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Telegrams & Cables:
SECHABA LONDON W1
Telephone: 580-53 03

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Cover by Hilda Bernstein
Ujamaa Villagers in Tanzania

SECHABA

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MASS ANC LEAFLET DISTRIBUTION

THOUSANDS OF ANC PAMPHLETS WERE SCATTERED IN THE MAJOR CITIES OF SOUTH AFRICA when more than eleven homemade time bombs exploded in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

The blasts took place simultaneously in the cities as workers streamed home during the evening rush hours. The Head of the security police, Major-General "Tiny" Venter said that the "pamphlet bombs" explosions in several cities should be seen as an attempt by communists to undermine the population. The police also claimed that their quick action prevented people from receiving the leaflets. However this has been contradicted by eye-witnesses. Mrs. Otte said that "there was a tremendous bang. Next minute there were thousands of pamphlets flying through the air. I was

terrified.. I turned into King George Street and ran straight into another explosion. It was too much". She said that hundreds of Africans grabbed pamphlets out of the air. Most of these were printed in Tswana and Sotho.

The Cape Town and Port Elizabeth leaflets were printed in Xhosa and the Durban ones in Zulu.

It is reported that the police had been on the lookout for subversive literature in the Transkei in the previous two weeks. Road blocks "were erected in many areas on the national roads from East London to Durban after subversive literature was received through the post by a number of people in the homeland."

After the explosions, police throughout the country started a full scale hunt but made no arrests.

POLICE TORTURE DETAINEES

Allegations of security police "extreme brutality" were made in an urgent application in the supreme court brought on behalf of a detainee held under the Terrorism Act. The all too notorious Swanepoel was once again cited as one of the respondents in the action.

Many statements given by the 18 accused to back the application, outline the brutal and cruel treatment that the detainees were subjected to. Accused Mbele submitted that Mthayeni Cushela the elderly Transkeian farmer who died mysteriously in police

hands, was tortured for days on end in the Transkei's Olkambathi forest, near Lusikisiki. Several detainees were kept there for questioning. The statement says that "Cushela and I were taken to Mkambathi, on December 14 1970, and was then beaten up by a policeman called Negabudi. Later Cushela was beaten with sticks and his body was horribly marked. All this time he was questioned "about meetings held at his kraal. After a few days of torture he asked to be shot because his body had taken more than it could stand". He kept complaining about headaches, I heard him ask police Captain Baker for medicine. Baker said "the cause of your headache is that you do not want to tell the truth". In January he was again taken to the forest and tortured daily. He mentioned **Sikumba** as one of those that had assaulted him. Cushela was taken away from the forest and in February his body was handed to his family. They were merely told that he had died in hospital.

Mr Wimba arrested in January . . . said "I am 65 years old . . . I was taken to the Mkambathi forest . . . I was handcuffed by one arm to the branch of the tree and by the other to a pole". He was struck continuously by Drywer and Basil. They used sjamboks (whips). He was then blindfolded and given electric shock treatment by Drywer who was continuously laughing "like a jackal". In March he was stripped and beaten continuously by African policemen with sticks. He also said that Ndlaza another accused tried to commit suicide on the day "Samdile was screaming from his treatment by electrical machine". Wimba later made a statement to the police.

SWANEPOEL YET AGAIN

Mahanjana arrested in December 1970 submitted that he was beaten unconscious by Swanepoel.

Another man arrested on February 8 said: "Sergeant Van Wyk had told him to remember the "death of the Imam" (another detainee who died while being held prisoner) . . . "I was then forced to assume the position of someone sitting in a chair until I was completely exhausted. I was forced to defecate in a 5 lb. jam tin".

Zimbane arrested in December 1970 submitted that he was assaulted by Van Niekerk, Colonel Swanepoel, Captain Baker and two other white policemen. He was then given electric torture which caused him to vomit. He spent two nights handcuffed to a tree. Some days later he was blindfolded, "Then I felt somebody undoing my trouser buttons . . . I felt a painful needle pricking sensation going down my spine and up from my private parts. I cannot say for how long".

"I could not sleep later. Every few moments I involuntarily jumped . . . I felt as if the machine was still being

used." Various other testimonies substantiated these statements. Torture of political prisoners is now the rule rather than an exception. The South African regime act with impunity in this respect and have consistently refused to have an inquiry into these allegations. Recently the Civil Rights League called for an "investigation on the highest possible level and led by a judge of the supreme court" into allegations of police torture and the circumstances surrounding the death of detainees. **Already about 16 political prisoners have died in detention.** Those who died while in the custody of the security police are: Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle, Saloojee, Pin, Ah Yan, Madiba, Lenkoe, Imam Haron, Kgoathe, Mayekiso, Modipane, Tubakwa, Hamkwaye, and Sgityuvette. Many others have been maimed for life.

In South Africa torture has become systematised and is accepted as a legitimate weapon of the State apparatus.

**The
hangman
brings
the
prisoner's
belt**



Finland Aroused Against S.A. Visitor

A FUTILE VISIT
says
National Union of
Finnish Students

land informed the press that Finnish government officials were not going to meet Mr. Coetzee. Publicly only the Association of Finnish Paper Industries acted as host to the minister during one day, but it informed the press that it had disengaged itself from the visit. During that day protest letters and telephone calls were pouring into the Association's offices. The telephone central of the South African embassy was practically blocked by protest calls.

Mr. Coetzee had changed the plane in which he was due to arrive, but the press was at the airport to meet him anyway, and he was unable to carry through his visit in secrecy. He blocked all questions by the press, granting only one short interview to Finnish radio. In this interview he said that the South African government has succeeded better in developing the conditions of black people than any other African country. When the interviewer doubted the situation in the bantustans referring to them as the most arid regions in South Africa, Mr. Coetzee denied this saying that they actually are very fertile whereas two thirds of the white territories are arid country, and thus technically speaking the blacks are not in a worse position than the whites. He defended apartheid saying that the blacks work in the white areas of South Africa exactly in the same manner as e. g. Turks, Spanish and Portuguese work in some other European countries. He also said that South Africa has permitted common sports competitions for blacks and whites.

Youth Declaration

On the day of the arrival of Mr. Coetzee all Finnish newspapers published a declaration by 22 national youth organizations representing all political parties. The declaration quoted racist statements by Mr. Coetzee and attacked South Africa for supporting the entire colonial and racist system in Africa. The declaration referred to the almost completely neglected medical services for black people in South Africa and stated that minister Coetzee is not a welcome visitor to Finland. The signatory organizations maintained that the purpose of the visit was to find political support for South Africa with the aid of big industry.

When minister Coetzee was leaving his hotel after lunch he was caught by a spontaneous group of demonstrators carrying the flag of the African National Congress and banners which told him to go away. In the afternoon a mass meeting was held with the parti-

cipation of several hundred persons. Mr. Ralf Friberg, member of Parliament representing the Social Democratic Party said, "It is a shame that commercial Finland welcomes these visitors, and it is a shame that the voice of official Finland is so weak among the nations". He referred to an earlier incident when representatives of an official Finnish trade delegation to East Africa visited South Africa as "private persons", and how a substantial majority of Parliament had denounced this manoeuvre. He said that the representative of a state practicing racism of the most hideous kind in the world was not welcome to Finland; not as a private person, and not to Finnish society. Mr. Friberg appealed to the Finnish workers saying that as long as leaders of paper industries hold a dialogue with a South African minister all Finnish paper mills should stop functioning.

President of the National Union of Finnish Students, Mr. Seppo Härkönen who belongs to the Center Party, attacked the state-owned paper industries which belong to the Association of Finnish Paper Industries for their collaboration with Mr. Coetzee. He said that accepting the visitor is not compatible with the Finnish UN-policy of condemning apartheid. He demanded clarification on whether state-owned paper industries are violating official foreign policy or whether the Government of Finland has just let the paper industry do the dirty work in its diplomacy. He said that the massive support for the given declaration evidenced that Finnish youth could not accept the oppressive policies of the South African government. Neither could the youth accept economic cooperation with South Africa. Economic cooperation strengthened the power of the apartheid government in the country and postponed the day of liberation. The money bought with Finnish paper was paid by the black majority in South Africa.

Arjo Söderblom from the Africa-committee of the National Peace Council said that "minister Coetzee could be characterized as the agent of the dirty work of his government. It is just with the aid of minister Coetzee that the South African government has executed its ugliest laws. This policy has meant that the 15 million black majority of South Africa has been deprived of all preconditions for a human life. Practically they have no right to live. As long as they bring wealth with their work to the small white upper class of South Africa, they have a right to survive, but when their labour can no longer be sold, they don't even have this right".

Blaar Coetzee, minister of community development and public works of the Republic of South Africa, found himself to be the most unwelcome visitor to Finland of all times. Uninvited, unwelcomed, his sad journey was a row of protests. An MP appealed to Finnish workers to stop the paper industry during the notorious visit. National youth organizations from Conservatives to Communists denounced the visit, and demonstrated.

Minister of community development and public works of the Republic of South Africa, Blaar Coetzee, arrived in Finland on July 20. His visit was to be a private one, according to the Embassy of South Africa, and it was also meant to be secret. Finnish progressive circles knew about the visit already two weeks beforehand, however, and prepared information on how Mr. Coetzee himself has been for population removals from cities to bantustans. Leftist and independent newspapers carried half-page articles about his notorious policies long before he arrived. Progressive youth groups glued posters on walls all over Helsinki carrying his portrait and the text "South African minister Blaar Coetzee - wanted for genocide". The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Fin-

The demonstrators were carrying flags of African liberation movements such as PAIGC, ANC, SWAPO, FRELIMO, MPLA and ZAPU, and banners with the texts "South Africa - genocide through food prevention", "100 hanged last year", "700.000 Africans in jail every year", "Nazi apartheid minister out", "Malnutrition is violence", all these texts were on a Swastika background. There were also texts such as: "Stop trade", "Finnish Paper Industry - an agent of apartheid", "Finnish government must support liberation movements", "Boycott South Africa", "Apartheid functions for monopolies", "South Africa threatens all of Africa".

Quotations from Finnish daily press:

Ilta-Sanomat, an independent afternoon paper said on July 20:

"The minister visitor to Finland accepts that the coloured people live in continuous fear"

"A visiting racist"

The writer concluded: "It should be finally recognized that trade and politics, the essential factors of international interaction, are inseparable. It is a fact that a total commercial boycott is the only suitable modern way of suppressing apartheid. Everyone dealing with South Africa is responsible for the prevalence of the system."

Kansan Uutiset, the Communist Party organ wrote on its front page on July 20:

"Racist oppressor comes in order to find support from Finnish capitalists"

"Minister Coetzee can be blamed for being a partner in genocide, because the removals policy planned and executed by him has led to the starvation of millions of children."

Aamulehti, an important paper of the Conservative Party, signaled on July 20:

"Protests in the air: Minister from South Africa to visit Finland."

Suomen Sosialdemokraatti, the organ of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, printed an extensive article on July 16 explaining the suppression of human rights in the bantustans.

Helsingin Sanomat, biggest daily paper in Finland and politically liberal, independent from parties, printed on July 18 a half page article about the subhuman conditions of blacks in South Africa.

Päivän Sanomat the organ of the Workers' and Small Farmers' Socialdemocratic League devoted more than one page for explanations of the criminal nature of apartheid on July 20.

A secretary from the Finnish national news agency STT, commented:

"During the 14 years I have been in this job there has not been one person so unwelcome to Finland as this Mr. Coetzee. Everybody denounces his visit and disengages himself from it. The information service of the Church of Finland has also provided material against this man and his policies."

Press reactions to Coetzee visit on July 21 1971

All Finnish newspapers mentioned the demonstration held against Coetzee except Uusi Suomi, main organ of the Conservative Party. It was front page news in Kansan Uutiset (Communist), Päivän Sanomat (Socialist), Savon Sanomat (Center Party), Hufvudstadsbladet (Swedish People's Party) Suomen Sosialdemokraatti (Social Democratic Party), Editorials were published by Kansan Uutiset and Päivän Sanomat. All these papers except Uusi Suomi published a photo of the demonstration mostly with a banner: "Mr. Coetzee go away!" Also Suomenmaa (Center Party), Turun Sanomat (Conservative, independent) Helsingin Sanomat (liberal independent) and Aamulehti

The editorial in Päivän Sanomat on July 21 notes that the Association of Finnish Paper Industries has tried by all means to disengage itself from patronage of the Coetzee visit, stressing that no organization of the paper industry had invited him, only responded to a request by the South African embassy. "We regret deeply that the disgust felt by people at large about the visit of minister Coetzee has not been found among Finnish paper capitalists. This only strengthens the observation that for them money extracted at any Price does not stink."

According to Helsingin Sanomat Mr. Coetzee said the following: "Peace is maintained in the world only if the Finns live in Finland, the Dutch in the Netherlands, the Germans in Germany, etc., as you here in Europe have learnt from your world wars. We in South Africa guard this same principle. The purpose is that Bantu-negroes live in bantuland and whites in White Africa, as our areas are called in South Africa." Mr. Coetzee accepted the comment that the bantustans in South Africa are the poorest but certainly not in fertility. "The poverty in



Finnish youth against Apartheid

(Conservative) printed full reports with photos.

Only Kansan Uutiset mentioned the spontaneous demonstration at the hotel where Mr. Coetzee lives. "The visit of minister Coetzee is no private tourist or courtesy visit, as the Finnish hosts irritated by great publicity have tried to explain. It is a consistent part of the smile-campaign started by South-Africa" said the editorial.

these areas is due to the fact that the lands inhabited by blacks are development areas", he said.

He also said that the South Africans have done more for the development of black people than European states. "We know them best, we understand them best, we like them most and feel the greatest sympathy for them. After all, we have lived with them for more than 300 years."

Since I was deported from South Africa in February of this year after seven and a half years as a permanent resident, I have been asked over and over again for the reason for this action on the part of the South African regime. Any Black South African would not ask such a question, used as he is to the apparently arbitrary functioning of tyranny. When you live in a police state you are living in a system which consistently and deliberately creates a climate of fear, distrust and uncertainty; an atmosphere of such oppression that you feel that somehow your future is in the hands of others; the basic decisions of where you live, with whom you live, who you are as a person, are taken for you. You either accept this decision, and become a nonperson, a slave kept in his place by the astonishing violence of the oppressors, or else you have the temerity to claim your right to self-determination, to take your life in your hands and walk into a future of your own making. To take the latter path is to live as a free person in the midst of an unliberated society, and for me it is this style of life which challenges others with the promise and cost of freedom, which constitutes the heart of the Christian Gospel, of which I am a minister.

I have not always seen it this way, but my experiences in South Africa have brought me to where I am now. I first went to South Africa in 1963, as a priest of the Anglican Church to work in Pretoria, and especially in Lady Selborn. On my arrival I was immediately struck by two things. One, the incredible ignorance and blindness of the White people; two, the amazing capacity of the Blacks to endure suffering and still to struggle against injustice. Lady Selborn was in the process of being removed. The legal rights of freehold were suddenly withdrawn and the people removed to Ga Rankuwa. In this one process one could see all the implications and effects of white racism. People seen and treated not as people but as unfortunately necessary elements in the maintenance of White economy; the Churches, non-racial in profession but racist in fact and in structure, concerned more for the provision of church sites in the new area than for the struggle for justice; the Black entrepreneurs and shop-keepers, cashing in on the governments programme, and making enormous profits out of the people; the brutality of the policemen who knew that they were outside the law and could get away with murder – and did; the violence of the tsotsis (delinquent youth) on Friday nights, expressing their frustration and hatred of the whites by killing Blacks; the bewilderment of old generation Blacks, who, blinded perhaps by the paternalism of the White oppressors, still maintained a naive belief in the due process of law – they still believed that Whites were basically good and

TO LIVE AS A FREE PERSON

by

Rev Colin Davison
(Recently deported from
South Africa)

trustworthy people, and could not see that already the oppressors were destroyed as persons by their own oppression.

PLANNED EXTERMINATION

At the end of 1965 I became the rector of Rustenburg in the Western Transvaal. An area of 10 000 square miles, a predominantly rural population, but containing the largest mine in the world, with a Black work force approaching 30 000. Here I experienced the effects of the migrant labour system and came to understand how the whole structure of the White economy and society was based on the maintenance and furtherance of this inhuman system. Rustenburg was a so-called 'border industry' area, and the Bushveld constituted the central region of the Tswana People. Here again I was confronted with a situation in which crimes, crimes against humanity, were being perpetrated by the South African regime. At great expense and with great expertise, they sell the 'resettlement' programme as a policy for the development of separate nations. What in fact is going on is not development but planned extermination. People are being removed by the thousand and dumped in arid areas with no means of support, with no services and amenities, and left to starve to death. It is very difficult to see how this activity does

not in fact constitute a 'war crime' within the meaning of the Nuremberg principles – for South Africa is very definitely in a state of war, a war of aggression on the part of the government directed towards Blacks, whom they (the Government) have designated as separate nations. A war fought for no other reason than the preservation of White domination and supremacy. It is part of the blindness of White people that they believe the government propaganda, extolling the merits of 'separate development', and cannot see with their own eyes what is going on around them. When Cosmas Desmond, a Franciscan priest with whom I had the privilege of working, published his book 'The Discarded People' (which is a thoroughgoing report on the facts of the resettlement programme), it was largely ignored in White South Africa. Fortunately, Granada TV has made a very good film based on part of the book called 'The Dumping Grounds', and Penguins are publishing the book in August in the hope that the information may reach a wider public.

CHURCH SUPPORTS THE SYSTEM

In 1969 I resigned my post in Rustenburg. Basically I think it was because I had come to realise that the Church with which I was identified was in fact supporting the system of white supremacy and that I, as part of that Church, was allowing myself to be used as a maintainer of the system. I was asked to work for the Christian Institute under the directorship of Beyers Naude. Formed in 1963, this ecumenical and non-racial movement has tried to maintain a Christian witness and to challenge both the State and the churches with the stringent demands of the Gospel. I was responsible for the formation and maintenance of small multi-racial groups all over the country, which were encouraged to act autonomously and to provide a supportive community for those who suffered as a result of their stance. The Christian Institute is full of shortcomings and is certainly not completely untainted by the society in which it tries to do its work, but it is significant that it has been for some time now the principle whipping-boy of the government and the centre around which a significant number of Christians of all races have gathered; people who know that the confrontation between the government and Christians is quite fundamental and that they must obey God rather than men. That is a very shorthand way of putting it, but it is to do with one's attitude to the law of the land and the extent of one's responsibility for one's cooperation or non-cooperation with an evil and unjust system. **For non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral imperative as is cooperation with good.**

It was while I was working with the Christian Institute that the news came through that the World Council of Churches had contributed some funds towards liberation movements. I felt that, though the contributions were very small, they nevertheless demonstrated quite unequivocally the commitment of a very large proportion of international Christendom to the struggle of liberation. It came as no surprise to me, because I had attended the Fourth Assembly of the WCC in Uppsala in 1968 and could see which way things were moving. It is some indication of the isolation and insularity of White Christians in South Africa that they were shocked when the news came through. Most noticeable was the deafening silence of Black Christians. For them it posed few problems. It was, somehow, a White man's dilemma and it was pathetic to hear people continuing to justify the continued use of violence to achieve unjust ends while at the same time condemning others for the use of violent methods to achieve ends which, on any reckoning, could only be described as just. I have said that it was pathetic to hear them, but the Church itself must bear a large part of the responsibility for people being in this position, for the fact remains, and needs to be emphasized, that **historically the Church has not only condoned but preached the use of violence.**

The 'just war' theory, whatever its original intentions, has, with the connivance of the Church, regularly served the ends of the established and powerful. The poor and oppressed are deprived of any theological support for their aggressivity.

OPTIONS FOR WHITES

The WCC grants brought many White Christians, not only in South Africa, to an uncomfortable point of decision — whose side are you on, with whom do you identify? Uncomfortable questions, for they uncover our hypocrisy and challenge us to do something about it. But while saying that we have to admit that the options open to whites in South Africa — if they sincerely desire changes — would be of an heroic nature and there are precious few heroes in any society.

I started this short article with searching for a reason for my deportation and feel that I have come no nearer to finding one. Was it because I was involved in an illegal march through the streets of Johannesburg in protest against the further detention of Joyce Sikakane, Winnie Mandela, Peter Magubane and the rest of the 22? I'm no great shakes at marching and certainly don't see it as a significant instrument of revolution! But sometimes one has to give vent to one's anger

and enter as meaningfully as one can into the experience of those whose whole lives are manipulated and distorted by the police. Or was it because I was trying to cooperate in an educational programme which had as its primary thrust the enabling of people to be themselves as persons, to discover their potentiality and to acquire the skills necessary for being agents of change in society? Education can be a subversive activity I suppose. Certainly it is one of the essential keys to the liberation of Blacks. Why else would the government so carefully control education at all levels and at all times?

The reasons are really rather irrelevant. For me the basic concern is the living out of the Gospel, which is first and last a Gospel of Liberation. The Church has in the past and continues to be a tool of cultural oppression, and one is concerned with the problem of how an oppressed community can be liberated from the church, while in the process discovering the liberating force of Christianity.

I will close with the words of Teilhard de Chardin 'Fullness of life (i. e. freedom) is not found in narrow accomplishments confined to individuals or countries (be they tribal or national) but in the total ascension of mankind towards planetary solidarity, ever-increasing self-awareness and expanded creativity'.



S. A. FREEDOM DAY CELEBRATED IN INDIA Speaker, Mrs Lakshmi Raghu Ramiah, President, All India Women's Federation

ANC YOUTH AND STUDENTS SUMMER SCHOOL

The Youth and Students' section of the ANC held a most useful Summer School in the first half of August at Beichlingen in the German Democratic Republic. Most of the papers were submitted by the Youth and Students themselves. 67 Members participated, coming from Africa, Hungary, Canada, the Soviet Union, Sweden, London and the G.D.R. In the discussions members paid most attention to an analysis of the South African situation and the requirements of the present phase of our national struggle, though it was stressed that our fight is an integral part of the world anti-imperialist struggle. And it was noted, time and again, that without the help of the world anti-imperialist forces – the progressive African states, the socialist countries and the progressive forces in the capitalist countries – it would be difficult for us to wage war against the powerful South African fascist state which was recognised to be both an agent and an ally of international imperialism. Members also pointed out the dangers of 'Dialogue' and identified it as a serious move by South African and international imperialism to stem the tide of the national democratic revolution and an attempt to divert it into harmless channels. What was particularly striking in the discussions at the school was that it was clear that members had begun to realise that the adoption of armed struggle had opened up a new vista on the political level. We had at last entered, after fifty years of struggle the final phase of our fight for a democratic South Africa which would involve the **conquering of state power** by democratic forces. It was recognised that this new phase of our struggle required us to seriously re-think our past organisational and ideological approach. The path had already been marked out by the Morogoro Conference but it was clear that the perspective set for us by that Conference had not been sufficiently clearly understood by all our cadres and that there was a critical need to organise an educational programme which would serve to make our policy clear at all levels of our movement both within and outside our country. It was clear from the discussions that the general line adopted at Morogoro had the support of the participants in the School, but that serious weaknesses had emerged because of the failure to carry it out consistently and to elaborate the perspectives set for us.

DONT UNDERESTIMATE THE ENEMY

Members stressed that the existence of a highly-organised and brutal fascist state machine in South Africa, supported by international imperialism, should never be forgotten. We should never fall into the trap of underestimating our enemy. In this situation under the conditions of armed struggle, it was taken for granted that the Congress Alliance structure of the past consisting of loose mass Congresses, could not continue as the main organisational form of our national movement (although the Congress might continue to play an important part in mass mobilisation work of a legal and semi-legal nature). Our chief task was seen to be the building of a centralised, compact organisation of trained revolutionaries – trained both militarily and politically – an underground clandestine network which would carry out the main organisational and military tasks of the armed political struggle. It was taken for granted that revolutionaries from all the national groupings would be integrated within this clandestine organisational machine on the basis of full equality. At the same time the 'School' (Is it surprising that at such a crucial period of our struggle our 'School' should begin to develop into a mini-'conference'?) stressed that the main content of our national democratic revolution would be the freeing of the African people, and that the democratic state would necessarily reflect this situation. It emphasized, too, that socialists – and it was clear that many of the participants regarded themselves as socialists – should not fail to recognise that the carrying out of the national democratic revolution, which would involve the conquest of state power by the democratic movement whose main force would be the African workers and peasants was the primary task of all socialists, that without the democratisation of the whole of South African society on both the political and the economic level,

there would be no possibility of even beginning to lay the basis for a socialist society.

TOWARDS A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STATE

The discussions at the School emphasized that our movement should not only build the underground network, both armed and political, but should also engage in legal and semi-legal work in order to mobilise the mass of the people for the revolution. We should show great flexibility in this work but at the same time, we should maintain our independent national-revolutionary organisation with its independent political role and avoid, at all times, involvement in purely tribal and sectional demands. It was emphasized that the ANC should pay special attention to the rural people in its propaganda and organisational work, taking up their day-to-day demands and uniting them around the general slogan of 'Land and Freedom'. In all its work the ANC should stress the unity of the people of South Africa, the firm alliance of the urban and the rural people, which would be consummated in the setting up of a national-democratic state. The main task of this state would, on the economic level, be to return the land and wealth to the people of South Africa, the de-imperialisation of the economy which would involve the building of a national economy and the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution and, on the political level, the democratisation of South African society, enabling the people to participate fully in all the decision-making of our state on both the national and the local level.

POLITICAL EDUCATION ESSENTIAL

It was felt that the ANC had not developed a sufficiently consistent and elaborated cadre policy which should be geared both to educating ourselves for the present phase of the struggle and which should also bear in mind the needs – both political and technical – of the South Africa which would be ours after the revolution. It was believed that this was related to the failure to understand fully the character of the national struggle in its present phase to a tendency to mechanically and incorrectly separate 'national' and 'class' struggle and to the failure to emphasize sufficiently the long-term perspectives of our movement. Some of the mistakes we had made in the past were the result of short-sightedness, reacting too late to a changing situation failing to think creatively and to have enough confidence in ourselves to perceive clearly that one day South Africa would belong to the people and that we would have to prepare ourselves to run our own country. In the difficult struggle ahead against a powerful and vicious enemy we should never lose sight of the long-term political perspectives of our movement. Should we do so, we would be disarming ourselves in the face of the enemy even if we still carried guns in our hands. The political education of all our cadres (whether political or military) was absolutely essential if we were to survive and achieve final victory in a free South Africa. It was also essential if we were to maintain that victory in the face of the subversive tactics which the imperialists would necessarily use against Democratic South Africa. The view was expressed at our School that, because of the extremely difficult struggle we had ahead of us, we should develop a more scientific and analytic approach to all our problems. It emerged quite clearly at the School that our youth would not reject any weapon which would serve to strengthen our national movement, including some of the tenets and methods of analysis of Marxism-Leninism.

SPECIAL ROLE OF YOUTH

With regard specifically to the role of the Youth and Students in the South African Revolution, the idea of an underground youth organisation was rejected as, at this time, not being practicable, in view of the urgency and primacy of the task of the national movement to build a tight-knit, steeled, and secure underground network, and at a time when our resources are still limited. It was clear that the

specific demands of the Youth and Students could not be so separated from the general political struggle for a free South Africa, and in this situation the ANC was the spokesman for all sections of our people. Nonetheless, it was recognised that the Youth particularly in the phase of armed conflict, had a key role to play. Necessarily, they would make up the majority in our people's army and it was felt, too, that initiative and courage (which is especially typical of young people though, of course, not confined to them), matured by political training, could be a particular source of strength to our movement at the present stage. The School suggested that the Youth should have representatives on all the higher organs of the movement.

The chief message of the School – and in this respect it was an inspiring and productive get-together – was UNITY – the unity of all the democratic and progressive forces in South Africa, the unity of all revolutionaries from all the national groupings, the unity of communists and non-communists, the unity of workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and the progressive petit-bourgeoisie, the essential unity of all aspects of our struggle whether 'political' or 'military'. We are all proud cadres of the ANC, keen to play our part in maintaining and developing the unity and strength of our national movement and to enter the field of battle on South African soil.

Many thanks were expressed to our hosts, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the G.D.R. for enabling us to hold such a successful Summer School.

BANTUSTANS:

Their Implications for the National Liberation Struggle in South Africa by Billy Nannan

It is important to state a number of facts, which though well-known are necessary for rooting the discussion in the concrete.

In all, 8 Bantustans or 'homelands' have been constituted for approximately 13% of the total land area. These coincide geographically with the Reserves into which the various African tribes were pushed consequent upon the wars of conquest waged by British Imperialism and the Afrikaner settlers. (However, there is also a distinct possibility that the large urban African complexes may themselves be constituted into some type of Bantustans as is being planned with Kwa Mashu Township, the largest of the African townships in Natal).

The Xhosa-speaking group, forming 31.8% of the African population, has been divided into two homelands – Transkei and Ciskei. The Zulu group is the next largest, forming 27.5% of the African population; the Northern Sotho 10.4%; the Southern Sotho, 10.1%; the Tswana group, 8%, the Venda-Tsonga group, 1.8% and 3.5% respectively. The Transkei, thus far, is the only Bantustan to have been granted limited self-government, whilst Territorial Authorities have been established for all the others. With Chief Buthelezi's acceptance now of a Bantustan for the Zulu-speaking people, indications point to the establishment of Zulu self-government along the lines of the Transkei in the very near future.

With the exception of the Transkei, these Bantustans are not single, continuous land areas but consist of 81 scattered pieces of land, surrounded by white-owned land. The economic prospects of the Bantustans vary in detail, but they are universally sited far from transport, from markets, and sources of power. The economy of the Reserves has in practice rested almost entirely on subsistence farming scratched out of impoverished soil. They serve, together with the urban complexes as cheap, ready-to-hand labour reservoirs.

Summer School



Exchange of gifts with local Youth Leaders and ANC Youth Delegation before departure from Beichlingen Foto: Schmidt

More than 40% of the economically active men in the Reserves are absent at any given time working in the mines, factories, farms and homes of White South Africa. The total percentage of Africans living in the Reserves has been put at approximately 46%.

LIBERATION REQUIRES UNITY

The reality of the creation and existence of the Bantustans, and the separation of all the national groups, not only from each other, but along tribal lines in the case of the African people, poses a number of serious problems, both of a strategic and tactical nature simply because the policy of separation of the Black people relates so sharply to the strategic requirements of the White ruling class to maintain and perpetuate its Power and of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed people to conquer power. Whereas the White ruling class bases itself on the permanent division of all South Africans in order to continue its rule of economic exploitation and political repression of the Black peoples, the movement for national liberation bases itself on the unity of all the revolutionary forces, in particular the unity of the African majority to bring about, through revolutionary struggle, a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Whilst the separation of the African peoples on a tribal basis is an attempt to destroy the fruits of decades of struggle waged by the ANC to weld the people into a single united force capable of confronting and destroying the system of Apartheid through intense revolutionary struggle, to that same extent does it seek to destroy the unity of purpose and action forged by the ANC and other patriotic and working class organisations of the African, Coloured, Indian and progressive White peoples. Implicit in the process of separation is the intention to cultivate the narrowest forms of tribalism, feudal relations, regionalism and racialism. To this end, the propaganda machinery of the fascist state is, and will be increasingly directed towards reinforcing tribal and ethnic consciousness, towards inculcating isolationist tendencies, hate and suspicion of anything and anybody alien.

In contradistinction, it is precisely a fundamental requirement of the revolution to inculcate the peoples with a national, revolutionary consciousness, which recognises not tribal or ethnic self-determination (even if this were a possibility within the policy of Separate Development) but that of National self-determination and the National desire to overthrow the White supremacy state.

Equally important is and will be the attempt by the fascist state to try and win over by a combination of indoctrination, fear, terror, lies, bribery and false promises, acceptance of so-called development in separate 'homes'. In a tribal context this becomes much easier. The role of government-appointed chiefs and so-called Coloured and Indian Councillors' to implement Apartheid policy is precisely rooted in this.

NATIONAL POLITICAL ORGANISATION AND LEADERSHIP NEEDED

Another important problem which the Bantustan policy poses is to be found in the needs to prosecute the armed struggle for the eventual overthrow of white supremacy. In military terms, the enemy can isolate, insulate and localise any serious mass-type action by concentrating its man-and-fire power in and around areas which are by and large, small and non-contiguous. For the enemy the reserves are ideally situated to conduct wars of encirclement and annihilation. At the same time, the enemy is effectively outside the reserves and urban complexes; his sophisticated economy is mainly outside the ambit of these areas. Hence the need to ensure that total political mobilisation and all-round political leadership becomes a nation-wide reality. The ANC, from the time of the increasing inactivity of the chiefs in its organisation (a process accelerated after the Native Administration Act of 1927), has concentrated largely on the urban areas. Initially, it regarded its main task to be the mouthpiece of the African people in their demand for political rights and used as its main method delegations to the authorities and publicity for its demands through propaganda media. Although after 1940 it began to rely increasingly on mass organisation, culminating in the mass campaigns of the 1950's this agitation was still centred in the urban areas and the general strike was believed to be the most effective political weapon. There was certainly some attention to rural problems particularly in regard to the terrible conditions of the African farm workers, but this was sporadic and excluded almost totally the Reserves. The ANC did not, at this stage, believe that the organisation of the peasantry and other rural people was a central task if the national liberation of the African people were to be achieved. However, the peasant revolts in Sekhukhuniland, Zululand and Pondoland in the period 1956-1960, encouraged the ANC leadership to consider more closely the potential role of the peasantry. Although the government suppressed the Pondo revolt by bringing in the army to assist the police, by using sten-guns, Saracen armoured cars and jets against the unarmed peasants, the scale and courage of peasant resistance has, as Govan Mbeki has said:

'a resounding impact both on the thinking of the congress leadership and the people themselves. The Pondo movement succeeded by example in accomplishing what discussion had failed to do in a generation - convincing the leadership of the importance of the peasants in the reserves to the entire national struggle ...'

(Peasant Revolt p.130)

Mbeki went on to stress that,

'a proper blending of the peasant and worker struggles ... coupled with skilful timing of joint action is a matter which engage the serious thinking of the leadership.'

With the closing of all avenues of peaceful protest by the banning of the ANC together with other repressive measures, the liberation movement adopted armed struggle and, evidently, the peasant revolts had some influence on this decision. The alliance of the African workers and peasants for the conquest of power is central to the national democratic revolution. And, as Govan Mbeki has pointed out, it is impossible to ensure the effectiveness of the struggle of the farm workers and squatters unless it is related to the struggle of the peasants in the reserves. Hence the need to bring into the arena of the fight for national liberation the whole spectrum of revolutionary forces - not only the peasantry and workers based in the reserves and the millions occupying the countryside, but also the wage earners in the towns. This calls for intensive agitational and educational work throughout the country directed to the reserve-based peasantry, the rural-based wage earners and squatters on the white farms, the urban-based wage-earners, students, teachers and all other democratic forces. In short, total land war both political and military. Only this will force the dispersal of enemy forces and hence their weakening. What does this mean?

BOTH URBAN AND RURAL

It means the political formulation of correct demands. It means the setting up of underground structures co-ordinating demands and action in all the spheres where our people are to be found. We should address ourselves to both the longterm strategic demands embodied in the Freedom Charter as well as these tactical ones that arise out of the day-to-day conditions of the people, both urban and rural, for e.g. better wages, proper housing and realistic rents, demands for land and freedom of the peasantry from the operations of the so-called land reclamation schemes, forced cattle dipping and culling, removals; lifting of the Transkei state of emergency, freedom to meet and discuss their problems. Together with these demands must go armed action of one sort or another to demonstrate the power and seriousness of the liberation movement and to demonstrate to our people in very real and concrete terms that our enemy is not as impregnable or rock-like as he would want the people to believe.

It is precisely the absence of political leadership and guidance, coupled with actions of a mass-nature and a military nature that will tend to blunt the revolutionary consciousness of the people who have for more than 50 years been used to political mobilisation and action.

Apart from the revolutionary action led by the movement for national liberation, the objective realities of Bantustans and separate but unequal development, will sharpen the contradiction between the mass of the people and the ruling class and its reactionary allies among our peoples. For no matter what demands these collaborator-chiefs and pseudo-leaders in the various Indian, Coloured and African group areas say, they can only be limited to what the ruling class is prepared to concede. And total freedom and the exercise of real power won in the Bantustans in every sphere of life in these areas is, in my opinion, certainly not on the cards, except by the revolutionary action of the people within these areas and throughout the whole of South Africa. Even if the demand for self-government were met, the pressure on the reserves of those endorsed out of the urban areas as superfluous to the needs of the white economy, the lack of economic opportunities – or development of these reserves, the intolerability of low wages, high rents, virtually non-existent medical and health facilities, to

mention only a few of the urban grievances, must lead to an increasing readiness on the part of the peoples to adopt the revolutionary demands of the Charter, provided this fundamental alternative to acceptance of separate development is posed through both the propaganda of words and the action of the army of professional revolutionaries. The National construction of the political and military apparatus for freedom, is the most important strategic task facing us. Unceasing, unwavering, total political struggle, based on the demands of the Freedom Charter, is our major weapon.

USING DUMMY INSTITUTIONS

Govan Mbeki has said:

'For the Bantustan promises to be fulfilled, so that Transkeians have factories and dams and power stations, and their old, worn, over-worked labour reserve is turned into an economically viable state, millions of pounds must be voted and spent; but the white taxpayer will never tolerate this. The Transkei is an under-developed region and the recipe for advancement is simple enough; but white supremacy in South Africa will not supply the ingredients. The Transkei has the labour, but no power, no transport, no communications, no capital. The millions recommended by the Tomlinson Commission for a scheme of development are a nightmare memory to the Nationalists'.

(Mbeki, p. 147)

Does this mean, therefore, that we should ignore or condemn the realities of the Bantustans out-of-hand and continue our policy of boycott or worse still, silence, in the face of recent developments? Does this imply that we condemn out-of-hand all those people serving in the Government-appointed institutions?

Obviously not.

The election-stand of the Coloured Labour Party and the stand taken by the opposition leaders in the Transkei demonstrates that there is genuine anti-apartheid elements amongst our people, both rurally and in the urban centres, who are able to use the government-provided machinery to voice genuine demands of the people.

Let us examine some of the recent events which have been occurring as a result of the deteriorating situation of the

Section of gathering at SA Womens Day celebration held during Summer School



Summer School

Black peoples of South Africa living under the conditions of White supremacy rule. There have been a number of acts of resistance and even rebellion in both town and country which have forced even black collaborators like Matanzima in the Transkei, Tom Swartz of the Government-installed Coloured Council and A.M. Rajab of the Indian Council to reflect the people's anger and disillusionment. These occurrences must also be viewed against the background of the Budget, designed to stem inflationary trends in the South African economy, which increased the burden of the Black people through the increase in taxation and prices of bread, rents, paraffin, rice and other commodities.

1. That is why bus fare increases for Coloured workers in Port Elizabeth in March sparked off a riot and initiated a bus boycott after the fascist police had shot 15 people in a crowd of approximately 10 000.
2. In April all 5 members of the Port Elizabeth City Council's Coloured Management Committee walked out of a joint meeting because they were disgusted and disillusioned at their treatment by the City Council.
3. At the official opening of a new housing scheme in Port Elizabeth, ministers of religion walked out on Blaar Coetzee, Minister of Coloured Development, and handed in a petition of grievances suffered by the Coloureds.
4. In Pretoria in April, Sonny Leon, National President of the Coloured Labour Party, called on the non-white clergy to speak out from their pulpits against Apartheid.
5. Immediately after the Budget the Natal branch of the Coloured Labour Party, initiated a week-long bread and potato boycott which met with fair success.
6. At its National Conference in Johannesburg the Coloured Labour Party called on the Government to stop interfering in the affairs of the non-white sports bodies; backed free and open selection of sportsmen; called for a national opposition to the Republic Day celebrations and rejected the idea of a Coloured 'Homeland'. The Party resolved on a policy of 'Boycott and Defiance' in place of dialogue.

Bantustan homes



AFRICAN RESISTANCE

7. Members of the Bathlaping tribe resisted an order to move from land they had occupied for 62 years, forcing the Department of Bantu Administration to suspend the order.
8. A group of Africans have resisted a move by Potchefstroom Town Council to evict them from land they have occupied since the turn of the century. Their chief, Nokate, was prosecuted and their cattle impounded for non-payment of grazing fees.

Granted that Bantustans are frauds and that the Vorster Government has no intention of ever giving independence within these limits; granted that the Government-appointed chiefs and councillors are generally a bunch of self-seeking opportunists and represent the interest only of that very tiny minority within the various communities that wants to profit from Apartheid, pressure from the masses of the people, pressure caused by the realities of Apartheid South Africa, is forcing these men to make the demands they are making. They have not always spoken this way.

What is of paramount importance for us is to channel the resentment both on the local and the national level, increasing our political propaganda and mobilising the mass of the people in both town and countryside for the winning of political power.

Thabo Mbeki posed the question of Bantustans in his paper to this seminar in the following manner:

'The question ... becomes how do we participate (in the Bantustans)? And what demands do we put forward? There are two lines to consider on the latter question.

We may, on the one hand, push forward the Matanzima type demands, up to and including the demand for independent Bantustans. We may, on the other hand, take the position that we are opposed to the whole Bantustans scheme and are opposed to all its supporters, including the most militant, but may agree with them on specific issues such as the demand for more land. The argument in favour of the first line of attack is that by pushing forward the struggle for completion of the Bantustan programme, we would be creating the conditions for its exposure as a fraud and a lie, because the enemy will not in any case grant this complete independence. The argument in favour of the se-

cond line is that the masses of the people are in any case not fundamentally interested in questions of independence for Bantustans, ownership of shops by Africans, and so on, but in questions of land, jobs, passes and influx control, the heavy tax burden, etc. and are in the end opposed to the balkanisation of their country. Therefore, we must take up those issues which are closest to them, and organise and activate them around these issues so that they themselves must stand up and show their determination to win.

We submit the issues to the seminar for consideration.

My main task in this paper has been to attempt to show that it is Thabo Mbeki's second proposition which should be the choice of our movement, while, at the same time, we should not ignore all the legal possibilities of spreading our view of the national struggle and mobilising the mass of the rural people.

ASSESSMENT OF DISCUSSION

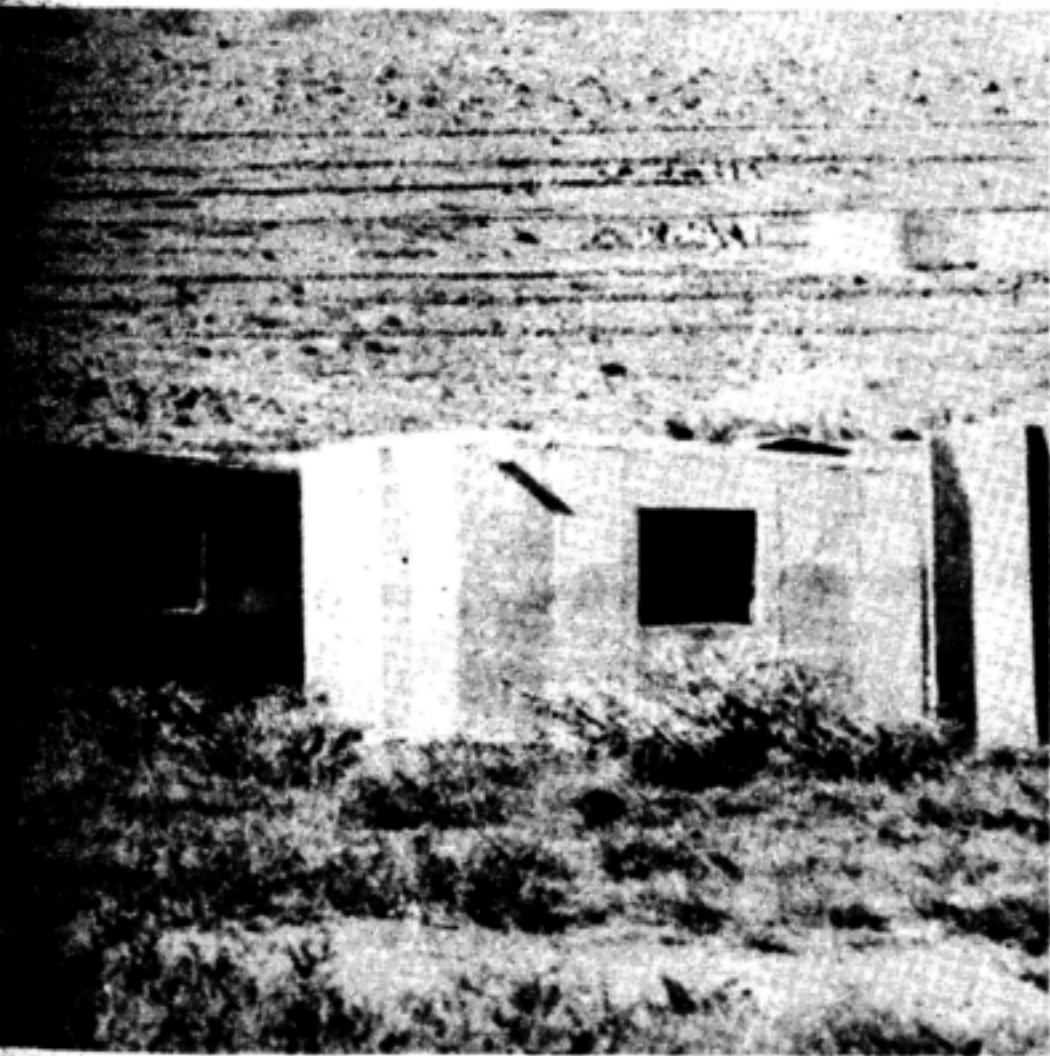
There was unanimous agreement that the ANC should continue to oppose the Bantustans and to expose them as a fraud. However, it was agreed that it should re-orientate its former passive attitude by approaching the Bantustan question in an active manner, above all to organise the peasantry and other rural working and landless people. The dangerous tribal divisiveness inherent in the Bantustan concept (particularly dangerous in a period of armed conflict) was stressed as well as the fact that the Bantustan structures were dominated largely by aspirant petit-bourgeois elements who had been put there by imperialism and could only make demands within the framework of the imperialist system, e. g. they could only ask for concessions such as the ownership of shops, extension of trading facili-

ties and limited land demands. These concessions went nowhere near the necessary measures to liquidate the imperialist system – the return of the land to the people throughout South Africa and the nationalization of the mines and the monopolies.

The point was made that many Bantustan "leaders" were not concerned with the aspirations of the people in their areas as the 'land reclamation' schemes had demonstrated (land was being taken from so-called 'unproductive' farmers and was being given to 'kulaks'; chiefs and headmen, too, were being given extra land with the excuse that they needed it in order to entertain) and the profits of private business did not reach the people. The government was deliberately attempting to form a petit-bourgeois class within the Bantustans and spreading the view that the people of these areas, by their own individual efforts, could obtain shops and more land and become richer. The general view was that, although the democratic revolution would also be in the interests of the petit-bourgeois elements, any changes brought about under their leadership would necessarily merely be concessions; they would compromise with imperialism; their demand for self-government was a demand for more power for themselves rather than for the mass of the people. (At the same time the winning of the anti-imperialist petit-bourgeoisie throughout South Africa in all the national groupings was considered to be an essential task of the liberation movement).

BANTUSTANS – AN INTERNATIONAL FRAUD

It was pointed out, too, that the people in the Reserves could not free themselves without taking steps against international imperialism for which the South African state was both an ally and an agent – for example, nationalization of the mines and the monopolies was of utmost concern, not only to the people in the urban areas, but also to the people of the Reserves. The dialogue question – seen to be closely related to the Bantustan question – basically an attempt by both domestic and international imperialism to divert the national struggle into petit-bourgeois channels so as to prevent the mass of the people from seizing power in order to liquidate the imperialist system in South Africa. It was noted that the people of South Africa could not ensure the victory of the national democratic revolution without close ties with the world progressive forces, above all, the socialist countries and independent African States. It was felt that we should build our own independent organisational structures within the Bantustans, as elsewhere, (though not confining ourselves to their limits either on the tribal or the territorial level), primarily illegal and military, but at the same time using all legal avenues, to spread our view of the national struggle and to mobilise the rural people for the national democratic revolution. In this respect, it was important for us to take up the day-to-day issues of the people. We should organise our people around demands which are of a local and national rather than a tribal character. And we should not limit our political and military struggle within the confines of the Bantustans but spread our activities into the surrounding white farming areas and into the whole of South Africa, carrying out joint actions with the workers in the urban areas. National liberation should involve the confiscation of land from the landlords and monopolies throughout the whole of South Africa – the people would not be satisfied merely with the acquisition of 'Xhosa'-land or 'Zulu'-land. At the present stage, it was important to mobilise the peasantry and other rural people around the general slogan of 'land and freedom'. Freedom would involve freedom from the domination of the imperialist bureaucracy and puppet-chiefs in the reserves and in their place genuinely democratic organs voicing the real demands of the rural people and, on the national level, freedom from the domination of the imperialist state. The alliance of the workers and peasants for the national democratic revolution was in the vital interests of both these sections of the South African people. We should stress, at all times, the unity of the people of South Africa.



Summer School



Education — "Bantu" style

BANTU EDU- CATION

by Wesi Masisi

After their accession to power in 1948, the Nationalists immediately set out to model the education of the South African people. They decided that they must exercise complete control over the minds of the young. The whites and blacks, and in turn the Afrikaner and the English, each must be made to understand the role which has been allotted them. There must be unquestioning acceptance by the whites of their superiority and the Afrikaner of their leadership, by the non-whites of their duty to serve.

In 1949 the Nationalists set up a commission to report on education for Africans as an independent race and to devise syllabuses to prepare them more effectively for their future occupations. Eventually this commission concluded that education should be framed so as to fit the African child into the society to which he belongs, and that this would not be the general South African society, but a separate African one for which a special type of education was required. Although the commission recognised that the African child comes to school with a basic physical and psychological endowment which differs slightly, if at all, from the European child, that no special provision had to be made in educational theory or basic aims. Nevertheless, because he occupied a different place in society from the whites his education should be entrusted to a separate department and should be linked with the programme for the development of Africans as a whole.

It should therefore, be obvious that the Nationalist Govern-

ment attached very great importance to education as a very fundamental institution for maintaining and continuing white supremacy.

As a result, in 1953, the Bantu Education Act withdrew education for Africans from the provincial control and transferred it, not to the National Department of Education, but to the Department of Native Affairs. This Act gave the Minister for Bantu Development unrestricted power to decide what schools should exist, and what the conditions of service and content of African Education should be.

EDUCATION FOR SERVANTS

Bantu Education in South Africa has its origins in the United States of America. The first victims of this type of education were the Red Indians, who were confined in reserves. Red Indians were taught in their mother-tongue. That was the media of instruction. English was second in importance and it was taught in quantities, sufficient to give the Indians a working knowledge of the master's language. South Africa not only copied the reserve system of the United States, but also copied the educational system of enslavement and christened it "Bantu Education".

As we know, the media of instruction in Bantu Education are the vernaculars of the various ethnic groups. To teach people, living in an era of space discoveries, in underde-

veloped languages of the primitive stage of development is a disaster meant deliberately for Africans. Bantu Education is education for servants in a modern but essentially fascist state.

Hitler, the fascist monster of all times who wanted to turn Africans into an animal zoo for the entertainment of the "superior" races, speaking of the role of schools as a means for indoctrinating the young said: "this... the school - was the nursery where the seeds had to be watered which were to spring up - and form the future generation."

Lenin, on the other hand, speaking on the question of literacy said: "It is a known fact illiteracy is one of the signs of slavery. The majority of the population can never be literate in a country dominated by oppressive Pashas" and the like.

The South African fascists, wishing to turn South Africa into an ideal state for whites, have deprived the Africans of all those minimum rights necessary for an all-round education. The late Dr. Verwoerd, was preoccupied with the results of education and its effects on the character of Africans. Africans must be taught the duties of hewers of wood and drawers of water as "there is no place for him (the Bantu) in the European Community above the levels of certain forms of labour' ... Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze".

EDUCATION WITH A PURPOSE

The Doctrine of Bantu Education is based on Christian National Education sponsored by the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations, a branch of the secret fascist organisation - Die Broederbond. This doctrine is supported by government machinery and goes under a policy which represents the four major races of South Africa - the policy of the four trends - in order of their importance - the Whites, Coloureds, Indians and then the Africans. The racist government argues that separate development is "necessary for the preservation of their racial and cultural inheritance".

These rights and services are different but usually include:

- a) the possibility of receiving satisfactory primary and secondary education for that particular group with its own language and cultural traditions;
- b) the possibility of preserving the culture of that particular group by means of building schools, libraries, museums, means of information and other cultural and educational institutes;
- c) Equal opportunities for that particular group for the adoption of its language;
- d) The preservation of religious practices and interests;
- e) The possibility of a definite degree of autonomy at its own expense".

Dr. Verwoerd, explaining his point of view about education for various racial groups, in particular for Africans, said that he didn't believe in education which created "people who are trained for professions not open to them, education which strengthens the desires of Africans for white-collar occupations".

It must be borne in mind that this new system of education - Bantu Education - brought to a standstill all previous systems of education which existed in South Africa. In the past, "most schools were founded by missionaries who did not completely tolerate segregation in schools. Most of these schools were shut down, particularly the ones with good reputations, e.g. St Peters Secondary School - Lovedale-Adams College and several others.

RETURN TO DARKNESS

This new system now meant "the exclusion of non-white students from the hitherto open universities and the establishment of segregated colleges on ethnic lines for various non-white races". It was a return to darkness. Only "yes-men" were appointed as staff members in these so-called universities. Bantu Education now received special attention as it was brought under the Ministry of Education. He could afford to be thorough in enslaving the Africans mentally. The irony of this tribal education was that the people who were controlling it were white monopolists in a council, where not a single African staff member was allowed. According to the policy-of-the-four-trends, Coloureds and Indians were treated in like manner. They were to receive education according to their customs and traditions. They got "European education" in doses sufficient to keep them in their places, that is, between the Whiteman and the Blackman. To complete the policy-of-the-four-trends-the "Rand Afrikaans University Act of 1966 provided for the establishment of an Afrikaans University in Johannesburg". This was where the "master-race" was to receive enlightenment to enable them to make discoveries and improvements for the white race only.

The racial policy of the South African government resembles a pyramid, which tapers as one goes up the racial ladder. There is no equality or stability between the races. The pyramid is on its base when it comes to failures, drop-outs, taxation of parents for the education of their children, etc. The pyramid is on its apex when it concerns questions of salaries, subsidies and the rest. The African who is at the bottom of the pyramid, is always hit hard. Second to him, are the Indians.

REVERSING THE CLOCK

Bantu Education in South Africa reversed the clock of history in education. Poorly qualified teachers were supposed to teach illiterate children. This is the case of the cripple leading the blind. Conditions of work are terrible. Teachers are overworked and badly paid. Time and again they are threatened with expulsion for not towing the tribal line of destruction. Insecurity is a nightmare for teachers. Yearly results, as can be expected, are a mess. Between the years 1961-67, about half of 8556 students passed the matric exams. The other half was ready labour for the whiteman's factories, farms etc.

South Africa's educational system for the Africans, contravenes Article 3 of the 1963 UNESCO CONVENTION on the fight against racial discrimination in the field of education. It also contravenes both Pacts on Human Rights i.e. The Economic, social and cultural rights - Article 13 and 15 and - The Civil and Political Rights Pact - Article 27.

As a result, very strong objections were raised against Bantu Education and its aims. The imposition of an inferior system of education was vigorously opposed by the ANC. It is heartening to note that the struggle for genuine education goes as far back as 1882 when the Native Association of Education under the leadership of Rev. Elia Makiwane - a former editor of the newspaper "Isimanga sa ma Xhosa" sprung up in the Cape.

This body not only fought for educational rights but it also fought pass laws which to this day bedevil the lives of Africans in South Africa.

For the implementation of this doctrine in education, which was politically inspired, it was necessary to create laws which would be backed up by strong military and police forces, composed mainly of whites. In this manner about thirteen laws and amendments were passed between 1953 and 1968.



hout notice. Since they had no resources or permission to go elsewhere they continued living under the iron rubble. Policemen then moved them off this area and they have been compelled to live in the veld. The families which include four old women, a crippled woman and two babies have no food or blankets". A police spokesman said: "We are investigating two criminal cases against property owners in this area for harbouring Africans in an urban area without permission. The law allows one servant to each property. Instead they have been harbouring about ten to a shack. We cannot say where they will be able to go now. This must be taken up with the Randburg Bantu Affairs Department". A spokesman for this Department said that all queries must be "made in writing to the Town Clerk of Randburg. We cannot comment on this issue."

MORE VIOLENCE

Three African youths appearing on a murder charge said that the statements alleged to have been made by them were forced out of them after being tortured. One of the accused submitted that he was ordered to strip in the office of Major Van Aswegen. "A wet cloth was tied around my chest, my face and eyes were covered and my hands were handcuffed behind my back. I was told to sit on the floor and given shock treatment." He was then again assaulted by two African detectives, after which he was taken to Col. Coetzee's office "where I was ordered to sign a statement".

"white areas" and "black spots". Many of the people have been dumped into lands without adequate facilities or employment opportunities. Malnutrition is rife and most of the people are living in dire poverty. Sada is one such village. It is 27 miles from Queenstown. "It is a village of old men, cripples, women and children. There is little work. The labour offices are inundated by people Seeking work for which they receive a mere 2sh a day. The official population is about 12 000. Many of them are women, the men having been forced to leave their families and go to the white urban areas as migrant labourers.

Mr. Pitcher, Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner at Sada, gave some insight into this ruthless and inhuman system of moving thousands of people when he described the procedure for a farmer who "wants to get rid of some of his surplus or unwanted labour": "The farmer goes to a magistrate to lodge an application to have a person resettled elsewhere. The application is referred to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for his area. From there it goes to the Department of Community Affairs of the Ciskei Territorial Authority. We decide the urgency and whether the person will go to Sada Dimbaza or Iling.

There is no appeal . . ."

WHITE MAN SHOOTS AFRICAN

A company director "lost his temper and shot an African because he refused to push his car". The magistrate after saying that "This is bordering on attempted murder" found the director guilty of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and fined him a mere R150 (approximately £70) or 100 days. A further six months was suspended on condition that he paid the African R75 for loss of earnings.

WHITE FARMER FINED

About five African families who had lived for 20 years on their homes at Randburg were evicted at short notice. A white farmer Mr. Vuuren who gave them shelter was fined R50. Their shacks had been "demolished wit-

STATISTICAL JOKE

The 1970 census has once again outlined that the so-called "white areas" are a statistical joke. Of the 14.14 million people in "White South Africa" (which constitutes 87 per cent of the land), only 3.7 million are whites. For the rest there are more than 2 million Coloured people, more than 600 000 Asians and more than 8 million Africans. In the "white" cities, towns and villages there are 3.2 million whites, 4.4 million Africans, 1.5 million Coloureds and more than 500 000 Asians. In the "white" rural areas there are 484 000 whites, 516 000 Coloureds, 70 000 Asians and 3.7 million Africans.

CONTACT IS LEGAL

A bulletin recently published in South Africa in a journal of the Christian Institute states that contact "between groups and minds is mostly legal, provided it does not include political party meetings or entertainment or sport open to the public. The following gatherings are listed as legal:

- . . . A sit down meal in a private home, or a social party or wedding, not open to the public, is lawful without a permit.
- . . . The meeting of a society even though open to the public is lawful provided it is not entertainment.

MASS REMOVALS

The government has ruthlessly carried out its inhuman policy of moving thousands of Africans from so called

Private gatherings or functions open to members or by private invitations are lawful. These include concerts and plays in private places or in what are normally public places taken over for the occasion. Public cake sales and morning markets-provided there are no sideshows or entertainment.

Private tennis matches on private courts or courts hired for the purpose. So are certain other sports, if they are not intended for public entertainment.

Public multiracial meetings are lawful, except where the meetings is in support of a political party or candidate. It is unlawful to address such a meeting if the majority of the people at the meeting are of a different race to the speaker.

"If you are a legal EXPERT and ensure that your inter-racial activities fall within these categories or if you are naive to believe that the special branch and the other police will not harrass you irrespective of the letter of the law, then you can still be "thankful for small mercies."

ORDERED TO LEAVE

21 year old journalist, Miss Gulsrud, who was jailed for entering a Johannesburg African township without a permit, has been ordered to leave South Africa. She had gone to the township to attend a party. The security police had interrogated her "six or seven times for several hours at a time". They asked her questions about her family, about politics in Norway, the people she had met in South Africa etc.

SOCIOLOGIST HARRASSED

Since December 1970 when an African sociologist Mr. Gegetya visited a DRC in Maraisburg, with Dr. Marcus Braun a Lutheran Minister who was later expelled from South Africa, he has been continuously harrassed by the security police. His family life has been disrupted. The security police have called at his home four times, interrogated his relatives and followed him to work in Swaziland. His family

he says, "are now so frightened that I am more or less ostracised by them".

Speaking of his visit to the church he said that the services were stopped a few minutes after their entry and he was ordered to leave. "In the conversation that followed the elders made it quite clear they would rather not worship God than worship Him with a black man".

DANCING CAUSES DIVORCES!

An article in the Kerkboode asserts that according to the Free State Synodical Commission for the combating of social evils, "75 % of divorces originate on the dance floor."

The article states that "volkspele and classical ballets (but not modern ballet) qualify for the biblical go ahead, but that in "co-sexual" dancing where the "sexual elements comes strongly to the foreground it is 'no' all the way."

We wonder if this was the reason for refusing to grant Percy Sledge, who had visited South Africa last year, another visa.

STARVATION WAGES

The cost-of-living is going up even faster and is now running at 6.3 %, the highest level since a brief period 20 years ago. In August the consumer price index rose to 107.1 compared with 106.5 in June. In July last year the index stood at 100.3. The white housewives, trade unions and other organisations have formed deputations to see the government and have been clamouring for more wages etc. Needless to say their campaign is limited to the whites and all their demands are on behalf of the whites. It is true that some non-white workers have been given increases, but the real effect of this is minimal because of the fast growth of the cost-of-living. The August issue of the Race Relations News has found that many "African breadwinners are earning less than half of what they need to support a family of five or six people".

It is estimated that for an urban family of five the secondary poverty da-

tum line is given as R67.65 and for a family of six as R77.90 a month. But the journal states that an income 1/2 times the secondary datum line is required to maintain a decent standard of living. This puts the effective minimum income for a family of five at R101.47 and for a family of six at R116,80 a month.

The Bantu Wage and Productivity Association survey found that wage figures quoted for financial institutions as well as the wholesale and retail trades showed that the average unskilled and semi-skilled African worker earns below the poverty datum line.

Statistics also show that in most sections of the economy the African earnings are very much less than that of the whites. Banks and building societies: whites R298.20, African R66.90. Construction: whites R325.30, Africans R49.90. Local Authorities: whites R293.60, Africans R45. Mining: whites R360.80, Africans R18.30

Recently there was much publicity of Anglo-American increases for Africans. This Company which is so "concerned about the well-being of its workers" has raised the average wage to R21.84 a month. Central Government: Whites R282.10, Africans R44.80. Electricity: Whites R369.10 Africans R55.30 Manufacturing Whites: R307.20 Africans R55.20.

From this it is clear that poverty is an inherent characteristic of what is called the traditional way of life. All the propoganda being put out by firms with investments in South Africa must be seen in this context.

Token gestures might enable some international concerns to ease their consciences or help them to meet the challenge of the growing demand to withdraw from South Africa, but it brings about no meaningful changes for the oppressed peoples. The majority will always continue to live in abject poverty and misery. Their lot can only be improved by fundamental changes in the South African system.

NON-RACIAL SOCCER

The 50 year old non-racial county Football Association may go out of existence because of a directive it has received from the Department of Parks and Gardens.

It has to decide by September whether it wants to remain racial or non-racial in character.

The choice is not an easy one because if the Association insists on ad-

hering to its non-racial policy, it will find itself without a ground next season. The government with the connivance and support of some white associations have for years attempted to prevent all forms of contacts between different groups. The Non-European sportsmen and officials have always rejected this and have always attempted to play on non-racial lines. Dummy sports institutions have been set up and they have been given control of almost all the facilities. These bodies adhere to the government policy of strict segregation even amongst the non-whites. The non-white sportsmen are in a dilemma. If they want to make use of the limited facilities, they have to join the dummy institutions. But if they join the dummy institutions they have to adhere rigidly to the segregation policy. Moreover it is only in South-Africa where sportsmen have been taken to court under the Group Areas Act because they dared to participate in activities with members of another group. When Legislative and administrative terror is not enough, there is no hesitation to use force.

NO MIXED CRICKET

The South African Minister of Sport has categorically stated that "you cannot play multi-racial matches in this country at any level." In a strongly worded statement he said: "all cricketing bodies were fully aware of Government policy. These hollow resolutions which are apparently intended for popular local and overseas consumption, may make interesting reading in newspapers but they are in practice meaningless."

NO MIXED BOXING

The chairman of the Transvaal Boxing Board of Control has stated that the proposed bout between Jamaican middle weight, Sterling, and the Transvaal champion, Kes, could not take place. The reason given is that this is against the law of the land. Yet a close examination of the Boxing and Wrestling Control Act, 1954 shows that there is nothing in the Act that prohibits mixed boxing. It is the South African Boxing Control Boards own regulations that prohibit

this ... In terms of section 15 "No contest relating to Boxing shall be entered into between a white and a non-white boxer nor shall any contest, competition or exhibition between white and non-white boxers be permitted, nor shall white and non-white boxers be permitted to participate at the same tournament.

The Boxing Board, like so many other white sporting associations, have their own apartheid regulations written into their constitutions. Government policy generally reflects their attitudes. Many of them wanted to have their cake and eat it. However the international campaigns have blown the lid off their policies and intentions.

NO SEPARATE SPORT

It has been decided that only whites will represent South Africa at the Greek marathon to be held next April, because "there are no suitable non-whites".

Four years ago Metsing and Malope did better in this race than the South African whites. Malope finished 5th. From recent developments it became clear that the non-whites were never going to be considered. Talk of "separate trials" were bandied around to prevent any hostile opinion abroad. Having announced their intention to have separate trials, they get the self-styled "mighty South African Bantu Athletic Association" (which falsely claims to represent all the blacks in the country) to announce that they had withdrawn from the trials because their athletes were not good enough for the marathon. Thus once again we have the manipulated spectacle of a stooge association, with a white secretary, which has cleared the way for an all white team to go abroad.

AMERICANS SUPPORT APARTHEID

It is reported that some of America's top athletes are expected to compete in the "open" international athletic meetings in Cape Town, in November. The South African sports administrators are "jubilant", because "with the Americans ready to come, other countries are bound to follow suit". The International Amateur Athletic

Federation has given the okay for the meeting and opinion in South Africa is that this meeting will be a tremendous break-through in the SAAAU bid to re-establish itself in world athletics. Need we say any more? South Africas'

EXPENSIVE GUESTS

The South African Foundation which for years has been trying to buy South

Foto: John Seymour



Africa a "better image" abroad has always organised luxurious trips for parliamentarians, influential businessmen, churchmen etc to South Africa. These people arrive back having seen the picture of the "happy contented black" and become experts on South Africa. They make some mild criticism about "petty apartheid" but generally become propagandists for the South African regime. Recently this campaign has been stepped up ... Four Canadian MP's, Robinson (Toronto Lakeshore), Stafford (Elgin), and Roy Laval, all members of the governing Liberal Party, and Rondeau (Shefford)

a member of the Social Credit Party, toured South Africa as the foundations' guests. They expressed support for the Bantustan policy. Their spokesman Robinson said that many "Canadians assumed that Black people of South Africa were educated and ready to be integrated into white society. They don't realise that the blacks are unable to compete with whites in the society you have here. I think that the Blacks need a great deal of education and help before they can ever be put into that position".

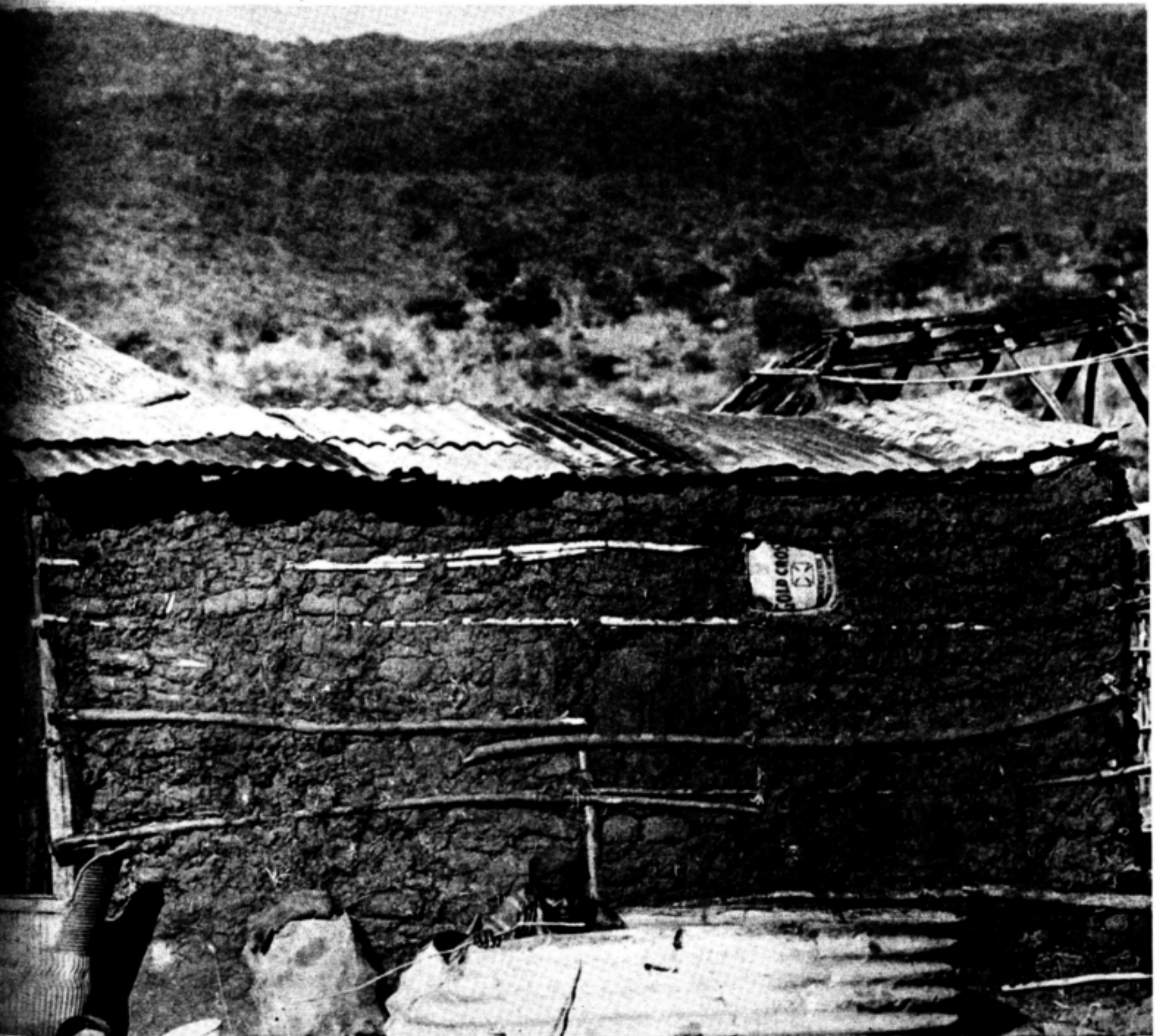
He expressed disappointment that the South African Information Services

were not putting their case adequately.

After a mere 8 days they have become experts on South Africa and are parroting "His Masters Voice".

... Mr. Sudreau, who has been named as the possible successor to the French Minister of Justice or Culture, was the Foundations guest for 3 weeks. He was also happy with all he saw and "understood" problems better. He was also of the opinion that there was an appalling ignorance of South Africa overseas, and that neither the United States or Europe had any lesson to teach South Africa.

A home in a dustbowl



BOOK REVIEWS

ARMED REVOLUTION IN THE CITY

A. Neuberg, ARMED INSURRECTION New Left Books, 1970 £3/-

Martin Oppenheimer URBAN GUERRILLA Penguin, 1970 5/-

The mass media, anxious as always for simplistic labels, called 1970 "the year of the urban guerilla". Yet it is true that the Tupamaros, the Weathermen, the Palestinian guerillas, the I.R.A., the Quebec movement — all conducting hijacks, kidnapping, sabotage, appropriation of ruling class funds with comparative impunity — have challenged the tactical thinking of revolutionaries everywhere. Not least, perhaps, in our own struggle. In the 1950's, learning from and contributing to the experience of non-violent nationalist movements in India and Africa and working-class movements in Europe, we conducted campaigns to mobilize steadily the oppressed masses of South Africa. Insofar as overall thinking was offensive rather than defensive, it seems to have been believed that this mobilisation would create conditions in which a national general political strike would bring the downfall of the South African regime (see, for example, the debate in *Africa South* initiated by Julius Lewin).

During the 1960's the focus of revolutionary thinking in South Africa shifted to a changed guerilla struggle, with a new emphasis on rural areas, in which the South African revolution has been seen as a necessary condition for the liberation of the whole of Southern Africa. In developing theory and practice we were able to draw on the experience of China, Cuba, the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, the partisan warfare in World War II Europe, and our own African wars of liberation such as that in Guinea-Bissau: rich experience which has stimulated extensive theoretical debate.

In neither of these spheres, however, has much attention been paid, openly at least, to the political and military strategies of urban insurrection; although such would form a necessary culminating phase of either approach. It is gratifying to find that both the books under review address themselves to this subject, though in very different ways.

FORCIBLE SEIZURE OF POWER

Armed Insurrection was in fact a collective work published under Comintern auspices in 1928, with the most famous contributors Ho Chi Minh and Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Red Army general during and after the Civil War. It appeared during the "Third Period" of the Comintern, when the deepening economic crisis in the West was believed to presage widespread revolutionary upheaval. Its starting point is a clear demarcation of the Communist insistence on the necessity of a forcible seizure of power (insurrection) as against the Social Democratic repudiation of this view. There follow four chapters on abortive insurrections of the 1920's: Reval, in Estonia, in 1924; Hamburg in 1923; Canton (1927); Shanghai (1926-7). The remainder of the book draws lessons from these unsuccessful attempts, with sec-

tions on the subversion of the armed forces of the state, the organisation of the armed forces of the proletariat, the military work of the party, and the character and aims of military action during the insurrection. Ho Chi Minh concludes with a chapter on the peasantry which, despite its brevity, anticipates many of the key ideas of Mao-Tse Tung. For revolutionaries the book is as indispensable as the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the subject. It covers the broadest and the most detailed (how to build barricades at a street intersection) questions.

NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION

Urban Guerrilla is titled for the pop market. Written by a forty year old academic, a part-observer, fringe-participant in the United States movement of the 1960's, it is in many ways a tract for non-violent revolution. Yet skimming as he does, though superficially, over the spectrum of modern and "pre-modern" protests from Hobsbawm's "primitive rebels" through George Rude's pre-working-class "crowd" to projected scenario's for a black urban guerrilla campaign in the United States, it provides at least some useful bibliography for the novice and perhaps some provocative thought. Unfortunately the author has picked up much of the value system which informs American social science along with its jargon. Thus he makes the kind of necessary equation between violent action, hierarchical organisation, and elitist and anti-democratic practice which the establishment likes to foist on any revolutionary movement. It is this which brings him down on the side of non-violence, for, he argues, violent revolution "is almost inevitably bound to result either in a counter-revolutionary fascist society or in a revolutionary dictatorship which destroys the goals for which the revolution was undertaken." (p. 158)

INSURRECTION MOST DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Oppenheimer's simplistic answers do not, however, negate the problem. Insurrection, wrote Lenin, "must rely on a revolutionary upsurge of the people". Involving above all the direct intervention of the masses in history, it is the most democratic and creative of processes. It requires therefore, qualitative leaps in class consciousness, collective acts of the popular imagination. Consciousness is necessary but not sufficient. Failure to see this is the downfall of Oppenheimer and still more of Charles Reich's *Greening of America*, the best-seller which anticipates a revolution in the U.S. based purely on the transformation of consciousness. But revolution also requires power. "The revolution is the work of the millions of people, of the popular masses who stand up to overthrow the ruling classes, the classes commanding a colossal machinery of violence together with other material and spiritual means".¹ The growth of revo-

1. Le Duan, "The Vietnamese Revolution: Fundamental Problems, Essential Tasks", *"Marxism Today"*, July 1970

lutionary consciousness indeed destroys the "spiritual means" of violence, the effectiveness of ruling class ideological hegemony, but in so doing it forces the rulers back on their control of the legitimate means of violence. Insurrection can succeed only where the ruling class is **militarily defeated** or where, as in Petrograd in 1917, they find that overwhelming military power has passed into the hands of the people.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND INSURRECTION

This popular power, if it is distinct from revolutionary popular consciousness, is distinct also from the power of a vanguard party or guerrilla army. The analytical problem involved, indeed, is the relation between political and military struggle, between the class struggle and "insurrection as an art". **Battle of Algiers**, outstanding film though it was, eluded this crucial issue. Those stirring final scenes of the 1962 popular manifestations were the proof that though the FLN Algiers underground cell structure had been eliminated it had triumphed rather than lost. But how, why, by what means? Neither the new wave of urban guerrillas nor even **Armed Insurrection** answer this question satisfactorily. Thus Carlos Marighella, Brazilian author of a famous tract on urban guerrillism, devotes only one short section to "popular support". Its argument is explicitly Debrayist (of the time of **Revolution in the Revolution**): guerrilla action, coupled perhaps with leaflets, is the way to ensure public support and to lead the people into refusal to collaborate with the authorities. But no closer ties are suggested, no ways of organising or institutionalizing this popular opposition. In Brazil there is still a way out: "The disastrous situation in which the government must act" (as a result of urban guerrillism and the waning of popular support) continues Marighella, "permit the revolutionaries to open rural guerrilla warfare in the midst of the uncontrollable expansion of urban rebellion." On their own, such rural focus, whether in Debrayist isolation or on the Vietnamese-Chinese model of interpenetration with the masses, have yet to prove themselves in Latin America.² State repressive machinery has proved too efficient and dense. Perhaps concurrent urban action can spread ruling class forces more thinly. But even then the questions of insurrection are not satisfactorily solved.

INSURRECTION BY MASSES OF THE PEOPLE

For the authors of **Armed Insurrection** it was to be the Communist Parties of Western Europe which were to prepare and organise the masses for insurrection and conduct the insurrection itself. But such a task, as Ben Brewster has recently pointed out, cannot be undertaken by the Party alone: a Bolshevik Party can never claim to organise the oppressed masses as a whole. Precisely because it represents the interests of the proletariat as a whole in its struggle against capital, it cannot organise the whole of the proletariat let alone the other oppressed classes in a bourgeois or pre-bourgeois political system. The bourgeois state... is precisely designed to prevent the direct representation of the interests of the proletariat and the oppressed... The Bolshevik Party can only claim to organise the **vanguard** of the proletariat. Hence the conduct of the insurrection has an anomalous location within a bourgeois or pre-bourgeois state. In so far as it is a technical problem... it falls to the Party as a whole as the instance with the clearest preception of its necessity. But it cannot be politically initiated directly by the Party. The Party has to fight for the adoption of the tactic of insurrection by the masses of the people.

2. See Richard Gott, **Guerrilla Movements in Latin America** (London: 1970)

Thus in 1917 the October insurrection was conducted not by the Bolshevik³ Party but by the Petrograd Soviet, that is, the people of Petrograd. The Soviets, in fact, were the means of direct representation of the masses of the people, existing simultaneously with the bourgeoisie state. Popular consciousness and power were entrenched in these embryonic institutions of a proletarian State.

CHINESE AND VIETNAMESE REVOLUTIONS

This, on a much more protracted time-scale, has also been the experience of the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions. Here **dual power**, the simultaneous existence (but **not** co-existence) of institutions of bourgeois State power and proletarian-peasant power was achieved through armed liberated areas in the country-side. Le Duan stresses the point: to mobilize and rally the forces of the masses, to set up and expand the political army of the revolution, is an essential decisive question... Before the seizure of power, and in the pursuit of that aim, the only weapon available to the revolution, to the masses, is organisation...

All activities aimed at gradually bringing the masses to the point where they will rise up and topple the ruling classes boil down to this: to organise, organise, organise... propaganda, organisation, and struggle must be closely associated...⁴

INSTITUTION OF POPULAR POWER

Although, as Le Duan points out, this is a long-drawn out process, and "the art of revolutionary leadership lies in knowing how to win step by step, in judicious fashion", there is an essential distinction between the building of institutions of dual power and what is often loosely called "mobilisation". In an article some two years ago, James Wilcox analysed this matter very well, contrasting a Liberated zone/dual power strategy with one which relied exclusively on intermediary objective launching fake demands in order to expose the system - if it cannot back up these objectives, it risks exploding **itself** as demagogic in the eyes of the masses. The Red Base... concretely incarnates one aspect of the maximum programme of the revolution - popular power... (it) offers real advances and does not hide from the masses the fact that **only their own efforts**, only their own ability to mobilize effectively against the ruling power, can defend the gains which the Red Base promises. For all these reasons the Red Base is an intermediary **institution of popular power**, not an intermediary objective. While the latter have a valid place in revolutionary strategy, the former concretely make possible the masses' self emancipation from oppression and exploitation.⁵

SOUTH-AFRICA

It is clear that in South Africa, and elsewhere, the principal task is to discover the sources of potential dual power, to find out how to create those institutions directly representing the masses, incarnating their aspirations and energies, which marshal and concretise existing gains and poise continually on the offensive against the institutions of the South African ruling class. Trade Unions, created to defend the economic interests of the workers, can never on their own fulfil these task - as both Lenin and Gramsci pointed out in their critiques of "economism". In South Africa the nature of the system limits the role of trade unions still further. Where should one look therefore, to begin the building of such institutions?

3. Ben Brewster, "Armed Insurrection and Dual Power", *New Left Review*, 66, March-April 1971.

4. Le Duan, *op cit*.

5. James Wilcox, "Two Tactics", *New Left Review*, 53, January-February 1969.

GUIDELINES

Ultimately such questions can be decided only by the cadres on the spot and engaged in praxis. But there are some guidelines. Particularly in the initial stages, these institutions of mass self-action need not have territorial or temporal integrity. Even today in Vietnam "liberated areas" in the full sense come and go with the presence or absence of imperialist forces. Secondly, they will be located at the "weakest links" of the articulated structure of the South African political economy — those areas sociologically inaccessible to the repressive forces of the ruling class, as the liberated areas in China were geographically inaccessible. If on the one hand this poses the question of more sophisticated analysis of the forms of class rule and social control in South Africa, on the other hand it suggests that the spontaneous praxis of the masses gives some clues. Revolutionary Marxism, said Lenin, "generalizes, organises, gives conscious expression to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement". Thus the institutions concerned will concretely embody the immediate aspirations of the masses, will draw, as the masses have drawn, on a rich cultural heritage prior to colonization and developing in response to it, and yet will represent new and superior forms of organising principles for social relations. Moreover, these institutions will take their revolutionary form within the context of Southern Africa as a whole insofar as it constitutes a single political economy.

TASKS OF S. A. REVOLUTION

The hegemony of the South African ruling class is preserved by repressive-fascist rather than bourgeois democratic means. Yet even so, social processes at work (the *beswaring* of the *platteland*, for example), the bourgeois formalism of international law, the demands of apartheid — separate development ideology, all create weaker points in the system and disturb the homogeneous articulation of the power of the ruling class. These weak points exist in all sectors: in the urban sector, in the "reserves" in the broadest sense. Promoting the self-activity of the masses at such points, incarnating this selfactivity in the most concrete forms, defending it against the ruling class, progressively extending it towards the final stage of insurrection: these are the tasks of the South African revolution. Other questions, the characterization and relationship of classes within the revolutionary movement, the programme of the victorious movement, will solve themselves and be solved in relationship to these tasks.

IDEOLOGY IN THE FIFTIES

LIBERALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA 1948–1963 by Janet Robertson Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1971 45/- 252 pages.

A revival of the discussion on the role of liberalism in South Africa would seem to be about the most futile enterprise at this stage in our country's history. The liberal political outlook has long lost any significance in a country where social conflicts are raw and unrestrained and where the palliatives of the liberal spirit never seemed very realistic. All the more remarkable therefore that a major piece of research ought now to be devoted to an examination of

liberal influences in South African politics during the very period when African militancy and extra-constitutional action ripened so meaningfully.

Janet Robertson's weakness lies in her determination to apply the rather vague yardstick of liberal ideology (she often seems to be using a kind of litmus paper to detect elements of what she is seeking) to a movement which falls in a different category altogether. She seeks and finds liberal traces in the various white opposition parties and here her discussion is appropriate enough. But when she extends her inquiry into the Black arena her political tools fail her. Moderation there undoubtedly was within the liberation movement, especially in the 1940's, and liberals too, but the essence of the ANC's policies and objectives for instance, could by no means be called liberal. Miss Robertson has failed to recognise that the democratic demands of a liberation movement in our present epoch, particularly where the ruling group is so clearly differentiated, has of necessity a revolutionary aspect which is very far from liberal in its old-style classical usage. This was true even in the forties when the ANC was led by cautious men who often expressed themselves in terms they thought most useful in their dealings with the white oppressor.

VIOLENT, BUT LIBERAL?

In wanting to make out a consistent case, Janet Robertson has forced upon the South African situation a political concept that does not fit and she is led into contradictory statements like the following:

"Neither the Youth League nor the other signs of militancy which appeared in the ANC while the U.P. was still in power meant that Congress had veered away from liberal principles and methods. But before 1948 Congress had already diverged sharply from values which continued to distinguish white liberals in South Africa. Such discrepancies between liberalism in Congress and in the white world were to become more marked under the impact of the Nationalist victory in 1948".

Of the powerful struggles against mass removals and Bantu Education she makes the silly comment that "The major grounds of Congress resistance to both measures was essentially liberal." And of the decision to turn to violent struggle in 1961 she says, "despite their adoption of unconstitutional means, their aims remained consistently liberal". Perhaps Miss Robertson wishes to show that the ANC was led by 'respectable people', but it is doubtful whether this kind of formulation would have much appeal for men like, Nelson Mandela and other militants of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Nevertheless some of the major points made in this book are valid, and her meticulous scholarship makes it well worth reading. Her judgement of white liberals for instance is fair and generally accurate. She describes the futility of Liberal Party reservations on the franchise question, on economic issues and on extra-parliamentary action, while giving credit for positive efforts. She seems to regret that the Liberal Party only came to accept the Congress position on many issues too late.

A PREDICTABLE REACTION

But of greater interest is her analysis of the reaction of whites generally to non-white militancy, and it seems that she argues that it was predictable that there would be a consolidation and strengthening of reactionary white attitudes leading to the total polarization of black and white in the sixties. Some Congress leaders did indeed anticipate this development, but the ANC leadership was anxious to keep the door open so that the reason for the races drifting into hostile camps should be seen to lie in Govern-

ment rather than ANC policies. The ANC was also anxious to recruit as many whites as possible to join the liberation struggle and identify wholly with it. This was how the Congress of Democrats was born and its symbolic existence had an importance far greater than could be accounted for by its numerical strength.

It is also true that for a long time into the fifties, the ANC sought, by means of mass action, to create the conditions where dialogue between white and black could take place. This strategy was based partly on a belief, proved to be mistaken, that a major section of the whites were then ready to break away from their intransigence, leading to the isolation of the most extreme racists. There was also a certain reluctance to move away from the pressure-group style of politics of the previous years. Finally, as the Nationalist Government was so obviously out to attack civil liberties in general, there was a tendency in Congress to concentrate on defensive protests against Government repressive measures and to try to gain white support for these protests.

These tendencies diverted the movement from setting its sights on a revolutionary programme for the overthrow of the authority of white rule. While the 1949 Programme of Action did much to clear the ground for such a policy it nevertheless took a full decade before it could be adopted fully.

The Congress movement did not have a sufficiently developed theory of power during the fifties leaving the door open to ideological weaknesses which made tough struggle choices difficult to make. With the later adoption of armed struggle as the road to power this has now been remedied, but there is yet much room for the elaboration of a revolutionary theory which will clarify our struggle strategy and also lay down the essential concepts of the democracy which liberation is to achieve.

B. T.

AFRICAN STUDENTS CONDEMN TORIES

We, the East African and Zambian Students Organisations in U.K. and Ireland strongly condemn the supply of arms to the racist regime of South Africa. Having found no new substance in the reasons advanced by the Tory Government, we urge the British Government not to take lightly the opinions and feelings expressed by the majority of the Commonwealth countries.

Following the Singapore Commonwealth leaders conference, it is clear that the British Prime Minister has long decided to supply arms to apartheid South Africa. His earlier consultations with various governments, in particular the Commonwealth members, was a mere diplomatic bluff to deceive the world that Britain had sought the views of the majority of the countries concerned. In view of the unreasonable and uncompromising behaviour of Mr. Heath at the conference, the above students organisations will continue to oppose this evil and inhuman act. Furthermore we shall continue to co-operate with any organisation opposed to such a policy and which works for the advancement of majority rule in South Africa.

We also reiterate our full support for the stand taken by the African leaders at the Commonwealth conference in particular Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. It is our sole intention to work for the unity of Africa within the

O.A.U. framework and we shall resist all external forces that work for its destruction.

Signed: 1. D. KYALO (KENYA STUDENTS ASS.)
2. J. K. BARONGO (TANZANIA S.A.)
3. M. T. B. KASISIRI (UGANDA S.A.)
4. S. J. ANDEKE (ZAMBIA S.U.)

We regret the delay in publishing this statement – Sechaba

UNESCO RULES ON S.A. RACISM

(From the U.S. Guardian)

The YMCA and the YWCA are among a list of international organisations which may lose their membership in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) unless they can prove by the end of 1971 that their affiliates in South Africa, Portugal's African colonies and Rhodesia do not practice racial discrimination in any form. The threat to continued UNESCO membership for the YWCA, the YMCA and some 76 other organisations was contained in a decision taken by the UNESCO General Conference at its November meeting in Paris. The conference invited the UNESCO executive board to sever all connections by the end of 1971 with organisations shown to be practicing racial discrimination in any form.

Among the organisations affected, besides the international "Y" groups, are the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and includes educational, medical, engineering and other international professional bodies, such as: League of Red Cross Societies, International Council of Women, International Federation of Business and Professional Women, International Federation of Library Associations, Federation of University Women, Planned Parenthood Association, Union of Architects, PEN, Organisation for Standardisation, Organisation of Medical Sciences.

The UNESCO decision came as a result of a persistent campaign by African members of the United Nations against any form of collaboration between UN special agencies and the white minority regimes in Southern Africa. According to the terms of the decision taken in Paris, southern African affiliates of the organisations affected would have to prove to their parent body that they do not practice racial discrimination. In turn, such proof would have to be furnished by the organisations to the UNESCO executive board. It would then be up to the executive board to take the final decision.

The UNESCO resolution was approved 68-1 with 28 abstentions. It was a compromise of a previous draft which would have named 1970 as the cut-off date. The milder resolution extended the deadline one year and left the final decision up to the UNESCO executive board.

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**White the night, with cold dry stars:
Water dried in the well,
Milk dried in the cow's udder,
Maize dried in the starved cob,
Speech dried in the people's mouths.**

Black men will come secretly in that white night.

**And at morning, water will gush from deep in the ground,
Milk of the cow will glisten on the children's lips,
Heads of maize will become a field of spears,
And from silenced mouths will sound trilling of birds,
Morning birds that signal an end to mourning,
That summon black dawn after white night.**

**Black the sky, with promise of storm, with promise of rain:
After white night, black morning.**

J. Simelane