerly white occupations, but at much lower wages.

In the railway workshops, for instance, the job of casting dressers (who clean up rough castings) was previously a "semi-skilled" job and white workers were paid 80 cents an hour. It has now been reclassified as an "unskilled" job and Africans are employed at about 25 cents an hour.

The average monthly earnings of whites in the manufacturing industry increased from 163 rand in 1962 to 238 rand in 1967, or by about 8.6 per cent a year. The earnings of non-Whites increased from 37 rand to 49 rand or by 5.8 per cent a year. Earnings of whites averaged 440 per cent of earnings of non-Whites in 1962 and 485 per cent in 1967.

The average white income per head is

# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID



about 95 rand per month. The average African income is about 7 rand per month.

The actual average annual cash earnings of white and African miners in 1968 were 3,768 rand and 189 rand respectively.

Dr. Francis Wilson, economics lecturer at the University of Cape Town, estimated that in real terms the cash earnings of African miners in 1966 were possibly lower than they had been in 1911.

In August 1969, the salaries of non-White medical staff in the Cape Provincial Hospital service were raised by 20 to 37 per cent following protests against racial discrimination. The new salary scales, fixed by law, remain discriminatory, however. Salary scales announced in Parliament on 8 February 1971:

Anderson Ganyile – the Pondo leader who was kidnapped by SA police from Lesotho and later returned after world-wide protest action

Malnutrition has reached alarming heights in South Africa



Starting salaries (in rands):

Intern		
Whites	Coloured people	Africans
4,050	2,880	2,520

Medical Officer		
Whites	Coloured people	Africans
8,100	6,000	5,400

Senior medical officer and specialist		
Whites	Coloured people	Africans
9,300	6,600	6,000

Medical superintendent and senior specialist		
Whites	Coloured people	Africans
10,800	7,500	6,900

(1 rand = \$1.40)

Average monthly earnings, 1968-69.

**Mining**  
Whites 297, Coloured people 62, Asians 76, Africans 18.

**Building**  
Whites 282, Coloured people 98, Asians 135, Africans 45.

**Wholesale Trade**  
Whites 245, Coloured people 171, Asians 94, Africans 48.

**Retail Trade**  
Whites 130, Coloured people 51, Asians 82, Africans 38.

**Banking institutions**  
Whites 205, Coloured people 56, Asians 72, Africans 53.

**Building Societies**  
Whites 229, Coloured people 77, Asians 107, Africans 49.

**Public service**  
Whites 211, Coloured people 100, Asians 127, Africans 36.

**Provincial administrations**  
Whites 198, Coloured people 49, Asians 67, Africans 32.

**Local authorities**  
Whites 230, Coloured people 71, Asians 50, Africans 38.



Africans are forced to live under these conditions



Cato Manor - a shanty town for Africans in Durban

### 3. TAXATION

Africans, the poorest section of the population, are taxed more heavily than whites.

All African men over 18 years have to pay a fixed annual tax of 2.50 rand, plus a local tax of 1 rand for every dwelling hut or unit. They are also liable to tribal levies. Whites do not pay these taxes and levies.

All Africans are liable to income-tax

if they earn more than 360 rand. (Whites do not pay income-tax on earnings less than 750 rand if single or 1,000 rand if married). Africans get no tax relief for dependents.

All taxes are deducted from salaries under the P.A.Y.E. (Pay as you earn) system. Whites obtain refunds if the deductions are higher than the tax. Africans are entitled to no refunds unless "the Secretary for Bantu Administration" is satisfied that the circumstances of any particular case would warrant a refund.

The maintenance grants paid by the

# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID



Government to mothers (in cases where the fathers are unable to support them) vary by race, as follows: Whites 43 rand, Coloured people 6 to 19.25 rand, Africans 2 to 6.25 rand.

## 4. HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES

In 1967, 69,261 tuberculosis cases were notified in South Africa, as follows: Whites 1,244, Coloured people, 8,116, Asians 1,140, Africans 58,751. Kwashiorkor, a disease caused by malnutrition, affects mainly the Africans and Coloured people. The incidence

← Limehill - a "Resettlement Camp". People are just dumped into the bare void without any amenities being provided

reported cases in 1967 was as follows: Whites 7, Coloured people 1,046, Asians 12, Africans 9,675. Total 10,830.

In South Africa, a Coloured child dies of malnutrition every thirty-five minutes, and two African children die during that time. Fifteen thousand Coloured children die of malnutrition a year and nearly a million African children go to bed hungry.

The White population of South Africa produced one doctor to every 455 people. South Africa's white population has the largest proportion of doctors to population in the Western world.

There are only between 100 and 150 African doctors in the Republic of South Africa. In Soweto, the African location of Johannesburg with a population of over half a million, there are only seven resident doctors.

The number of persons who received medical degrees - M. D., Ch., B. - at the end of 1968 (or early in 1969) -



Winnie Mandela and Mrs. Naidoo - mother of Indira and Shanti, at the trial of Nelson Mandela

← These are the conditions under which African are forced to travel to and from work

was as follows: -

Whites 332, Coloured people 19, Asians 32, Africans 10.

The number of medical students in mid-1969 was as follows:

Whites 3,283, Coloured people 136, Asians 323, Africans 149.

Non-White medical students may only

examine non-white patients, though white students can see both white and non-white. Apartheid lingers on after death; white cadavers may not be dissected by non-white students, who cannot study pathology freely either. They may not attend an autopsy on a white body.

# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID



Government to mothers (in cases where the fathers are unable to support them) vary by race, as follows: Whites 43 rand, Coloured people 6 to 19.25 rand, Africans 2 to 6.25 rand.

## 4. HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES

In 1967, 69,261 tuberculosis cases were notified in South Africa, as follows: Whites 1,244, Coloured people, 8,116, Asians 1,140, Africans 58,751. Kwashiorkor, a disease caused by malnutrition, affects mainly the Africans and Coloured people. The incidence

← Limehill - a "Resettlement Camp". People are just dumped into the bare veld without any amenities being provided

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# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

## 5. EDUCATION

School attendance is compulsory for white children. It is compulsory for Coloured children in only a few areas. There is no compulsory education for African and Indian children. The African high school pupils, unlike white pupils, must pay for their education. While the Central Government and the provincial administrations spend almost 238 million rand on white education, they spend only 14.5 million rand on African education. The per capita expenditure on education is as follows:

**White children** 114.1. rand

**Coloured and Indian Children** 74.5 rand

**African children** 13.5 rand

In 1969, only 3,911 African students were enrolled in universities (including 2,144 enrolled for correspondence courses), as against 68,549 white students.

Nearly 2,000 applicants had to be turned away from seven high schools in Soweto, the African location of Johannesburg, when the school term began on January 27, 1970, because of lack of facilities. Several of the children had gained first-class passes in Standard VI examinations.

**Working conditions on SA farms are really feudal**



## 6. PRISONS

South Africa has one of the largest average daily prison populations in the western world – more than double in absolute figures, than that of Great Britain with a population of 55 million against our estimated 19 million. South Africa has the highest rate of executions in the world and the number of executions is increasing. The average number of executions was 25 between 1911 and 1947, 66 between 1948 and 1966. One hundred and eighteen people were executed in 1968.

The average daily prison population in South Africa increased from less than 50,000 in 1958–59 to more than 88,000 in 1968–69.

The number of persons prosecuted for pass offenses in 1967–68 was 698,661 or an average of 1,900 per day.

At the end of 1969, a total of 809 persons were serving sentences of imprisonment in South Africa under the four main security laws, as follows:

**Sabotage Act:**

Whites 7, African 332,

Coloured people 10, Asians 14.

**Suppression of Communism Act:**

Whites 7, African 51,

Coloured people 1, Asians 1.

**Unlawful Organisations Act:**

Whites 0, African 337,

Coloured people 0, Asians 0.

**Terrorism Act:**

Whites 0, African 49,

Coloured people 0, Asians 0.

In addition, a number of persons, impossible to estimate, were detained without trial, hundreds are banned and banished.

## 7. MILITARY AND POLICE

South Africa now possesses military equipment worth more than 2,000 million rand.

The South African budget estimates for defence increased from 40 million rand in 1959–60 to 271,600 rand in 1960–70. When fully mobilized, South Africa's armed forces (including men who have completed Citizens Force training) would total 85,500. In addition, there are about 58,000 commandos or part-time militia.

The authorized strength of the South African Police Force has increased from 20,588 at the end of 1948 to 34,437 at the end of 1969. The number of generals in the Police Force increa-

**Apartheid signs such as these are common on all buildings in white areas**



sed during that period from two to forty-five. A non-White police officer cannot arrest a white person except "in most serious cases, where the police come across a murder for example and there is no white police officer in the immediate vicinity".



# CALL FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION:

## A GENUINE DIALOGUE

Recently, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, head of the Zulu Territorial Authority, issued a call for a National Convention of all races in South Africa. This idea is being supported by the United Party, the Progressive Party, the Trade Union Council of South Africa, and other organisations. However, even this very tentative move has been firmly rejected by the ruling, fascist, all-white Nationalist Government.

A National Convention has always been necessary in South Africa, where a white minority group illegally monopolises power to defend and advance its interests of oppression and exploitation.

During its long history of relentless struggle, the African National Congress – the vanguard organisation of the national liberation movement in our country – has continually demanded the convocation of a genuine National Convention, representative of all people, to discuss and draw up a truly democratic constitution in which political and economic power would be controlled by and vested in the overwhelming majority, the African people. There could be no other meaningful, realistic convention or political dialogue.

Yet the fascist Nationalist Government rejected a National Convention on any basis. It would rather use all tricks to woo the Bandas, the Boignys and company into the trap of dialogue which is good for the White racists because it serves to entrench White domination and exploitation and to extend this domination and ex-

ploitation to the whole of the African continent.

In 1961, when, for the last time, the oppressed people, led by the African National Congress made a call for a National Convention in place of a Whites-only Republic, the fascist regime replied with the most unprecedented mobilisation of the oppressor army in an attempt to crush the national stoppage of work which we called in reply to the enemy's refusal to summon a National Convention.

### Police Brutality

Our call was answered with the most ruthless forms of legalised, police and military terrorism. Political organisations were banned; the leaders of the people were arrested, tortured and restricted. The white minority regime declared open war against an unarmed people. This marked the close of a chapter in the history of our struggle for freedom and justice. The peaceful avenues of struggle were closed, and severe penalties, up to the death sentence, were imposed. In these circumstances, the African National Congress was compelled to lead the oppressed people in a violent offensive against a violent repression. Armed repression could only be met by armed revolt.

The persistence of the ruling Nationalist Government, with and on behalf of the whole White South Africa, in enforcing the apartheid system with militarism, forced upon us the present

phase of our struggle, armed struggle. Yet, White organisations and individuals that have supported and continue to support the perpetuation of White rule – the United Party, the Progressive Party and the Trade Union Council of South Africa – now want a National Convention. Why? These White, anti-Black groups see with their greatest fear that the liberation of the Black man is approaching. They see the actions of the Black people in our country, that their hatred of the White oppressor and their determination to seize political power, relying on their own strength, have increased double-fold, despite and because of the iron heel of mass arrests, torture, indefinite detention and murder of patriots. They see that the African National Congress the leader of the oppressed and exploited people, are not shaken in their resolve to prosecute the armed struggle up to victory. They see that the progressive people of the world are more than ever determined to isolate apartheid South Africa, politically, economically, culturally, in all spheres of life, and are prepared to grab at anything to save themselves from total isolation.

They realise that the South African economy itself is threatened with collapse as a result of the apartheid policy of the super-exploitation of the Black workers.

They recognise all this and they realise that they have to devise new methods of continuing the system of White rule and Black exploitation or for deceiving the international community.

They are not friends of the Black people, interested in transferring political power to the Black oppressed majority. They are wolves who have cloaked themselves in the skin of the National Convention to deceive the innocent people and divert them from prosecuting the struggle by arms or other means, for the eventual seizure of political power.

The African National Congress says these organisations that they cannot stem the tide of history; they should concentrate their efforts on the White minority regime and the White population.

### Genuine Convention

The African National Congress declares that the only genuine National Convention that can be held in South Africa would:

- \* be vested with sovereign and unlimited authority to change South African society in all its aspects;
- \* be attended by representatives

all the national groups in proportions that reflect the composition of the South African population.

Moreover, for such a Convention to be genuinely sovereign and democratic, the African National Congress declares that the following preconditions would have to be met:

\* The suspension of the South African racist constitution;

\* The lifting of the ban on the vanguard organisation, the ANC, and all other popular organisations;

\* The release of all political prisoners and banned, banished and restricted patriots and the full participation of the people's leaders like Nelson Mandela and others, in the preparations for and actual work of the convention;

\* Immediate and unconditional return of all political leaders abroad;

\* Immediate, complete and unconditional compliance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

\* The immediate and unequivocal repeal of the Land Act;

\* The immediate repeal of all repressive legislation such as the Native Urban Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act, Proclamation 400 in the Transkei, and all other such legislation;

\* The disarming of the police and army and disbanding the existing machinery of police and military terrorism.

The African people, other racial groups and the world must compel Vorster and his racist clique to agree to such a National Convention. The racist minority still believes that it is invincible and can command and herd history according to its will. It is only from a position of strength, when the Black people's war of liberation seriously threatens the White minority regime will the Nationalist Government be obliged and ready to talk.

The main direction towards change, the content of the political struggle of the indigenous and oppressed masses in our country is through the armed struggle which the ANC has already launched and will continue to prosecute with increasing vigour.

To the Black, oppressed peoples of South Africa, the African National Congress says it is our bounden duty to build up the greatest unity among ourselves, to support the armed struggle and to use every method of resistance and revolt to seize political power from the White minority, fascist regime.

**LONG LIVE THE BLACK REVOLUTION!  
AMANDLA!! MAATLA!!**

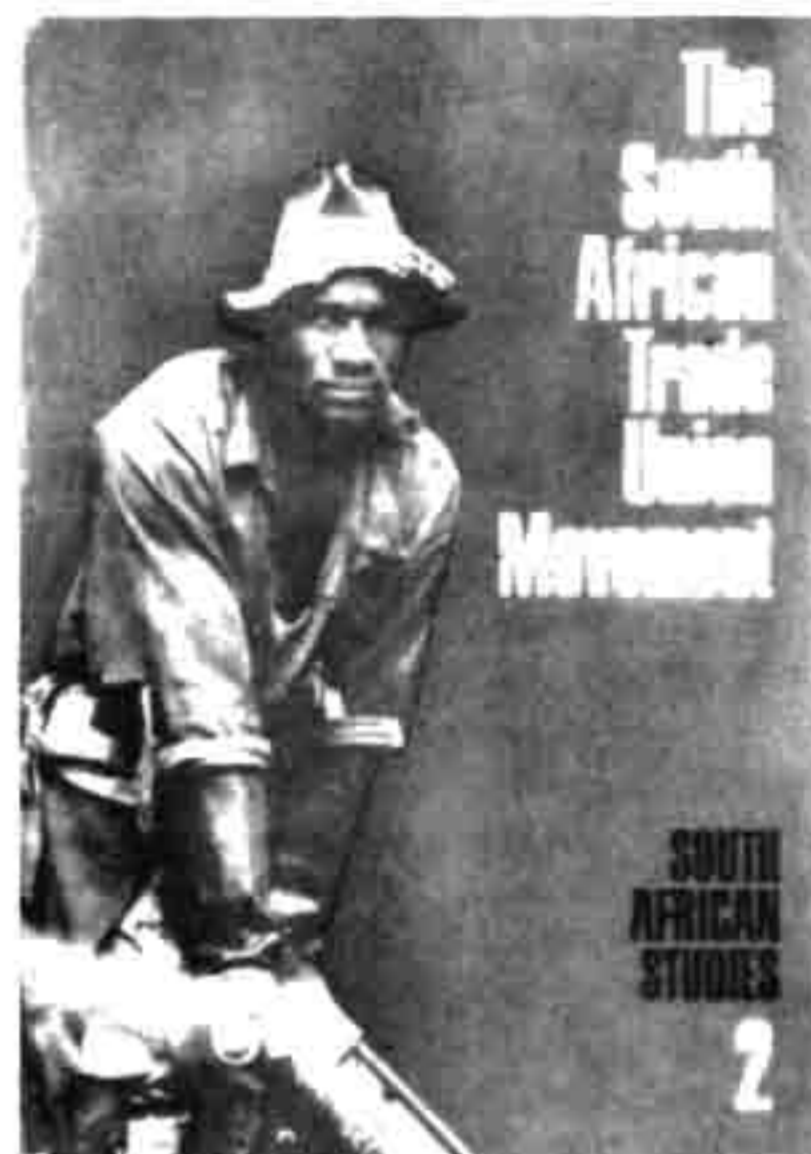
# BOOK REVIEWS

## The South African Trade Union Movement: South African Studies No. 2

Apartheid is based on the idea of the racial superiority of a chosen people. Its founders made no bones about this. They bluntly declared that its intention is to keep our beloved homeland a whiteman's paradise for all time to come. Today the hundreds of racial and suppressive laws for the maintaining of apartheid testify that its founders and their heirs are ruthlessly carrying out its principles in practice. Yet in spite of this there are so-called anti-apartheiders who are raising the cry apartheid is not so bad, Vorster is reasonable you can talk with him, bridges must be built and all the other claptrap with which they peddle to clothe the racist wolves in sheep's wool.

Among those who are trying to sell apartheid abroad and to sugar-coat its imperialist ambitions in Africa is the white controlled Trade Union Council of South Africa, TUCSA. TUCSA, which is an affiliate of the ICFTU, openly urges support for South Africa's gigantic deception - its new 'outward-looking policy'. These ladies and gentlemen of labour justify their stand by contending that there have been improvements in South Africa's industrial and welfare legislation.

The latest ANC booklet **The Trade Union Movement in South Africa** expertly tears off the filthy rags with which the Pretoria racists and the TUCSA leadership are trying to conceal the ever gangrenous sores of apartheid. Through well-documented evidence the reader sees how the last cent of surplus value is being squeezed out of the non-White, and particularly the African worker, to enrich white South Africa. Through a clear tabulation of earnings, in various occupations for African, Asian, Coloured and White workers the brutal exploitation and grinding poverty of South Africa's non-White peoples are laid bare. The official racism, the lack of opportunities, the over-crowded jails, lack of trade union and political



rights, the break-up of family life and all the other horrors of the brutal apartheid police state are crammed into the booklet's 63 pages.

Proof is given of how the white workers batten on the labour of their fellow non-white workers and how they continually press for more and more apartheid. The logic, backed up by documented evidence, shows to what extent TUCSA shoulders the guilt.

Another valuable service rendered by the booklet is that it tells the workers of Western Europe why they should not allow themselves to be recruited for work in South Africa. That by being recruited they are helping to bolster up the apartheid state and are also permitting themselves to be used as scabs.

This ANC publication is a **must** for active European trade unionists because it provides them with ammunition to hinder and stop the recruiting of West European workers for South Africa. It is a **must** for active African trade unionists because it provides the evidence showing the betrayal of

TUCSA. At international conferences TUCSA officials go out of their way to be friendly to the African workers' representatives to convince them that TUCSA and its leadership are opposed to racial discrimination. The proof shows otherwise. The booklet has four parts: **The Struggle for Trade Union Rights** by John Gaetsewe, European representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU); **Starvation in the Midst of Plenty** a Memorandum to the ILO by SACTU; **Stop Immigration to South Africa**, an appeal by SACTU; and **South Africa's Women Workers**.

I would be doing the publication a disservice if I neglected to mention some of its failings. John Gaetsewe repeats some of the facts contained in the SACTU memorandum to the ILO. The repetitions could have been eliminated in favour of other necessary information. For instance in speaking about the **Regional Native Committees**, John Gaetsewe writes (page 7) **They are considered an insult by the Africans and are practically useless**. But he offers no evidence to prove his contention. The non-South African and the new generation South African may not be aware of the ample proof, so it should be given. It is mentioned that TUCSA and SACTU were formed in 1954 and 1955 respectively. But it is not said what preceded this. Those not familiar with the background will ask: **why was SACTU only formed in 1955?** TUCSA and SACTU did not come like a bolt from the blue. A development led to this, namely the scuttling of the non-racial S.A. Trades and Labour Council by the racists and defeatists in order to oust the African trade unions affiliated to it. Another omission is SACTU's international and inter-continental outlook, its affiliation to the All African Trade Union Federation, its close ties with the World Federation of Trade Unions and trade union organisations of many countries. SACTU is most certainly not alone nor conducting its struggle in isolation.

The part on **South Africa's Women Workers** is scanty and does not add to the value of the booklet. Perhaps this could be the subject of another study giving greater detail and more information.

It is indeed a great pity that the excellent memorandum to the ILO is not supplemented by the SACTU memoranda submitted to the United Nations' Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts at the London and Geneva sittings in 1967. Such an addition

would have given the ANC publication just that little something extra. Nevertheless, **The South African Trade Union Movement** is a great asset to

those fighting for an end to racial rule in South Africa and my bookshelf is all the richer for it.

Arnold Selby

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## A STUDY OF REVOLUTION

Peter Calvert

Clarendon Press 1970  
£3 249 pages

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In the preface to this pretentious book Peter Calvert says "If this falls into the hands of any who aspire to make a revolution, when they have read it I hope they will stop and consider. There are much better things in life to do, so many more." Since we look to revolution as a way out of South Africa's malignancy, we read this book with its attractive title with special interest. But we only came to conclude that Peter Calvert ought to devote himself to other things than writing books about a subject he finds so distasteful. Calvert sets out to understand "the survival of patterns of violence in human relations" and this quest leads him to attempt "to establish a unified conceptual base for the study of revolution by political scientists". Since his point of departure is governed by a moralising pedantry it is not surprising that the book is a mish-mash of pseudo-scientific analysis leading nowhere.

Calvert places under a single generic heading disparate events like the Cuban revolution and some of the minor palace coups in South America. Perhaps it is only to boost his statistical analysis that he compares no less than 364 "revolutionary events" in the past sixty years. The contribution to our understanding of the dynamics of revolution of this exercise is negligible. Furthermore, if Calvert's main concern is with the spread of violence in the world then he must start with the conditions that generate violence not the revolutionary action it sets into motion. Calvert's approach is revealed in the following:

"With current developments in psychology and the computing sciences, it could be that the future will hold governments who have at their disposal new techniques for detecting the sort of character formation which could predispose an individual to revolutionary activity, and match it in anticipation to a range of possible,

political economic, and social conditions related to the positions those individuals actually occupy. For the moment, however, it is clear that they find it difficult enough to keep an adequate check on those likely to sell the secrets of state to foreign powers."

What is particularly surprising in this ambitious project is the peculiar poverty of its politics. For instance, under the heading **Civilian Associational Groups**, Calvert says, "The three principal forms of associational groups having a revolutionary role are those of the press, organised urban workers and students." So now we have a theory of revolution in which the press is the first force. But what of the workers and students? Calvert says, "Otherwise it can be said categorically that in the majority of cases the role of 'workers' has not contributed materially to the effectiveness of the individual as revolutionary material." I cannot resist two more quotations that speak for themselves: "It is a fundamental proposition of this study that political revolution is not necessarily associated with social change, or vice versa."

Consequently, an alternative explanation is offered: "The collection and maintenance of any crowd depends on suitable climatic conditions. The optimum conditions involve dry weather with a shade temperature between 90 degrees F and 95 degrees F and humidity ranging above 50% ... greater temperatures discourage activity."

Perhaps we have given too much space to this 'political science' - but we cannot allow people who are so fundamentally unsympathetic to the cause of social change to pass off their 'objective analysis' without comment. O.U.P. would also do well to give a little more thought to their publications.

Ben Turok

# Poems of Travail



(With acknowledgement to the  
Oxford Strumpet, February 12 th 1971.)

We publish in this issue a selection of poems by Arthur Nortje, the 27-year-old South African Coloured poet who died in Oxford in December 1970.

Born in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, he took a degree in the first class at the Coloured College of the Western Cape (Bellville), and won a scholarship to Jesus College, Oxford. After completing his degree at Oxford, he went to Canada to teach, returning to Jesus to read for the B. Phil last year. He won his first poetry prize while still a schoolboy and was later awarded the Mbari Prize for poetry in Africa. His work was published in various magazines and journals, including **Black Orpheus**, while some of his poems appear in the **Penguin South African Writing Today**.

Nortje's work reflects the insights of a sensitive man born and grown to awareness in the penumbra of the South African race situation. He was deeply concerned with the tragedy of apartheid and the agony of exile which is the lot of so many writers from South Africa, but his poetry is given depth by a sense of the wider world.

## *At Lansdowne Bridge*

Cape Town 5/64

After the whoosh of doors slid shut  
at Lansdowne Bridge I swim in echoes.  
Who fouled the wall o people?  
FREE THE DETAINEES someone wrote there.

Black letters large as life stare you  
hard by day in the black face;  
above the kikuye grass to the sandflats  
goes the boorish clang-clang of railways.

Darkness neutralizes the request  
till dawn falls golden and sweet,  
though a sudden truck by night  
cornering, holds it in spidery light.

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## *Preventive Detention*

Cape Town 7/63

Pale teaboy juggling cups and saucers  
once taught Othello to our class,  
and a spindly scholar's imprisoned because  
winter is in the brilliant grass.

Liberal girl among magnolias born  
was set to clipping dahlias  
in the prison yard, her blond locks shorn.  
Winter is in the shining grass.

Twine the tattered strands together,  
loves and passions that amass.  
What's discoloured in the blowing clouds  
winters in the luminous grass.

## Dogsbody Half-Breed

I

The magnet of exotica that draws  
sailors from their holds, blood from the sword,  
is that which elicits a gravid sigh  
(as witness Captain Cook or Sullen Bligh),  
is that which brought blond settlers like a hex  
into the heartland, oxdrawn, ammunitioned.  
Over the rocks, through drought, the laager treks  
by fire out of stone, by daycloud holy,  
unto a covenant against the Zulu.

Once this was Tormentoso, Cape of Storms,  
midway station for the scurvied crews,  
bordello for the sea-tossed Dutchman, cum  
point d'appui for the growers of wine  
beyond whose vineyards stretched the purlieus  
of Governor van der Stel in time  
before there was an overland  
expansion into farm and mine.  
Maternal muscle of my mixed-blood life  
with child were you heavy, with discontent rife.

II

Some are tanned by the sun and some  
sweat sataned in a slum concealment:  
white beach or pismire ghetto, through factotum  
eyes I am aware of, having spent  
at the annealing tunnel, the conveyor belt,  
the last ounce for the master of my salt.

Yet glittering with tears I see you pass  
in armoured cars, divided from yourself  
by golden fortune, natural largesse,  
forgetting quite in the siren or the bell  
pealing your sanctity wailing a daily violence,  
your bastardies, abortions, sins of silence,  
those marooned, dragooned, those massacred or  
shackled  
by your few chosen from the many called.

III

Bitter though the taste be it is life somehow.  
Despite the dark night of long ago, in spring now  
looking from Lion's Head or Devil's Peak,  
your delicate nooks and moments noble-gentle  
bud open both to blond and black,  
and I the hybrid, after Mendel,  
growing between the wine and the wall,  
being dogsbody, being me, buffer you still.

## Exposure

You carry news from distances to  
people in the home town who enquire.  
Macpherson with a forkful of spaghetti  
eyes you as an ornament whose coolness  
could suit his living-room. An old professor  
yearns to pinch your behind. Young businessmen  
taking tea with your father are distracted.  
They make bad bargains. At the ball  
you danced with style. Only I see  
your face is scarred with secrets  
from localities of flesh, the burns and wounds.

Unanswerable, my questions grieve the darkness,  
thought upon thought that crowds out sympathy.  
Up the unclimable side I have scaled  
that mountain standing in the wintry straits.  
They should have built a lighthouse on the ledge  
where I bivouacked a night or two.  
At the top there is nothing  
but a hole that leads back into the bowels.  
The first climber perished in that abyss:  
the pitons have been rusting in your thighs.

Your dawn hair is dishevelled after midnight.  
Make up your mind and cry;  
cry to the city, the hard walls, whoever wants  
the details of the cocktail party.  
They have opened your skull with cutlery  
from the coffee-table.  
With a toothpick your mother  
fishes in her bourgeois world, your sister  
hustles you into confessions.

They want your life. The unborn  
children need your life. My knowledge is  
a tale of disillusion merely,  
a parody of self in shattered mirrors.  
I notice gaps wherever we have spent  
time in the grass together:  
scalp and bleak knuckles.

London 7/67

"I must admit that I am overwhelmed at this honour bestowed on me personally and on our official organ **Sechaba**", said M.P. Naicker, Director of Publicity and Information of the African National Congress, at the Prize-giving ceremony held at the Headquarters of the IOJ in Prague, Czechoslovakia on 12 October.

He was replying to the remarks made by the General Secretary of the IOJ Jiri Kubka, who made the presenta-

you personally for your contributions to journalism both at home and abroad with the IOJ pin in gold, and to **Sechaba** the IOJ medal in gold. We hope that you will make even greater strides in your struggle for freedom and democracy."

In an interview after the presentation Naicker said, "This is the fourth award to the ANC in the course of the past two years. First Alex La Guma, author of a number of books on South

on to say, "Our path has not been an easy one, nor do we expect it to be. For as long as our country is not free for so long will we use our pen in order to achieve this objective. It is the least we can do to fortify our patriots on the battle field.

"From the outset we promised our readers and our people, that we are not going to be idle onlookers at the struggle and it is appropriate to restate some of the things we said in our inaugural number,

... It is significant that **Sechaba** comes into being at a time of crisis in South Africa, a crisis affecting all the people of their country and their future. History may well re-

# International Journalists Honour ANC

**Double Award to ANC from International Organisation of Journalists**

tion. In presenting the prizes to Naicker, comrade Kubka stated, "We are honoured to inform you that the sitting of our Presidium, to mark the 25th Anniversary of our organisation, decided to recognise the services rendered to peace, freedom and democracy by your journal **Sechaba**. We are mindful of the role that this journal is playing not only towards your own struggle, but also to the liberation movements in Southern Africa. Therefore, it has been decided to decorate

African life was awarded the Lotus Prize (an award of the Afro-Asian Journalists - ES). This prize was delivered by Mrs. Indira Gandhi at a ceremony in New Delhi. Then there was the IOJ prize awarded to Govan Mbeki, ANC leader, author and at present serving life imprisonment on Robben Island, at the 7th Congress of the IOJ held in Havana in January this year."

Reviewing the work of **Sechaba** over the past five years M.P. Naicker went



Jiri Kubka - General Secretary of IOJ

cord that **Sechaba** was born on the eve of a violent clash between the forces of freedom on the one side and those of racism and fascism on the other.' (These were not idle words, because 7 months later on 13 August 1967, the first clash between the ZAPU/ANC forces and the combined forces of Smith and Vorsters took place in Zimbabwe - ES).

'**Sechaba** is to be the forum for the expression of the views and aspirations of all freedom-loving South African patriots, and in particular it shall be the mouthpiece of the oppressed, voiceless, landless and rightless African people of South Africa: the mouthpiece of the African National Congress.'

... **Sechaba** is not an ordinary journal or newspaper giving information on or writing about South Africa, nor is it a commercial enterprise cashing in on the world's keenness to know about the atrocities perpetrated against the African population as well as the other social groups in South Africa. Its function and task is not merely to dramatise or take a bird's eye

and the freedom fighters in the whole of Southern Africa. It is equally the forum for all democrats and freedom-loving peoples the world over. In our columns we shall publish our readers' points of view on the African Revolution in Southern Africa'

"We have tried as best as possible to keep these promises made five years

cognition of our collective work, a recognition of the work of our gallant band of workers all over the world, to whom this honour really belongs and whose efforts have brought us this international recognition.

"I also take this opportunity to register our sincere thanks to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic whose solid support has made it possible for us

## L'ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE DES JOURNALISTES décerne




à l'occasion du 25ème anniversaire de sa fondation

à la REDACTION de SECHABA

une médaille d'honneur

pour son travail dans le domaine de l'information et de la coopération internationale entre les journalistes

  
JEAN-MAURICE HERMANN  
Président

PRAGUE, le 12 octobre 1971

  
JIŘÍ KUBKA  
Secrétaire Général

view of the South African situation, but to expose to the world the horrors of racial tyranny suffered by Africans, Coloureds and Indians. This **Sechaba** can do, for unlike others journals it is not an observer but an active participant in the struggle for freedom, human dignity and free press in South Africa. The journal is the platform for all authentic liberation movements

ago, and the long list of contributors to the columns of our journal confirms this. We hope that they will continue to make our journal an informative and true voice of South Africa. We are grateful to them.

"In conclusion, I thank most sincerely all our people concerned with the publication of our journal, unfortunately they are too numerous to mention individually. This honour is really a re-

to print our journal monthly and to continue doing so, to the printing press **Erich Weinert** in Neustrelitz who have been our printers for many years now, and to our layout-artist **Erich Bissman** who has so patiently and methodically nurtured our journal to its present level."

**AMANDLA**

ES

Special issue

60th anniversary A.N.C.

10th anniversary Umkhonto we Sizwe

