



## CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCHES



Report of a Consultation on The Church  
and the Liberation of Southern Africa  
Held at Mindolo, Kitwe, Zambia, Nov. 25-30, 1975

**CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCHES**  
**Official Report**  
**of the**  
**JOINT AACC/PCR - WCC CONSULTATION**  
**on**  
**THE CHURCH AND THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

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**ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES**

**PRODUCED BY: THE INFORMATION DEPARTMENT, AACC.**



*Some of the participants in the Joint AACC/PCR-WCC consultation on Southern Africa  
- 25 - 30 November, 1976 Kitwe Zambia.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

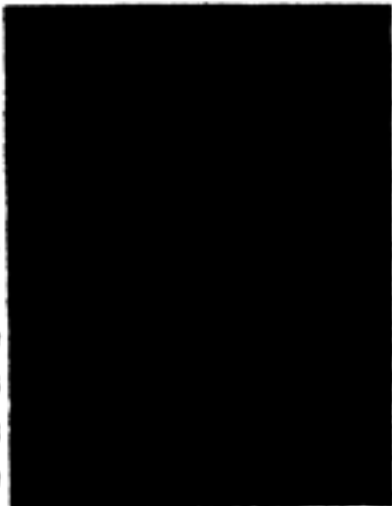
I)	<b>FOREWORD</b>	
	Simon Israel Maliwa Phiri .....	1
II)	<b>OFFICIAL OPENING SPEECH</b>	
	The Rt. Hon. Elijah Mudenda M.P., Prime Minister of the Republic of Zambia .....	4
III)	<b>REPORT OF THE CONSULTATION:</b>	
	Preamble .....	8
	The Role of the Church in the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa .....	10
	Imperialist Strategy in Southern Africa .....	13
	Humanitarian Priorities of the African Liberation Movements .....	14
IV)	<b>OFFICIAL CLOSING SPEECH</b>	
	Mr Martin Kaunda, Chairman of the Christian Council of Zambia and Director of the Department of continuing Studies, University of Zambia .....	18
V)	<b>SOME PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE CONSULTATION</b>	
	<b>THE GENERAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA</b>	
	African National Congress of South Africa (A.N.C.) .....	21
	<b>APARTHEID AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRANSKEI</b>	
	Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa (P.A.C.) .....	25
	<b>THE ROLE OF BLACK STUDENTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA</b>	
	South African Students Organisation (S.A.S.O.) .....	34
	<b>THE ROLE OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA</b>	
	The Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) .....	43
	<b>NAMIBIA: THE MAIN QUESTION TODAY</b>	
	South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) .....	47
	<b>SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS AND STRATEGIES OF IMPERIALISM</b>	
	Professor Y. Tandon, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania .....	51
VI)	<b>LIST OF PARTICIPANTS</b> .....	58



## FOREWORD

No single subject has brought so much controversy in contemporary church history than the question of liberation and the church's involvement in it. There are two contending view points often advanced in this on-going debate. On the one side, it is often argued, especially in the case of the liberation struggle currently waging in Southern Africa, that for the Church to identify itself with the struggling black masses of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is to directly condone and give official approval to violence. Those Christians who take this line argue that the early church had thrived on the blood of its martyrs, and had followed closely at least in its aspiration the example of Christ, who then choose to offer his own life in sacrifice rather than to destroy his enemies. It tried to remain scrupulously loyal to the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount,

that a Christian's distinctive duty was to show love even for his enemies, and his specific task the building of a supra-national spiritual community transcending local boundaries and antagonisms.



*Simon I. M. Phiri*

On the other side, there are those Christians who believe that Christianity is an incarnational religion which moves and exists among the problems and sufferings of the people of God. These Christians contend that a spiritualization of injustice in society whereby victims are compensated by their spiritual growth in witness and suffering, or by rewards in a future life is alien to the Gospel message of God's entry into human history to change society. Christians are ambassadors of Jesus Christ in this world. They are charged with the responsibility of changing people and their selfish attitudes (Matt. 28:19), of bringing freedom to the oppressed and liberty to the captives (Luke 4:18) and initiating a new type of society based on justice for all (John 13:34). This responsibility is urgent "here and now" for each generation of Christians. According to this group of Christians evil must be confronted, rebuked and if obdurate overthrown. It rejects totally the assumption that the church's major responsibility is "field ambulance work", in other words the most she is entitled to do is to assist the victims of evil oppressive regimes mainly spiritually, but also materially. She must do that as a matter of course, but that in no way absolves her from this great task of struggling against *institutionalised evil and injustices in society*

Those who are actually involved in the struggle for salvation (liberation) are on their part constantly asking the question, What is a man of faith to do in a situation of violent brutality? What does the Lord require of a Christian in South Africa today where apartheid is a state doctrine under which hundreds and thousands of innocent and defenceless black and coloured people are dying under the brutal racist hands of the police? What does the Lord require in Zimbabwe where a handful of whites have the absolute control of the destiny of millions of black people and in Namibia where the oppressive and merci-

no means least, we are sincerely thankful to all those bodies, groups and individuals who contributed financially towards the Conference. Without their support the holding of this meeting would not have been possible. All these contributions combined to make the Mindolo Consultation one of the most successful meetings ever held on the question of liberation and the church's involvement in it.

But what a great pity if the encouraging enthusiasm and commitment generated by the Mindolo Meeting will not be sustained and exploited for the greater good of those of our sisters and brothers who are to-day engaged in a bitter struggle for human dignity, peace and social justice in Southern Africa! One sure way to sustain the spirit of brotherhood and oneness which prevailed at the Mindolo Consultation is for churches as well as others to join forces with those struggling to undo the structures of injustice in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and to work vigorously for the implementation of the resolutions which resulted from the Consultative Talks. This means that we must immediately begin to raise the many important issues contained in this report with our churches, in our synods, and with our congregations and to *initiate a programme of action* through which we can implement the decisions which we ourselves – the churches of Africa made and now must speedily put into effect.

Only in this way can we echo the lamentation of prophet Jeremiah:

The wound of the daughter of my people wounds me too;  
Who will turn my head into a fountain and my eyes into a spring of tears  
so that I may weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my  
people! (Jeremiah 8:21-24; 9:1)

By organizing this Conference, the AACC and PCR WCC wish to express their unwavering support for and solidarity with the liberation movements of Southern Africa who are engaged in a just struggle aimed at initiating a new type of society based on justice for all – a new Zimbabwe, a new Namibia and a new South Africa people of all races can live together in harmony and as beloved sons and daughters of our Saviour Jesus Christ. With this vision of hope, we commend this report to the Churches and to all those who are involved in the liberation struggle in South Africa.

SIMON I. M. PHIRI  
Executive Secretary for  
International Affairs

All Africa Conference  
of Churches.

NAIROBI, Kenya  
1st FEBRUARY, 1977

4

**SPEECH BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER, E.H.K. MUDENDA,  
M.P., AT THE OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF  
CHURCHES CONSULTATION CONFERENCE AT MINDOLO ECUMENICAL CENTRE,  
KITWE AT 15:00 HOURS, ON 25th NOVEMBER, 1976.**

Mr. Chairman,  
Hon Member of the Central Committee,  
Hon Minister of Education,  
District Governors,  
Regional Official M.P.,  
Mayor,  
Distinguished Delegates to the Conference,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

Permit me first of all, Mr Chairman, to convey to you and to the Distinguished delegates, the greetings and best wishes of His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia. It gave His Excellency considerable encouragement to learn that a consultation was to be held on such an important subject. The consultation is taking place at a very crucial time in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. Although His Excellency is not able to be with us physically, I am certain that he is with us in spirit because the issues that are going to be discussed are very close to his heart.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the honour of inviting me to open the conference. May I also thank the participating organs of the Church for selecting Zambia to host this important conference. It is an honour for the people of Zambia who, since their independence, have inevitably been involved in the liberation struggle. Every Zambian has over the years been affected by the impact of the liberation struggle, in some way or another. Some Zambians have lost their lives as a result of the spill over effects of the struggle. Others survived land mine explosions but the explosions left scars which were a reliable reminder of the experiences of our generation. The liberation struggle affected the Zambian in a number of ways. At one time he could not get his supply of petrol because of sanctions against Rhodesia in the late sixties. Another time he could not get building material for a clinic because some transport routes were closed.

The expressions of support from our fellowmen in different parts of Africa and in different parts of the world have sustained us. The realization that the liberation struggle was not the concern of a few but the responsibility of the whole of progressive mankind gave us great encouragement. It is against this background that we sincerely welcome the holding of this conference in Zambia.

The Church has played a very important role in the struggle for the liberation of Africa. I recall that His Excellency the President has over the past twelve years appealed to the West to support the liberation struggle. There was little response from the West. It was at best, half-hearted. The World Council of Churches played a very vital role in arousing consciousness on the issue of liberation, and when it decided to give humanitarian aid to

those who were fighting for their freedom, there was adverse reaction in certain quarters. There was very severe criticism at times. But for us it was a significant moment in the history of the liberation struggle because from that point onwards those who were fighting did not lean only on the East. They began to get increasing support from the West. Thus the church played a vital role in guiding western countries towards the right goal. It can be said that in a sense it was a moment of redemption for the West because at last a clear human problem had been recognised.

The All Africa Conference of Churches has expressed its unequivocal support for the liberation struggle. At its Lusaka General Assembly bold policy decisions were adopted. Relevant questions were asked. "What role is your church playing in raising the level of consciousness to the Liberation struggle?" In asking such a question the Assembly sought to involve a wide sector of the church. The Assembly proposed a programme of action which was designed to produce very positive results.

The Christian Council of Zambia which is hosting this conference has consistently stood alongside the freedom fighters of this country and continues to help those who are fighting for their freedom in Southern Africa. This conference, Mr. Chairman, is therefore a continuation of the positive involvement of the church.

It would not be possible for the church to play its full part in the liberation struggle without, first of all, decolonizing and liberating itself. Given the historical background of the church in Africa, the revolution in this regard has not been easy. But considerable progress has been made. In Zambia, for instance, there is now much greater Christian fellowship than we had before our independence. The consciousness of the importance of human freedom is also to some extent a measure of the decolonization that has taken place in the church.

Mr. Chairman, let me now briefly refer to the issues that are to be considered by those participating in this important consultation. I wish to discuss problems facing border states. In this regard we can speak from experience because Zambia has been a member of the club of border-states since her independence. We have become so used to this difficult state of existence that when Zimbabwe and Namibia achieve their independence, a period of readjustment on our part will clearly be necessary! The period since independence has been a period of trial. This has been the case with other border-states which share the problems that face liberation movements. On numerous occasions when liberation movements exchanged fire with the enemy, the border state had inevitably to exchange fire with the same enemy. When liberation movements got involved in the war of words with the enemy, the border-state found itself inevitably involved in that same war of words with the enemy. Border-states have played host to and continue to care for many refugees who have been forced to flee their countries due to the ruthlessness of the racist minority regimes. However limited the resources of the border-state, some of these had to be placed at the disposal of the liberation movements and the refugees. It is true that the Organization of African Unity, other progressive countries and organizations did their best to help. Support from these sources was usually far below the requirements of liberation movements. The leaders of these movements, like a drowning man, naturally sought for help wherever they could get it.



It is a tribute to the border-states that during the past difficult years they worked together to support the liberation movements. It has not been easy. Some countries which were far away from the border did not appreciate the magnitude of the sacrifices which were being made. Some became victims of the propaganda of the enemies of the liberation struggle and believed that border-states were slowing down the liberation struggle. They levelled all sorts of accusations against those who were shouldering the burdens of liberation. For the frontline states, it was a difficult phase. It is fortunate for Africa that the border-states continued to work together in tackling the problems of liberation. Indeed, I have every hope that this co-operation and solidarity will continue long after the achievement of total independence in Africa.

Mr. Chairman, I note that you will also be exchanging views of patterns, trends and strategies of international imperialism in our region. When colonialism ended, the phase of neo-colonialism followed. Those who ruled us had established interests in our regions in Africa. When they withdrew they expected these regions to remain as their spheres of interest. The tentacles of imperialism had grown from the cities of Europe to different parts of Africa. The former colonial masters belonged to a network of Western alliances and relations. They were loyal members of the Western camp. The decision that independent countries in the region took to be non-aligned was naturally not welcomed in certain circles. The fact that countries from the Eastern camp were welcomed in our region was not viewed with favour either. It is perhaps the fight against this development that certain strategies were developed. Efforts were made to slow down the pace of decolonization and to recolonise Africa. That Ian Smith was allowed to declare unilateral independence with impunity is significant. It was part of a strategy to frustrate the process of decolonization. Ian Smith was an agent in the whole affair. For what is Smith without his supporters?

At about this time we heard pronouncements from Pretoria about dialogue. The sounds were echoed in other parts of Africa. We have good reason to believe that the original sound came from Western Europe, and that the sound from Pretoria was also an echo. The essence of the concept of the dialogue was that racist South Africa should co-operate and live in good terms with independent African states. This means asking us to accept that the Africans in independent African states were better than those in areas still under racist control, a measure which was applied to us before our independence. It is not surprising therefore that the Assembly of Heads of States of the Organization of African Unity rejected the concept in June, 1971. It must be accepted that Zambia and other countries are assistants to liberation movements which constitute the principal factor in determining change in their areas of operation. Zambia and other nations and organizations are relevant to the extent to which they help to facilitate the process of change. We have to be at the disposal of liberation movements, and we should endeavour to respond to their needs. The slowing down of the pace of decolonization and the recolonization of Africa may pose major problems of the future. Indeed, at a time when we thought we were making progress in pushing back the frontiers of oppression, the racist regime in Pretoria is turning into a new imperial power through the establishment of Bantustans.

What are the implications of current strategies? So far our immediate problems were being caused by big powers, and the problems were serious enough. The big powers took measures to protect their interest in the area. Clearly their aim is to continue to have spheres of influence in the region. The super powers have developed an interest in the region. They have started fishing in our waters. This is an important element in our assessment.

Mr. Chairman, whatever form the strategies of the imperialist powers will be, we take much comfort in the solidarity and co-operation amongst border states. This is vital. Given this co-operation the success is essential. We should not be misled by good words. Good words which are not matched by deeds are no good. As we succeed in our liberation struggle we have to emphasize the need for unity, co-operation and total solidarity. These are the keys to the defeat of imperialists and their agents who seize every opportunity to divide us.

Mr. Chairman, the conference will be considering the liberation struggle in Southern Africa in the light of recent developments in the region. The independence of Mozambique and Angola can be regarded as recent developments which we welcome. Their independence has added strength to the liberation movements. It has changed, in my view, the time scale. These developments have also helped to bring about a Geneva Conference because the armed struggle in Zimbabwe could now take place on several fronts. We are now in a position to talk about the date for the independence of Zimbabwe. Tomorrow we shall be talking about the date for the independence of Namibia. Thereafter we should be talking about the date for the liberation of South Africa. These perspectives were not possible a few years ago. In all these events it is the political consciousness of the people that matters. The realization by the church that human freedom is paramount and indivisible, has undoubtedly played a very vital role in helping to bring about change. But the liberation of Southern Africa goes far beyond the physical liberation of man. In this connection, I am happy to note that the Conference will consider wider aspects of liberation. The total liberation of man is essential. Otherwise he will be free today and soaking himself in alcohol the following day or indeed worshipping the material things of life. It is for this reason that in Zambia we attach so much importance to humanism. The task of liberating man in the wider sense is considerable. It will continue for many years for the church and for all of us. It will be a long and arduous struggle.

Mr. Chairman, may I conclude by thanking the church for the support and encouragement which it has given to those who are fighting for their freedom. Considerable progress has been made. No one doubts the fact that the coming years will usher in a new era of freedom. These successes have been made possible because the firm support has given confidence to those who were fighting against great odds. The spirit of man has triumphed over the forces of oppression. Let me assure the distinguished representatives gathered here that the people of Zambia, under the leadership of His Excellency the President, Dr. K.D. Kaunda, will remain their faithful ally in the fight for what is right and just for all.

Mr. Chairman, it now gives me great pleasure to declare this conference open.

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FINAL REPORT

## PREAMBLE

1. We the participants in the joint AACC/PCR-WCC Consultation on the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, meeting at Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation Kitwe, Zambia from 25 - 30 November, 1976, have reviewed the problems confronting the African Liberation Movements and have assessed their priorities in the light of current developments in the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, against imperialism, colonialism and settler minority rule. We have also assessed the role of the church to determine what her contribution should be to the people's struggle in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, for self-determination and total independence.
2. We have noted that Southern Africa is a location for the operation of finance capital from Western Europe, the USA, Japan and other countries - that Southern Africa is part of a chain of a hierarchical set of relationships which maintain the present system of international economic domination.
3. We have also observed that the South African regime, through the apartheid system in South Africa and the obnoxious settler colonial laws in Namibia; and the Smith regime, through its illegal minority rule in Zimbabwe, create conditions conducive to the operation of both international and domestic capital, which derive super profits from those systems. These regimes are also committed to protecting the interests of the local white population through racist laws.
4. We have exposed the "Bantustan policy" of the Vorster regime for what it is, a fraud calculated to create a labour reserve for the white minority regime. We therefore totally reject the so called independence of the Transkei and call upon all progressive forces to continue to oppose its recognition as a sovereign state.
5. We have noted, that as a result of the growing crisis with in South Africa, international investors are demanding the amelioration of some apartheid practices for the long term survival of this system of exploitation. These so called "concessions" of the Pretoria regime are in fact concessions to this lobby rather than concessions meant to meet the demands of the oppressed people.
6. The consultation has exposed the Turnhalle talks as attempts by the Pretoria regime to mollify political and diplomatic pressure by the world community and to blunt the growing national consciousness among the Namibian people. We therefore oppose any moves by the Pretoria regime to grant any pseudo-independence aimed at perpetuating the socio-economic status quo in Namibia.
7. We have observed that the dominant factor in the economy of the neighbouring states is external capital which comes from both South Africa and abroad. Thus, while the governments of these states and their peoples identify themselves with the aspirations of the oppressed people and their struggle for liberation, the condition of dependence and domination by world economic forces make it difficult for them to give greater support to the national liberation struggle.



8. We have also noted that the style of the imperialist strategy of detente has changed in Southern Africa while its objectives remain the same. We therefore urge the Liberation Movements to close their ranks against any imperialist manoeuvre calculated to sabotage the legitimate struggles of the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe for self determination and total independence.

9. We are convinced that the role of the church in present day society is to be a servant as was its Lord, and this, to our mind, entails being open and responsive to the needs of men and women, most especially their aspirations and struggles to be free. We have observed the dedication of the Liberation Movements to the liberation struggle – a struggle which has caused many of their members to endure, years, even decades, of imprisonment, exile and separation from their homes and loved ones. Their preparedness to lay down their lives in the freedom struggle has been a challenge to all other Christians to examine by contrast their commitment or lack of it to the people's struggles.

We commend individual Christians, congregations, national churches and ecumenical bodies which have over the years (inspite of reactionary and conservative "Church" opposition) supported the Liberation struggles in Southern Africa and in other parts of the world, and urge all Christians to do likewise. In this regard the consultation commends the recent initiatives taken by the AACC with the Germany Churches on the question of nuclear collaboration and other relationships between the Federal Republic of Germany and the racist Republic of South Africa.

10. We communicate this message in the fervent hope that our findings will lead the Church – "The people of God advancing" – to a better understanding of and a greater commitment to the liberation struggle.



*At the official opening of the Joint AACC/PCR-WCC consultation on Southern Africa by the Rt. Hon. Elijah Mudenda, Prime Minister of Zambia.*

*175-20 November 1976 Middleburg, Zambia*

## THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

### A1. PENITENCE – THE FIRST STEP TOWARD LIBERATION

We have been repeatedly reminded of the historic fact that in its past history the church has constantly sided with the colonial and imperial exploiters of the people, not only in Africa but elsewhere throughout the world. Often, the church allowed itself to be an instrument in the colonization process. It failed for so long, for example, to take a clear stand against the slave trade. It suppressed African customs and culture, sometimes even denouncing them as satanic. When Africans were economically exploited, oppressed by evil racist laws, denied basic human rights and freedoms, the church was, for the most part, silent or preached a doctrine of submission. An African leader recalls this historical fact in these words:

Religion, (and especially the Catholic Church) was a powerful factor in the cultural and human alienation of the Mozambican, designed to make him a docile instrument and object of exploitation, and smash any display of resistance in the name of Christian resignation.

– (Samora Machel, President, Peoples' Republic of Mozambique).

We believe that the church cannot be free to participate in the Liberation struggle unless it admits the sins of its (colonial) past, learns from the lessons of history and then enters into dialogue with those who are striving for the liberation of the poor and the oppressed.

The church must, therefore, as a first step toward liberation, face itself squarely, honestly and repent its sin of complicity with the forces of oppression and exploitation. In this connection, we commend to the churches the Alexandria Confession promulgated by the All Africa Conference of Churches.

### A2. CHRISTIAN INVOLVEMENT A SIMPLE FACT:

Christianity is a religion of incarnation which moves and exists among the problems and sufferings of ordinary people. We are reminded that the struggle for liberation currently being waged in Southern Africa is not limited to this area alone, but is part of a global pattern. The church which recognises its prophetic function will be moved by the Holy Spirit to interpret this fact. That Christians in Southern Africa are more and more becoming involved in the Liberation struggle should not surprise us. As members of the universal church, we should also be open to the experience of the churches in other areas of the struggle.

The participation of Christians in the revolutionary struggle is not merely an aspiration; it is a simple fact. Among the guerrillas, in the political parties, in the shanty towns, in the university, among the peasants – wherever revolutionary ferment is at work – there are Christians.

Catholics and Protestants alike, working shoulder to shoulder with other men. They are found in jail, among the tortured and murdered, with the persecuted and exiled. And when some measure of success is achieved they are there working for the creation of a new society and a new man " *(Santiago Document)*.

We Christians gathered here at Mindolo see in this statement the hope, the aspiration, the ultimate goal of the liberation struggle namely, the creation, from the ruins of the liberation struggle and exploitation in Southern Africa of a new society and new persons enjoying their God-given right to human dignity.

### A3. ROLE OF THE CHURCH

We see the role of the church summarised as follows:

- KERYGMA:** the clear presentation of the doctrine of SALVATION (Liberation) which entails declaring God's determined plan that all men should be free.
- PROPHECY:** the prophetic ministry of the church is to cry out loud and clear against those injustices which alienate men from God and from each other.
- DIAKONIA:** The continuation of the work of Jesus, who took on the role of a servant, loving and identifying with the poor. For the church as for Christ this entails self emptying (KENOSIS).

We reject totally, as false and misleading, the idea that all the above means that the church should remain outside of politics. Feeding the hungry, visiting the imprisoned, defending the politically accused and those suffering for reason of conscience, are part of the Gospel message. These acts are of the "esse", the essential being, of the church. We cannot love God whom we have not seen, unless we love our brother whom we see every day (1 John 4).

The challenge as we see it, is for the church to become totally involved with the poor, the oppressed, the exploited. But the church, in order to do this, must be changed from an instrument of oppression into an instrument of liberation. How can this be achieved?

### A4. POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE GLOBAL STRUGGLE

We have learnt and accepted that the church is part of the problem. We bear in our own *body* (church) the visible signs of weakness. THE SALVATION OF THE CHURCH LIES IN ITS RESPONDING TO THE CLEAR DEMANDS OF THE GOSPEL. Jesus saw his role as preaching deliverance to captives, bringing the good news to the poor. (Luke Chapter 4). The church is called by God to do the same. A church identified and linked to the rich and the powerful, cannot be God's instrument for liberation. It must first liberate itself from its attachment to wealth, ambition, powers, property, before it can be God's instrument for liberation. Its salvation lies in finding Jesus among the poor and the oppressed. In doing this, it will be led to identify the oppressor and be freed from its dependence on the rich.

In a word, *only when the church is prepared to die* will it come alive.

#### A5. OBSTACLES TO LIBERATION

1. In the current struggle for liberation in Southern Africa there are the oppressors and the oppressed. There is no neutral ground. The leaders of the liberation movements here at Mindolo have challenged Christians to make clear to the world where they stand. They expect the church to take an unequivocal stand with the oppressed. As Christians, we believe that this is the church's primary role: to stand up for freedom and justice.
2. Fear of the consequence of speaking out against injustice or on behalf of the oppressed is the major obstacle which prevents the church's participation in the freedom struggle. Yet where the church has the courage to take a stand in solidarity with the oppressed, God has blessed its actions and sometimes crowned it with success. The members of the liberation movements give us many examples to encourage us; scripture gives us many more. Greater love hath no man than this, than a man lay down his life for his friends. (John 15). Perfect love casts out fear for fear has torment. We believe that God is calling all Christians to shake off the paralysis of fear and to take their stand with the oppressed.
3. The church is often inhibited from action by weak leadership, which detaches itself from the real needs of the people. Clergy often evade the real issues of the day and neglect to support the weak against the strong. There is a true Gospel and a false gospel. The liberation leaders have constantly stressed the need for the pulpit to be used more frequently to educate the people to rise above a blind acceptance of injustice, to continue recognizing their rights as free persons in society.
4. There should be no feeling of rivalry when the church deals with liberation movements. Members of one are most often members of the other. There should not be a "Them against us" attitude. Feelings of hostility, estrangement or fear could most easily be removed if church leaders would engage in effective dialogue with the leaders and members of the liberation groups. Where such has been attempted, feelings of solidarity and deeper understanding have occurred. It seems to us that the time has come for the church to recognise that the people who participate in the liberation movements are part and parcel of the people of God.

#### A6. CO-OPERATION BETWEEN CHURCHES AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Repeatedly in our talks and discussions we have been reminded that those engaged in the liberation struggle look to the church in the same way as other Christians do.

We list some of the areas where we can come closer together:-

1. Dialogue – Christians and members of the Liberation Movements should be entering into closer discussion. No real progress can be made; prejudices and fears on both sides will continue to exist, and deadlock will ensue, unless this occurs.
2. The Churches can learn from and strengthen each other by sharing their experiences and difficulties in the struggle. We call upon the AACC, WCC and Christian Councils as well as Councils of Churches to take the lead here.

3. The struggle to liberate one country is closely linked with the struggle to liberate another. We are part of a global struggle. Part of the Church's teaching ministry is to reveal this for the strengthening and edification of all those involved in the struggle. We are grateful for what has been achieved in this respect by the PCR-WCC and the AACC.

4. We therefore, call upon all churches, especially those in Southern Africa, to take practical steps to help those involved in the freedom struggle, the freedom fighters themselves, political prisoners, their dependants, the victims and refugees of oppression:

- a) by understanding their claim to be fellow Christians, men and women of love prompted to offer their lives for freedom,
- b) by opening our hearts in love and fellowship towards them,
- c) by sharing food, clothing, blankets, medicine etc.,
- d) by raising funds from church budgets for medical equipment and drugs, educational apparatus and textbooks and scholarships,
- e) by assisting their wounded, their aged, their children and dependants among us,
- f) by praying for them, their leaders and for the fulfilment of the cause of freedom.

"Faith without works is useless" so writes St. James. It is only as the church offers its whole self, totally, unselfishly in the struggle for freedom and for dignity; that it will be liberated to allow the love of God to bring that reconciliation based on justice for which the whole of humanity is eagerly awaiting.

## B

### IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

B1. In the context of the global nature of the imperialist strategy described above (see preamble), it becomes crucial to understand the role of multi-national corporations which operate both in independent Africa and in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.

Recognising that there is inadequate material on the subject, the consultation recommends, as a matter of priority, that research in this area should be encouraged and supported by the World Council of Churches, All Africa Conference of Churches, and National Christian Councils. Other church bodies should take initiatives to ensure that such research is carried out. They should enlist the support of Universities and other relevant groups and institutions. It is important that these national studies be coordinated so as to make it possible to devise the appropriate strategies to counteract the influence and power of the multi-national corporations and advance the African Liberation struggle.

B2. The consultation also discussed problems arising out of the flow of migrant workers from neighbouring countries to South Africa. Whilst welcoming the O.A.U. resolution



calling for the states concerned to consider concerted action on the matter, the consultation felt that the National Councils of Churches in these countries should also take steps to ensure that the interests of their nationals working in South Africa are protected.

B3. The subject of tourism was given detailed consideration. The consultation identified two aspects of this problem. That of overseas tourists visiting South Africa and of South African tourists visiting neighbouring countries. The consultation welcomed the efforts of all those in the Western countries who actively campaign against tourism and white immigration to South Africa. The consultation recommends that the All Africa Conference of Churches and World Council of Churches after studying the problem of South African tourism to African countries should make appropriate representations to those countries.

B4. The consultation has been acutely aware of the propaganda and distorted information disseminated by the enemies of African Liberation about the nature of that struggle.

It recognised the need for wider public education about the growing conflict in Southern Africa in order to counteract racist propaganda. The National Christian Councils as well as individual church groups should utilise and distribute information provided by the World Council of Churches, All Africa Conference of Churches, the liberation movements and other groups related to the liberation struggle.

The National Christian Councils should establish closer contacts with these groups in order to play a more effective role in the liberation of Southern Africa.

## C

### HUMANITARIAN PRIORITIES OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

C1. We have noted that, with the advance of the just struggle of the people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, colonialism and racist minority rule have intensified their acts of oppression, injustice, brutality and inhumanity against the African population in these territories. As a result, the forces struggling for liberation have been saddled with problems which are as grave as they are numerous.

C2. In the case of Zimbabwe, we were told that 15,000 to 20,000 persons have been forced to flee the country and have now taken refuge in Mozambique. These thousands of men, women and school children come from war zones and other areas of Zimbabwe.

C3. In the case of Namibia, since June 1974, thousands of Namibians have been forced to flee to Zambia, Botswana and Angola. Ministering to the needs of these people is a further problem which has been laid at the door of the liberation movement in that country, the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO).

C4. With regard to South Africa itself, the liberation forces of that country (The African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress) have both been saddled with the grave problem of rehabilitating and re-settling the thousands of students who have been forced to leave the country following the national uprisings which, since June of 1976, have engulfed all of South Africa.

C5 The Church in Africa and abroad, as the Movement of the people of God, cannot but be deeply aggrieved by the several acts of inhumanity being perpetrated against God's people in South Africa, in Namibia and in Zimbabwe. The church finds the racist and minority settler regimes in these territories guilty of monstrous crimes against the African people. In order that the church may not be seen to be sharing in this guilt and these crimes, it must mobilize its resources and the resources of its members and related organisations in order to render material assistance to the peoples struggling against racism, oppression and settler minority rule in Southern Africa.

C6. It is against this background that the consultation has elicited from representatives of the African Liberation Movements, a listing of their urgent needs. This listing should now enable the World Council of Churches, the All Africa Conference of Churches and their member bodies to mobilize resources in response to these needs.

C7. The urgent needs of the people of ZIMBABWE were summarized as follows

- a) Shelter – this problem has been aggravated by the constant movement of settlements in order to escape enemy bombings and armed raids.
- b) Food – again, settlement mobility and the extreme difficulty it poses for crop cultivation and production has caused severe food shortages among the people
- c) Clothing – A substantial contribution, both in funds and clothes, is needed to help alleviate this problem.
- d) Health – financial assistance is needed to purchase medicines and drugs.
- e) Education – there is an urgent need for educational material to assist in meeting the educational requirements of hundreds of school children. Scholarships are also needed so that some Zimbabweans can pursue technical training.
- f) Finance – the Zimbabwe liberation forces require funds for various stages of administration.

C8. The urgent needs of the people of SOUTH AFRICA were summarized by the African National Congress as follows:-

- a) Food, clothing and medicines.
- b) Housing – funds to meet this requirement may be sent through the AACC.
- c) Education – funds are needed to facilitate the educational requirements of South African students who were forced to flee to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Most of these students have yet complete their primary and secondary education. A number with their post-secondary education in Africa and abroad. Most of these students have yet completed their post-secondary education in Africa and abroad.

C9. The Pan-Africanist Congress summarized the needs of the people of SOUTH AFRICA as follows:

- a) Transportation – the P.A.C. needs funds to transport 350 South African students from Swaziland to Tanzania.
- b) Health – funds are needed for the purchase of medicines and drugs.
- c) Food – contribution of canned or any other food is needed.
- d) Shelter – contribution of funds to pay rentals are urgently needed.
- e) Education – funds are needed to meet the educational requirements of secondary school students. Scholarships for students pursuing post-secondary education are also required.

C10. The consultation recognised that in the post-Soweto situation, there is an acute and continuing increase in the number of persons in South Africa who are victimised, detained and tried for their resistance to apartheid as well as those who become refugees and exiles in neighbouring countries. The consultation urges the AACC and the WCC to look into this problem to ensure that the needs of these people – *moral, spiritual, legal and material* are adequately met.

C11. The representative of the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) summarized the urgent needs of the NAMIBIAN PEOPLE as follows:

- a) Food – as a result of re-settling the Namibian people in Zambia, cultivation and production of foodstuffs were made impossible. There is therefore a desperate shortage of food. In Angola where there are more than 5000 Namibians who fled the country because of repression, the shortage of food to feed these people is also a big problem. Urgent contributions in the form of money or actual food (canned or in other forms) are needed.
- b) Health – funds are needed for the purchasing of drugs and medicines.



- c) Clothing - the huge influx of men, women and children has created the problem of inadequate clothing for these people.
- d) Education - (1) Adults are being trained in certain skills to involve them in production. Financial assistance is needed to purchase needles, cotton and sewing machines.  
(2) Financial assistance is needed to purchase educational material and stationery.
- e) Finance - funds are urgently needed to support the internal wing of SWAPO which intends to launch a campaign against the fraudulent Turnhalle Talks at Windhoek.

C12. Such, in brief, constitute the urgent requirements of the African Liberation Movements in Zimbabwe, in Namibia and in South Africa. The consultation on Southern Africa fully endorses these requests and commends them to the churches for their urgent attention and action.

Finally, the consultation salutes and pledges its unconditional support to the African Liberation Movements in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and settler minority rule. We also hail those individuals and groups who are struggling for the total liberation in Africa.

**A LUTA CONTINUA**

**A VICTORY E CERTA.**

**CLOSING ADDRESS OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICA CONSULTATION HELD AT  
MINDOLO ECUMENICAL CENTRE, KITWE, AT 12.00 HOURS, ON 30th NOVEMBER  
1976, BY MR. MARTIN M. KAUNDA, CHAIRMAN  
CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF ZAMBIA**

**MR. CHAIRMAN  
DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES  
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.**

I am highly honoured to have been given the opportunity of closing this important consultation on Southern Africa. The collapse of the Portuguese empire last year has now brought the liberation movements face to face with the minority white regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, and the illegal rulers of Namibia. As the Hon. Prime Minister noted when he opened this consultation, you have been meeting here during a crucial period in the history of Southern Africa. Your deliberations and decisions are awaited by us all with bated breath. We trust you have used this opportunity to good effect, and not wasted it on bickerings and mere verbosity.

We in Zambia are glad that the consultation met here at the Mindolo Ecumenical Centre. Mindolo, since its inception in 1958 has catered to all manner of meetings, both secular and religious; but you will agree with me that this consultation has been a real high-light in Mindolo's history. I wish, on behalf of the Christian Council to thank the Director and staff of Mindolo for hosting this consultation. We realize that Mindolo has been going through a financial and staff crisis which have left their mark on what they are able to offer in the way of better accommodation, food, and even water. I trust that these matters have not in any way dimmed your enthusiasm for what you had to do. We have faith that Mindolo will grow from strength to strength and that, with the building of the multi-purpose hall and a water-reticulation unit they will continue to offer better facilities to future conferences and consultations.

The Christian Council of Zambia feels highly honoured to have been associated with the mounting of this consultation, and Rev. Mwenda, its General Secretary, has had to act as the Chairman of the Consultation in the absence of Mr. Bola Ige from Nigeria. This has been our only humble contribution; but special thanks go to AACC who have sent Messrs. Simon Phiri and Godfrey Sabiti to carry out the day-to-day running of the Consultation. Special thanks are due to them for the smooth running of the Conference.

The delegates have been a happy mixture of Christians from both the Councils of Churches from several countries in Southern Africa and from Liberation Movements. It is regretted that delegates from South Africa itself were not allowed to travel to Mindolo; and the Geneva Conference has also reduced considerably the representation from the Liberation Movements in Rhodesia. Yet the Consultation has been fully representative of all the various organizations involved in the Liberation struggle from outside Southern Africa. In this context, this consultation is fully able to speak for the people of Southern Africa.

The participants have listened to some excellent addresses by knowledgeable persons in senior government positions, at University, from committed organizations and from the liberation movements themselves. These addresses have set the tone for your committee work out of which have come the resolutions that you now want to put to the sponsors as well as to the Christian community in the world and in Southern Africa in particular. We wish to thank the speakers for their contribution.

You have forcefully and with scriptural evidence, argued for a more dynamic role by the Church in support of liberation movements and what they are doing. You have shown that the majority of liberation movement workers are committed Christians and as intense loyalists as any in Southern Africa, and that, therefore, their work must be taken seriously by the Churches. You see the role of the Church as salvation (liberation of all men and, removal of all injustices) and the offering of service by identifying, as our Lord Jesus Christ did, with the poor, the oppressed and the meek. You wish to see the Churches in Southern Africa take practical steps to help all those involved in the freedom struggle, the freedom fighters themselves, political prisoners their dependents, the victims and refugees of oppression. All this is in line with the tone of the new Testament theology.

Finally, you call on all men of goodwill to help the liberation struggle with its priorities finance, education, health, clothing, food. Let it be noted that nowhere do you ask for guns and tanks and missiles, as many misguided critics will often emphasize and helping the victims of apartheid, imperialism, racism and colonialism. You want to work closely with national Christian Councils in disbursing this aid; and you are fully committed to the belief that arms and ammunition, while necessary are not the essence of liberation. It is a people's spirit that matters. The example of South Vietnam comes to mind. All the bombs and sophisticated weaponry did not win the war for the United States of America in Vietnam. Equally, all the paraphernalia of war which the racist regimes are accumulating in Southern Africa cannot prevent them from being finally subdued by the black people of Southern Africa. It is the indomitable spirit of our people to fight oppression, their eagerness to see justice prevail, and the righteous cause they espouse which will in the end gain them the freedom of Southern Africa from the rapacious white minorities. In the end right will triumph over might. For this reason, I wish to urge all participants to continue the struggle; I want to appeal to the Churches to work more assiduously on behalf of the liberation struggle; and I appeal to all benevolent persons everywhere to give freely to this worthy and righteous cause. I send you home with the prayer that you should continue to seek divine guidance and God's righteousness, and I am certain that your prayers will be answered. I hope that your presence at this Consultation has given you new hope and established new friendships. May this new found unity flourish and bear good fruit.

As for us in Zambia, we will always continue our commitment to the liberation struggle from a humanitarian stand. It may interest you to learn that our individual involvement in South Africa's struggle began long ago. 29 years ago I led a delegation to a NUSAS Conference in Cape Town which led to Fort Hare University College becoming a member. At that time we saw this as the way to fight racism, but who would have guessed then

that Malan would win the elections a year later and to unleash the vicious apartheid system in South Africa which we are discussing at this consultation?

Another Zambian joined the Youth league movement early in the fifties whilst at Fort Hare. He was so committed to it that the racist South African regime terminated his studies and expelled him back to Zambia. That was Mr. Sikota Wina, fiery politician and one of the architects of our own independence.

I am certain that there are many other Zambians who took as active an interest in Southern African politics because we were brought up in a comparative freedom and we wanted to share it with our fine comrades in the South. So, as I close this consultation I am conscious of our own continuing duty to the freedom fighter movement; and I would urge our National Christian Councils in these parts to double our efforts on behalf of the liberation movement.

As for the liberation movement representatives, my only parting word is to caution against personal ambition and to appeal for unity among them in their work. The freedom fighter is not a rich man; he must work tirelessly, often for no pay in order to help others worse off than himself. Let us hope that we have learnt our lesson and that we will work for a unified command in all the remaining countries in Southern Africa.

We have enjoyed having you all in Kitwe and Zambia. May you return to your various stations in life with renewed vigour and determination to restore liberty, justice and independence to Southern Africa.

God bless you all.

## THE GENERAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

*(Presented by the African National Congress of South Africa.)*

The ANC wishes to commend the joint effort of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) together with the Zambian Christian Council in sponsoring a Consultation Conference between Church leaders and the African Liberation Movements with the aim of seeking new and more practical ways of expressing the solidarity of the Church with the just struggle of the people of Southern Africa for freedom, self-determination and development.

This initiative is logical in that the Church, which stands for equality of all men before God, cannot stand aside where policies are practised which violate the basic tenets of the rights of all human beings – particularly under the apartheid system in South Africa.

But this Consultation is rendered more crucial since it takes place at a particularly important period which reflects qualitative changes in the conflict in Southern Africa between the forces of Liberation and those of colonial and racist domination.

Since April 1974, the month and year which signified the total collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and the defeat of fascism in Portugal itself, events of excessive importance for the entire African Continent have unfolded in Southern Africa. Of particular historic importance were the birth of the People's Republics of Mozambique and Angola as a result of protracted armed struggle and massive political mobilisation of the people.

These victories have served to inspire other oppressed people in Southern Africa in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, to even greater determination and readiness to struggle for their total emancipation from the colonial and racist oppression and exploitation.

The events which were sparked off by the brutal massacre of demonstrating school children on the 16th of June in Soweto have brought to the surface the crisis facing the Pretoria regime. The ferment of an uprising now sweeping throughout South Africa has been building up over the years as a result of political organisation by the ANC and the various forces within the Black consciousness movement.

Despite the ban on the ANC and PAC, the people had evolved new organisational methods which made it possible for them to undertake actions which are in effect illegal in terms of the massive draconian laws churned out by the all white parliament.

The socio-economic position of the oppressed, toiling masses has been steadily deteriorating as a result of inflation, increasing cost of living, particularly the increase in price of the most essential goods has hit the Africans hardest. It is estimated that already there are 2 million unemployed African workers in a labour force of 7 million. These increasing internal strains in the South African apartheid society were impounded by the shattering psychological effect of the humiliating defeat of the South African army at the hands of the M.P.L.A.



Thus when the people's resistance came to the surface in the form of the students revolt the fascist South African regime acted swiftly and brutally, hoping to nip an imminent uprising in the bud. It is not possible in the space of this brief paper to cover the gruesome details of the crimes of the racist white minority regime in our country since the first shots were fired by the regime's armed thugs against demonstrating children from the 16th of June to this present day.

The regime itself is enforcing a veil of secrecy over these developments through the arrest and intimidation of those of the public news media whom it feared would reveal to the whole world the true state of affairs. To date, no less than 18 members of the Black Union of Journalists have been detained. Despite these attempts, it has however been possible to ascertain that on the very first day of the upheaval, from 300 upwards of our people were mercilessly mowed down in Soweto alone.

It would be fair to estimate that two thousand and more have been murdered to date in the streets of the Black Ghettos, where the people joined in heroic but unequal battles against the armed forces of the bestial apartheid regime. It is now known that the members of the Transkei puppet army have joined the racists in indiscriminate murder of school children and adults in Soweto and other major urban areas.

Thousands have been injured, most of them permanently maimed, and thousands more have been arbitrarily arrested and detained. The majority of those who were shot dead had wounds in their backs.

It is now a common feature of the current situation that the police stations have been turned into horror chambers from which the moans of those who are being tortured to death are heard right through the day. Reports of murder of detained victims is almost a daily occurrence. Thus we witness in South Africa today the development of a situation whose horrific dimensions will have a lasting impact on future political developments in our country. It has become evident to wide sections of our people that the profound crisis which confronts South Africa will not be resolved until the total destruction of the present system which, long before the eruption of the June 16th events, had clearly become so unpopular that, to maintain it, the regime had to resort to open violence and terror against the people.

At the beginning of the current mass revolt in June, the regime of terror mobilised its specially trained Anti Urban guerrilla warfare squads armed to the teeth with weapons supplied by the NATO countries and Israel.

This show of force against unarmed schoolchildren whose ages ranged from 8 to 16 years was intended as a means of mass intimidation of the oppressed population against any further acts of resistance. It was further intended to demonstrate to the white minority section of the population that the humiliating experience of the Angola defeat shall not be repeated.

The results were however the opposite of what was intended:

(a) The revolt has spread from Soweto to many parts of the country invol-

ving thousands upon thousands of young demonstrators who rose in unity with their murdered and arrested brothers in Soweto. In a very short time all the 4 provinces of South Africa have become embroiled in the mass resistance of our people against the apartheid - colonial regime. The people in the Bantustans are also up in arms and this proves beyond doubt the rejection by the people of the fraudulent separate - development policies of the Vorster regime. The level of organisation and discipline is growing and defeating the manoeuvres of agent provocateurs who are actively operating to confuse and demoralise the masses.

- (b) Revolutionary solidarity within the entire Black community has grown. African, coloured and Indian demonstrators have on many occasions forged bonds of unity during the street battles that have erupted in many parts of our country. The regime's attempts to disunite the black community by fanning mistrust and suspicion have failed. Instead even some whites are beginning to identify and support the legitimacy of our struggle. This is quite distinct from the current attempts to unite the various white opposition groups to strive for reforms which will serve to cool the people's anger but leave the basic apartheid structure intact.
- (c) Of tremendous significance are the political strike actions by Black workers in many important industrial and commercial centres of South Africa. These were undertaken to demonstrate the workers' solidarity with the other revolutionary sections of the population as well as to promote the workers' struggle for their specific workers' demands.

The revolutionary actions of the black working class have taken the current situation to the board-rooms of the various multi-national corporations. They are expressing a great deal of unease at the possibility of the deepening of the economic crisis facing the entire country.

- (d) The current crimes of the apartheid regime have hit the conscience of the world full in the face, resulting in yet larger sections of the world community joining the efforts of the people to further isolate the apartheid regime. This was reflected in the unanimous resolution adopted by the 13th Session of the OAU summit calling for the extension of "maximum political, economic and military assistance to the Liberation Movements of South Africa, to enable them to execute the armed struggle for the seizure of power by the people.

Dear friends,

We must constantly bear in mind that the Vorster regime continues to exist and to derive strength and inspiration for the perpetuation of its terroristic rule because of the economic, military and political support from the countries of Western Europe, North America and Japan.

It is also clear to us that another group of countries is being activated to act as conduits and fronts for the big imperialist powers. We refer to countries such as Israel, Argentina, Uruguay, Taiwan and Iran. Imperialist strategy with regard to South Africa remains un-

changed from what it has been over the years. It still aims to strengthen the criminal apartheid regime, to enable it to protect the joint interests of the multi-national corporations which have invested in and are trading with South Africa.

While imperialism has these interests in South Africa, while it preconditions its own survival of the white minority regime, the confrontation between the African National Congress and the struggling people of our country on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism led by the United States on the other, cannot but get sharper.

For, a strategy for the strengthening of the criminal apartheid regime is simultaneously a strategy for the destruction of the forces within South Africa, that seek to bring about a genuinely popular change. The same sense is conveyed in statements made by representatives of the U.S. government that a non-radical and peaceful solution to the South African question must, in the long term, be found. Well, let them go and tell that to the dead, the dying and the detained in South Africa.

Dear friends,

On the 28th of October the Vorster regime went through the motions of granting "independence" to the Transkei. The flag of the fascist Republic of South Africa was replaced by that of the Transkei. The Vorster regime continues to pretend that its Bantustan programme represents a satisfactory response to the struggle of our people for liberation. In this regard we would like to state a few fundamental points.

The Bantustan programme was decided upon, solely and exclusively, by the white minority regime. The African National Congress and the vast majority of our people rejected this programme very firmly and unequivocally at its very inception. We continue to reject it and this includes the majority of the people within the Transkei itself. We state now, as we stated then, that an incontrovertible part of the demands of our people is that there shall be one united and democratic South Africa.

Contrary to the motions currently expressed in certain circles that the revolutionary struggle of our people aims at reforming apartheid, the aspirations of our people will only be satisfied by radical political economic, social and cultural transformation of the present-day South African Society.

In conclusion we wish to appeal to the African and international church community to broaden the solidarity movement with the struggle of our people and condemn the crimes of the apartheid regime against the oppressed people of South Africa.

More important still, they should mobilise increased support for the African National Congress to increase its capacity to meet the growing demands of our struggle.

We need an emergency fund to cope up with the growing number of young people, particularly students, who have been forced to leave South Africa to escape persecution and to find better educational facilities elsewhere.

**LET THE CHURCHES JOIN WITH US AND MEET THIS CHALLENGE.**



## APARTHEID AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRANSKEI

By E. L. NTLOEDIBE

(Member of the Central Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and  
Administrative Secretary of its External Mission)

Those little scattered dots of arid and eroded land surface on the South African map have been known, from time immemorial, as part of the land of the black man on the black continent and formed an indivisible part of its southern extremity. In 1913 they were carved out as 'scheduled native areas' in the official language of the white colonial authority that British imperialism imposed upon the African people of the country. In actual fact they were carved out as native labour reserves, native dormitories if they like, and remain so to this day.

In 1948, however, the Nationalist Party led by Dr. D.F. Malan won the white general election on the political platform territorially segregating the people living in that country on the basis of the colour of their skins. In 1950 the racist government ordered a team of white racists under the command of one Frederik Tomlinson to draw up a plan whereby the native dormitories could be given a new effective posture as black National 'homelands' to get the government out of the dilemma in which it found itself as a result of its electoral promises.

We understand that Mr. Johannes Strydom, who became Prime Minister upon Dr. Malan's retirement, conceived of the idea. It may be recalled that as Prime Minister, Mr. Strydom explained why this had to be done. He told the racist parliament in 1955 that the white man could retain his leadership of South Africa only by white domination. "The only way the Europeans can maintain domination is by withholding the vote from the Non-Europeans." Strydom pointed out that under the existing laws it was impossible for the 'natives' through merit or any other means, to get the government of the country into their hands; "the white man is boss (master) by virtue of the franchise in his hands." It took five years of hard work and seventeen volumes of words, figures and maps to manufacture the ugly commodity they now call multi-nationalism. It was to take another 21 years to put the monster into some shape, apply black paint and polish, and find salesman desperate or dumb enough to be willing to promote its sale on a world-wide scale. The count-down has now started on a grand scale. We understand the first crown prince of the great act will come out of the wings, with pomp and pageantry on October 26, 1976. (Transkei became independent on this date. Ed)

Outside of vaudeville and pantomime the world will seldom have been treated to such comic entertainment in serious pretence as the rulers of racist South Africa plan to do. But for the tragedy of its aftermath we should be looking forward to the coming event with mirthful anticipation. The consequences of it all are and must be a matter of the greatest concern to us. The whites in South Africa have always been scared by the prospect of a united black population acting in unison. Professor Tomlinson disclosed in a recent interview how they examined this matter in great detail and built several safeguards

into the plan to preserve white domination in South Africa. The coming Transkei "independence" is such a safeguard for white domination and local and foreign exploitation of the black people of Azania.

The position of the liberation movement of our people has held and continues to hold an unequivocal stand on this issue. The 1949 programme of action stated categorically that it understood the political phrase of national independence to mean freedom from white domination within the principle of self determination as it applies to all peoples throughout the world. It has however been repeated many times since that our strategy of liberation is based upon the demolition of the colonial structures that were forcefully and brutally built up over the past four centuries and not only upon the local peculiarity of white racism or apartheid.

It is the considered opinion of our organisation that the slogan APARTHEID does not fully or adequately define the political situation in racist South Africa or the attitudes and objectives of the oppressed and exploited people in that country.

The struggle our people are waging today is for National Liberation and self-determination. That struggle did not start in 1948 when the present government got into power. The National uprisings that started in SOWETO on June, 16, 1976 are a continuation of the patterns of struggle set up during the wars of resistance, until the military power of our people was broken in the latter half of the 19th century. It is the struggle that the youth of our land called upon the people to resume in 1949 and the struggle that made a violent outburst in the early sixties. There are two aspects to the colonial structures that need demolition in our country, the racist and the liberal factions which are different sides of the same coin. The ideological foundation of the racist aspect is that when Jan van Riebeeck and his band of Dutch East India Company employees set anchor on the soil of South Africa they found a gloriously vast and open land which was largely inhabited by small wandering tribes of Bushmen and Hottentots and countless herd of wild animals. The Dutch peacefully settled on land that belonged to nobody but the wild animals and wandering tribes that were here today and gone tomorrow. The small settlement grew into a colony which the Dutch ceded to the British. On the eastern frontiers of that colony a clash of interests arose between tiny white settlements and "a wave of black men which had come rolling down from the north along a wide coastal belt". This resulted in a series of "Kaffir wars" but peace was eventually established and White and black began to settle down to living peacefully side by side on the promised land. In course of time the peaceful settlements so established became the Union of South Africa (Report No 13 of 1970 of the Human Sciences Research Council of the Department of Education).

The State information department tells us that in 1960 the whites in the Union of South Africa, by way of a referendum, decided to adopt a republican form of constitution and, in 1961, discarded the last constitutional link with the British Crown and became the Republic of South Africa. The whites of South Africa, by the latter action, relinquished the territory, which had been scheduled for incorporation into the Union of South Africa and thus allowed the people concerned to become independent as the states of Botswana,

Lesotho and Swaziland. The present government is willing, once more to abandon claim to more of such land to give political independence to several ethnic nations in various parts of the country. This pattern of political development leads to a Mosaic of black and white peoples with separate national identities which will be practically politically independent but economically interdependent, a principle that is sine qua non to the policy of separate development. This is the ideology of racism and racial discrimination.

The government of the Union of South Africa inherited British colonial authority through the colonial mechanism of "Native policy" in 1910. In his memorandum for the unification of the British colonies in South Africa the colonial Secretary, Lord Selborne, pointed out that "Native policy" in the National scheme of things was a question of the labour of the natives, which would only be settled with finality by the whole country in a parliament in which all interests and all sections of white society were represented. In settling the labour question parliament would have to take into account that it was not enough for an investor to feel that labour was available in large quantities. He must have the assurance that the labour would continue to be available until his money had been repaid him with interest.

The Selborne memorandum pointed out further that "Native policy" was the administrative mechanism for disallowing instability and uncertainty of labour and guaranteeing its abundant availability in as wide a territory as possible at every given moment in history. The provision had to be embodied in the laws of the country which stood as mechanism to define and enforce the relations of every individual in society to all others and prescribed the rules for carrying out business and commerce, which depended upon the knowledge, application and manipulation of those rules.

The making of those laws and their interpretation and enforcement must be in the custody of those whose business interests were paramount and at whose instigation they were made. That function could not be entrusted to anyone else. Business could not be allowed to rest on shifting sands or to incline more to speculation than enterprise. This is the ideology of liberal colonialism. In equal measure the two colonial factions contributed towards the establishment of racial discrimination in the country. The one from a religious point of view and the other from a cultural point of view.

Religious sanction was employed to divide men into Christians and pagans who thus belonged to two different stations in life, a superior and an inferior one, and inspired the vulgar political slogan that there could be no equality, in church or state between the white master and the black servant. Pretence to a superior culture inspired the practice of despotism whereby the natives were regarded as barbarians who had to be denied the vote to which only their white overlords were eligible. In order to demolish the colonial structures moulded around these discriminatory practices it is futile to concentrate our attention and energies upon the structures built by the present regime while leaving out the foundations upon which they were built, or allowing them to continue to serve their protected purposes.

However since the native labour reserves were established as a consequence of native policy and since native policy was a mechanism of the exploitation of cheap black labour,

we have to examine the structural nature of the coming ethnic independence.

The Transkei, as a subject of international law does not exist. As a new "state" it will be a monstrosity. It will not be able to succeed to any treaties since nobody has so far undertaken to recognise it. The OAU and the U.N. have unanimously resolved not to recognise it or have anything to do with it. Without external recognition it will have no contractual capacity to promote itself into an international personality.

The ethnic "state" will only be subject to treaties contracted in its name by the South African racist regime, either in the form of consular or commercial treaties. In fact the investment agreements which its leaders have so far signed have been done in the name of either the Bantu Development Corporation or the Xhosa Development Corporation both of which are South African state corporations. It will be recalled that advertisements inviting capital investment in the Bantustans were signed by the ethnic leaders in the name of the South African Trust Company headed by Jan Marais who is chairman of the South Africa Foundation. What, we may ask, will its "independent sovereignty" amount to? Whose political slogans will it express?

According to the Bantu Homeland policy, Citizenship is automatically imposed upon all Africans and covers those born and yet to be born. These include all those who live in the ethnic "homelands" in the first place and all others wherever they may be who speak the language of the tribe or any dialect of it, or who may be associated with the tribe by virtue of their cultural or racial background or are related to any person in the tribe. There has been a raging controversy between the racist and ethnic governments on this issue.

According to the STATUS OF THE TRANSKEI BILL introduced in the racist parliament "all Xhosa-speaking blacks living in South Africa who are not citizens of any other homeland or any other blacks connected however remotely with the Transkei, are to become automatic citizens of the Transkei after independence." The present Transkei constitution has been amended to make citizenship optional for those Xhosa speaking blacks who live outside the Transkei.

Bantu Affairs Minister Botha has threatened that, if after independence a Bantu homeland deprived its people living in South Africa of their automatic citizenship or refused to grant it to them, the racist government will be forced to consider seriously whether people from such a homeland are welcome to be in, or to come to white South Africa. In so far as the people themselves are concerned Botha said that South Africa would close its borders to blacks from the Transkei who have not taken out homeland citizenship.

On the other hand the racist government would make homeland citizenship "especially meaningful" to those who voluntarily or enthusiastically took up homeland citizenship. Preference could be given to them in regard to available jobs; they will be protected by conditions of service provided with housing, have dependents live with them in the towns and cities in certain circumstances, allow them greater freedom of movement within the white areas; preference will be given to them for facilities such as hospitals, schools, sports and transport. They will not be declared "aliens" and will be favoured above "Bantu people from those African states that are not former homelands.

That is one aspect of the question of citizenship. The fact that "homeland" citizenship will be automatically imposed upon these people regardless of their will amounts to



deprivation of their South African citizenship. "They shall cease to be South African citizens". In other words they lose their natural birthright purely on grounds of their ethnic or racial origin without their consent. This is a violation of fundamental international law and the universal principles of justice and morality. This is indeed "an objectionable and atrocious law", whose main purpose is "the removal of black political aspirations from the 'white' political arena," much as the "High Court or Parliament" and other legislation was enacted to remove the "Coloureds" from the common electoral roll in the Cape Province not so long ago. Nazism is on the rampage in that country.

Furthermore by its arbitrary deprivation of citizenship the ethnic "independence" of the Transkei will be a violation of the right of self-determination for the people concerned. Their political will shall have been nullified and since the people will not be able to exercise their external sovereignty by virtue of the fact that they will not become an international personality and will therefore not succeed to or contract any treaties except with racist South Africa, it is clear that treaties will continue to be contracted on their behalf by the South African government and that situation will be incompatible with the sovereignty of the new "state".

Racist South Africa will, as a result, continue to exploit the people all the more, having, by this fraud of self-determination, broken their resistance backbone and left them paralysed and lifeless. Johannes Vorster was once reported as saying that it might be a good idea to give the Bantustans independence so as to force their citizens to work "a lot harder for the whites to avoid being sent back home." We do not think that any member states of the international community would consciously commit any section of the people of Azania to such a hazardous destiny. Nor do we believe that the people themselves will voluntarily subject themselves to such an eventuality and that is why, starting from June 16, 1976, they are up in arms. Any recognition of the ethnic independence of the Transkei will be a calculated insult to the National sovereignty of our people.

#### We will never concede that right

The real issue, with regard to the ethnic independence of the Transkei, shorn of its racial, moral, emotional and even sectarian trappings, is whether or not racist South Africa has the SOVEREIGN RIGHT to do what it has done in the case of the Transkei and proposes to do in the case of the other ethnic groups including what it calls Coloureds and Indians. The argument is not, therefore, whether or not ethnic independence is true independence or genuine decolonization; it is not whether or not apartheid or social discrimination is right or wrong, moral or immoral.

The Black people in Azania have consistently and continuously denied that racist South Africa has any sovereign rights in that country. Their liberation movements have maintained that position and upheld that national mandate down the centuries. The peace loving peoples of the world, directly as an act of solidarity with our people and indirectly in pursuance of their own struggles, have upheld that contention. The international community, through the General Assembly of the United Nations, has resolved that the

racist regime in South Africa is illegitimate and has no right to represent the people of South Africa that the national liberation movements are the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa.

#### Diehard Position

It is only the racists in South Africa and the tribalists in the Bantustans that pretend to any right on the part of racist South Africa to do what they have set themselves to do. This is the position which has been held by the diehard Dutch descendants, down the centuries, in their struggle against what they called British jingoism and this is why they decided to call themselves Africans – AFRIKANDERS – AFRIKANERS – to justify their better claim in comparison with that of the British.

This is quite manifest in the "Manifesto of the Emigrant Farmers" published in the Grahamstown Journal on February 2, 1837, in which they state: "We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English government has nothing more to require of us and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in the future." This was reiterated in the 1881 Afrikaner Bond Programme whose final objective states that "every Afrikaner must contribute all his power towards expulsion of the British usurper (so that) all the states of South Africa can be federated into one independent republic.

According to the above named programme the British government, if not the entire nation, was regarded as "the usurping enemy of the Boer Nation" and the greatest danger to Afrikanerdom by their policy to "submerge them by assimilation." The only remedy was to "keep aloof from the English and their influence." To that end the Boers decided that "ties of blood and relationship point to Holland," for an international base, and that Germany, America and other industrial nations should be cultivated to fill the gap left by Britain.

Soon after the coming into effect of the Union of South Africa under a coalition government chosen from the four colonies now called provinces, General Hertzog resigned from the cabinet and in January 1914 formed the Nationalist Party to "promote and maintain the identity and independence of the Afrikaners." Hertzog attended the 1926 imperial conference after he became prime minister in 1924. He told the imperial Conference that "South Africa did not possess the implicit faith in her full and free nationhood which he desired to see internationally recognised" and insisted that the question of of dominion status be seriously considered. He suggested, as a doctrine to guide the conference, the formula "in principle, unrestrained freedom of action to each individual member of the commonwealth; in practice, consultation with a view to co-operative action wherever possible."

The representatives of the other dominions expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied with their status but to appease General Hertzog they finally agreed to the nominal definition of "the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the dominions (as) autonomous communities with the British empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs,

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| 21. | MBULAWA, Rev. Lampsfor M.<br>Executive Member,<br>Christian Council of Botswana                              | P.O. Box 141,<br>LOBATSE,<br>Botswana.  |
| 22. | NGAKANE, Rev. Maurice<br>Deputy General Secretary<br>South African Council of Churches                       | P.O. Box 355,<br>GABORONE,<br>Botswana.   |
| 23. | KANTORO, Fr. Martin K.<br>Priest, St. Joseph's Seminary  | P.O. Box SM 4,<br>St. Monica,<br>Lesotho.   |
| 24. | KAUNDA, Mr. Martin<br>Director, Department of<br>Extra - Mural Studies,<br>University of Zambia              | P.O. Box 2379,<br>University of Zambia<br>Ridge Way Campus,<br>LUSAKA,<br>Zambia. |
| 25. | BALINTULO, Dr. Marcus<br>Senior Lecturer,<br>University of Botswana and Swaziland                            | P.B. 0022,<br>GABORONE,<br>Botswana.  |
| 26. | NANDI, Miss Netumbo<br>Deputy Chief Representative<br>and Member of the Central<br>Committee of SWAPO        | SWAPO,<br>P.O. Box 577,<br>LUSAKA,<br>Zambia.                                     |
| 27. | SHAMUYARIRA, Professor. Nathan<br>Associate Professor in<br>Political Science<br>University of Dar es Salaam | P.O. Box 35091,<br>University of Dar es Salaam,<br>DAR ES SALAAM,<br>Tanzania.    |
| 28. | XUZA, Mr. Patric<br>Assistant Representative<br>Pan Africanist Congress (S.A.)                               | PAC (S.A.),<br>P.O. Box 2412,<br>DAR ES SALAAM<br>Tanzania.                       |
| 29. | NANGOLO, Mr. Peter<br>Editor-In-Chief<br>("Namibia To-day")  | SWAPO<br>P.O. Box 577<br>Zambia.  |
| 30. | KODJO, Rev. Peter<br>Regional Secretary<br>(Africa)  | World Student Christian Federation,<br>P.O. Box 14782,<br>NAIROBI,<br>Kenya.      |
| 31. | MFENYANA, Mr. Sindiso<br>Deputy Administrative<br>Secretary, African National                                | ANC (S.A.)<br>P.O. Box 1797,<br>LUSAKA,   |

Oswald Pirow was followed by Leslie Blackwell who finally summed up his speech by observing that the bill was "remarkable for what it omits rather than what it contains." The position was simply that South Africa was like a son who has been growing up to manhood in his father's house. In many families this is the time of tension and possible friction between father and son. The son feels his dependence and the restriction upon his liberty but after he has attained his full manhood, settled in his own home, is earning his own living, and is master of his own destiny, then if he is a good son and has a good father, the ties between them are all the stronger and they pull together far better than before. His father may admit him to equal partnership in his business but he still looks up to the old man as head of the family and the firm. So will it be with South Africa and Great Britain" (Vol. 23 Col. 1879 - 87, March 28, 1934).

We may sum up this debate with the words of General Smuts who said that all that had been done, unanimously by the cabinet, was "to put into legal language, as far as human knowledge could do, the actual constitutional position as we understood it." Smuts drew attention to four things which had been done through the bill (i) we are expressing in the first provision once more for the present and for the future the existing constitutional position of the Crown, (ii) the second deals with what is called the sovereignty of parliament; (iii) the third deals with the executive government, both in internal and external affairs, in which the king acts on the advice of his South African ministers - it has been our practice and it is the British practice - the very nature of responsible government; and (iv) according to Colonel Stallard, we have travelled in two or three respects, beyond the existing position (one of them) where we used the words "sovereign independence" in the preamble. There may be some difference of opinion as to the wisdom and expediency of using those words but I don't think we have made a departure there except in the form of mere words. . . ." (Vol. 23 Col. 2072 - 82).

General Smut's reference to the form of mere words' was to be explained by Heaton Nicholls in the great debate on September 4, 1939 (Vol. 36 Col. 34 - 35) on the issue of declaration of war against Germany. Nicholls explained that "in the Status Act we adopted a statement which was agreed to by the prime minister (General Hertzog), which was indeed drawn up at his request, in order that he should be definite about the constitutional position; that statement said that the states of the British Commonwealth were linked together by a common allegiance to the Crown, that is, by a common allegiance which all the states of the commonwealth owe in common . . . loyalty within the law to that common crown."

It will be noted in this respect that Section 5 of the Status of Union Act of 1934 records that the British sovereign is (specifically for that reason) also the sovereign of the Union in accordance with the laws of succession to the crown of the United Kingdom. In an attempt to appease Boer diehard sentiment once again the law "as it stands" in South Africa (the 1953 Royal Style and Titles Act) Elizabeth II is Queen of South Africa and of Her other Realms including Great Britain and Ireland) and Territories. This means that she is queen of South Africa in the first place and only afterwards queen of England.



Nothing can be more absurd when one takes into account that inspite of her being queen of South Africa in the first place she is really so in the law by the laws of succession to the British throne.

In 1949 the Commonwealth prime minister's conference approved India's intention to become a sovereign republic while retaining her membership of the commonwealth. The concept of allegiance to the British sovereign as head of the executive in each particular country was not tampered with and as a result when in 1960 South Africa made application to retain membership of the Commonwealth as a republic this was formally refused and the application had to be withdrawn.

This goes to show that racist South Africa had no sovereign right to secede unilaterally from the commonwealth as well as that racist South Africa has no sovereign right to grant ethnic independence to the Transkei or any other Bantustan.

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## THE ROLE OF BLACK STUDENTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Ramwedzi Nengwekhulu

### A GENERAL ANALYTIC BACKGROUND.

Any honest and critical analysis, assessment and appreciation of the meaning and implications of contemporary Black Consciousness in South Africa should and must be preceded by an analysis and exposition of the nature and fabric of the South African Society. This kind of general analysis is essential as it serves as a proper and adequate context within which one could then critically analyse and assess Black Consciousness adequately.

A major peculiar and striking feature of the structure of the South African Society is the degree and extent to which stratification and polarization between whites and Blacks has been carried.

This polarization and stratification permeates the entire political economic and socio-cultural fabric of the society. On the political sphere, the entire political machinery is legislatively consolidated in the hands of the dominating white minority group whilst Blacks 1) have no say in the administration of the country, since voting rights are legislatively denied them and are reserved for whites only. Their only sphere of political activity is supposed to be the Bantustans, Coloured Representative Council and the South African Indian Council to which we shall refer later in this thesis.

Economically, the South African Society is structured in such a way that almost all the economic and other material benefits in the country are for the exclusive enjoyment by whites with a few crumbs filtering down to the poverty-stricken Black Community. Needless to argue here that the immense, consolidated political power in the hands of whites enables them to legislate for themselves all the material resources and benefits of the country to the exclusion of Blacks.

A dominating feature of the South African economy however, is the high degree to which capitalism has compared with other countries in Africa. There is indeed ample evidence and data indicating that South Africa has the highest developed capitalist economy in Africa.

Thus capitalism and white racism seem to govern all the activities that occur in the South African Society. We will, however, dwell more in detail on this factor later in our discussion. Suffice it to say here therefore, that the capitalist economy of South Africa is structured to benefit whites only to the exclusion of Blacks.

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1) Blacks here include Africans, Indians and the so called Coloureds.

The same degree of racial polarization and characteristic of the other spheres of the South African Society are also, without moderation, characteristic of the socio-cultural aspect of the South African Society.

Very little socio-cultural intercourse is allowed but in most cases it is completely forbidden on the grounds that it could lead to social and racial conflict and friction.

The rationale behind this, it is argued by the white minority power structure, is the desire to maintain/preserve and perpetuate racial purity and the cultural homogeneity of the white race. Thus the entire structure of the South African society i.e. politically, economically and socio-culturally is designed and devised in such a way that it oozes maximum benefits for the exclusive enjoyment by the White Community at the maximum exploitation of the Black Community. One could mention here also, however, that theoretically the South African Society as structured by whites, is supposedly designed to benefit both blacks and whites equally but on a parallel basis. This is the standard argument offered by the white power structure in their attempt to justify apartheid 2) and all its exploitative ingredients.

The nature of the South African Society i.e. extreme racial polarization and stratification intertwined with the maximum economic exploitation of Blacks by the white society, has created a situation in which, for centuries, blacks have always found themselves in a helpless position to formulate any positive and meaningful programmes for their liberation without having to solicit, within the white society, whom they believed to be on their side. (we will return to this point later on in this paper).

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- 2) Apartheid meant the political economic and socio-cultural embodiment of the dogma or doctrine of stratification i.e. it means complete political, economic and socio-cultural stratification and polarization between Blacks and Whites. A further observation to be made in this regard is that, because of the exploitative nature of the South African society, and because of the role that whites are playing in devising, manning, controlling and directing this whole exploitative machinery, the whole system has inevitably created conditions in which it is almost impossible if not, impossible, for blacks and whites to work together towards the liberation and freedom of Blacks in South Africa.

It is therefore against this general background that one should evaluate the role of Black Students and Black Youth in general in South Africa since the Sharpeville Massacres.

### A short history of Black student politics in South Africa before 1960

A major feature of Black student politics in South Africa is that one could discern three distinct phases which characterize three different ideological orientations.

The first phase is the pre-1960 phase whose major ideological orientation was the belief by Black Students that the route towards black freedom and emancipation was through "multi-racialism" and "non-racialism". This belief was realized and actualized by active involvement and participation in multi-racial organisations, notably the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). Nusas was seen by Black Students as the only legitimate and appropriate channel through which Students in South Africa could utilize and expend their energies and resources in their endeavour to make a contribution to the struggle for black liberation and enfranchisement of the black masses in South Africa.

But it should also be appreciated that although the majority of Black Students believed in the legitimacy of NUSAS as the Vanguard and Coordinator of Students involvement and participation in the political destinies of South Africa, there was, however, an appreciable number of Black Students who doubted and questioned the legitimacy and effectiveness of NUSAS to lead Black Students in the struggle they believed was essentially the preserve and the prerogative of Black Students and the Black Community. But although this element, the group opposed to involvement in NUSAS, was not effective before 1960, it became very local and very effective just immediately after the Sharpsville massacres as we will show later on in this paper. Suffice it to say here that this element or group represented the pan-Africanist school of thought that was beginning to mushroom both inside the Student Community as a whole.

But perhaps before we leave this pre-1960 analysis of Black Student politics in South Africa, we should analyse what it was that made black students to believe and assume that the road to the liberation of the Black Community in South Africa and the creation of Azania could be achieved and realized through "multiracial" and "non-racial" organisations. The point we are trying to make here is; why was it not possible for black students to create and form their own organisations as happened after 1960? Above all, why was it not possible for them to imitate the black community as a whole which had its own organisations such as the African National Congress? The reason for this belief and assumption that only NUSAS, despite its pitfalls, was the legitimate Student body to lead to Salvation was that "multiracialism" and "non-racialism" were the dominant "ideologies" to which the major black political and Social leaders gravitated. Indeed, even the African National Congress despite the fact that structurally and organisationally, it was meant for the Africans, was in outlook and ideology "multi-racial" and "non-racial".

Over and above this, the white liberal establishment was still very effective and popular amongst the Black People because it was believed to be against the ruling white political power. Thus it was logical, and if not logical understandable that the Black Youth should



identify with the current "ideology" that was "opposed" to what they consider the enemy of black freedom and emancipation.

Secondly, black students found themselves in NUSAS and other "multi-racial" organisations because there were no institutions of higher learning except Fort Hare set aside for blacks which could, perhaps, have served as the breeding ground for a pro-black philosophy. The only institutions of higher learning which they could attend were those run and dominated by the White liberal establishment such as the English-speaking universities since Afrikaner universities would not admit Blacks.

Thus the black students found themselves in institutions permeated and dominated by the White Liberal establishment, the incubators and dispersal agents of "multi-racialism" and "non-racialism".

Another curious feature of black students before 1960 was that they continued to participate in NUSAS despite the fact that the Afrikaner section of NUSAS was totally opposed to their involvement and this evident opposition of black involvement in NUSAS by the Afrikaner Student led to the withdrawal from NUSAS Afrikaner Students and the subsequent formation of the Afrikaanse Student Bond in the 1930's. But despite this withdrawal Black Students continued to participate in NUSAS. But what was significant mainly in the late 1940's and early 1950's was the rapid growth of the black group that was opposed to the involvement of Black students with NUSAS. This Pan-Africanist group was to surface clearly and effectively in 1961-1962 and formed itself into organisations.

This, in short is a short history of black student politics before 1960.

#### Black student politics from 1960 - 1969

The Sharpeville massacres and the resultant banning and outlawing of the African National Congress ushered in a black student political perspective in the sense that for the first time in the history of black student politics in South Africa, there emerged black student's organisations.

Of special significance in this respect, were African Students Association, (ANC Oriented), African Students' Union of South Africa, (PAC Oriented), Durban Students Union and the Cape Peninsula Students Union, which later merged to form the Progressive National Students Organisation (Non-European Unity Movement Oriented).

This analysis will not be complete without mentioning the role that the ANC Youth League and the Sons of Young Africa (Nguni Oriented) played during this era. It should be mentioned, however, that the major centre of activity of these organisations was the university college of Fort Hare, the only institution of higher learning set aside for blacks, especially Africans. Of significant interest here was the fact that these organisations considered themselves legitimate national organisations representing the interests, aspirations and dreams of the black youth in South Africa.

But because of their acute and sharp ideological differences, there was very little if any, cooperation amongst these organisations. Indeed, it was logical that such a state of affairs should exist as these organisations were offshoots and replicas of their respective mother organisations. Another factor which hindered any form of cooperation to exist between and amongst them was the presence of NUSAS. Both ASUSA and the Progressive National Students Organisations were fanatically opposed to any form of cooperation with NUSAS.

Thus the existence of a number of black students organisations and the resultant lack of cooperation between and amongst these organisations resulted in the lack of a strong and viable black student solidarity movement which could articulate, aggregate and transmit the political aspiration and desires of black students on a national level. This divided loyalty spectrum and the continuing conflicts among these organisations served as the basis of and paved the way, in part, for their own destruction so that by 1985 what remained of these associations were just the relics of their historical existence in the files.

Over and above this, their divisions and antagonism towards each other created tremendous opportunities for NUSAS to reinforce and refurbish its presence at Fort Hare and amongst black students in general. Furthermore, the South African regime also played a major role in the collapse of these associations through the harassment and detention of their leadership. At other "black campuses", i.e. the University College of the North, University College of Zululand, Durban — Westville University College and Western Cape University College, there was very little, if any collective political activity.

No student organisation was allowed (by the University authorities) to operate so that both ASUSA and ASA collapsed without having planted any presence on these campuses. The only place for black higher learning, other than Fort Hare, where there was some form of political activity was the Medical section of the University of Natal. But this was the centre in which NUSAS enjoyed tremendous support. Thus, generally speaking, the period between 1980 and 1989 was a period of a very little black student political activity.

Dogged by morbid fear for victimization by university authorities and by intensified harassment by the regime and surrounded by deafening political apathy pervading the entire black community, the majority of black students resigned themselves to a reconciliation with the situation obtaining on the campuses and the country as a whole. There was also growing disillusionment and disenchantment with NUSAS. Perhaps one can understand why there was this political apathy in the entire black community if one appreciates that the Sharpeville massacres and their aftermath left many people rightly or wrongly convinced that there was no way of changing the situation in South Africa, and that any attempt to do so only leads to untold sufferings and retribution. Indeed, these were not just imagined fears. They were fears borne out of the history of the black struggle.

### **The Emergence of the South African Students Organisations (SASO) and its Black Consciousness Philosophy.**

The formation of SASO and the emergence of Black Consciousness in 1969 heralded the rebirth and rekindling of Black political activity within the Black Community and in the country as a whole.

It is indeed no exaggeration to posit that between 1960 and 1969, there was no political activity within the Black Community outside the political structures such as the Bantustans, created by the regime. In fact, the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress brought in its train the death of any organized political initiatives by blacks within the country with the exception perhaps of some few clandestine meetings, usually held behind locked doors, by some few individuals, especially those who were members of either ANC and PAC.

With concerted police raids, harassment and victimization, many blacks began to feel that perhaps it paid dividends never to indulge in politics. Indeed, the period between 1960 and 1969 was a period of reign of terror by the regime designed to uproot and eliminate whatever vestiges of resistance could have been in existence and thus pave the way for a smooth programmed introduction and concerted implementation of the Bantustan ideology. As a result, of all these things, Blacks began to fear to think aloud about their future. Fear was thus a general feature of the Black community.

On the Black Student level, and the Black Youth in general, the picture was even more bleak. Because of the absence of a black student organisation to which they could affiliate, together with mounting frustrations with the activities of NUSAS, Black Students and Black youth in general found themselves in an extremely frustrating and dehumanizing political environment in which virtually channels through which they could realize and actualize their political views, aspirations and ambitions were closed. Indeed the situation was so extremely frustrating that most black students began to accept the existence of the status quo as a matter of fact within which they had to seek accommodation. Over and above all this, Black parents tended to want to protect their children from "dangerous" arena of politics of liberation.

Thus apart from the growing political apathy amongst black students and black youth in general, resulting from the death of a national black student organisation which could have served as a vehicle for the activation of political interests amongst black students, there was also the active role which the adult black community was playing in trying to shield its children from the "dangers" that lay in the politics of liberation.

Thus the burden of creating conditions that would help revive Black Student interests in the politics of liberation was borne by a few individual black students who realized that the only way through which political activity could be reintroduced amongst the black youth and the whole black community in general was through the formation of a black student organisation. This desire, fanned by the growing disenchantment and disillusionment with the white liberal political establishment and its analysis and interpretation of the South African situation, became a reality when, in July 1968, at the NUSAS annual

Congress, the few Black Students who were at this Congress withdrew from the Congress and formed themselves into a black caucus in order to take another look, through black eyes, at our situation in the whole country.

But it was not until at the Conference of the multi-racial University Christian Movement that the black caucus began to openly canvass and solicit support for the formation of an exclusively black student organisation which would embrace and promote the aspirations of all the Black Students in South Africa. But it was only in July 1969 that SASO was formally launched.

At its inception and inauguration, SASO was beset with serious problems of political credibility. In other words a number of people questioned its motives. Over and above this, a number of people were convinced that SASO was a product of the South African regimes strategy to enhance and perpetuate its apartheid policies because of SASO's policy of "going it alone" and its total exclusion of whites of all political shades and persuasions.

But by July, 1970, the majority of black students were convinced that SASO was their only salvation in their struggle for personhood. One point which needs to be highlighted here, however, is that, right from its inception, SASO made it clear in its Constitution, that, although a student organisation, it would take an active role in the political struggle of the black community. The major cornerstone of SASO's philosophy is Black Consciousness. The essence of Black Consciousness, without going into analytic details, is essentially that Black people have an obligation to respect themselves, their value systems and their community in order that they will be able to understand, comprehend and appreciate their value and their worth. In other words, Black Consciousness is a call to Black people to rid themselves of the crushing psychological shackles that inhibit them from taking an active and leading role in the struggle for liberation and emancipation. This is the philosophy around which SASO rallied support amongst the black students and the black youth in general. Another major aspect of SASO's policy was (and still is) its bitter attack on the white liberal establishment.

Right from its inception, SASO mounted a concerted attack on and against this section of the white community. Indeed, many people particularly the White Liberals themselves and a certain section of the adult black community, could not understand why SASO chose to attack the section of the white community which has historically been taken as a friend and ally of the black community.

The only group to find immense satisfaction in our sustained attack on the white liberal establishment was that group of whites who make up the "effective" ruling class, the regime. To them we were attacking the "communist" whom they considered to have been responsible for "inciting" Blacks to revolt against the established order. But perhaps it needs to be stated somewhat clearly that our attack on and against the white liberal establishment was motivated by our desire to expose the "artificiality" in the approach to our problems created by the liberal establishment as reflected by their assumption that the country's problems and our exploitation can only be solved through integration as a



means to an end as well as an end in itself, thus their insistence that it is only through multi-racial organisations that Blacks and Whites could discuss joint solutions to the issues that face us.

We have always condemned this approach as artificial since it is based on false premises the assumption that our exploitation and oppression stem from the dearth of integration.

Our approach to the problems of our exploitation has always been that the source of problems was the cannibalistic capitalistic system, supported by a vicious white racism, that exists in our country. Furthermore, we have always argued that a multi-racial approach to our problems was wrong, because of the degree to which racial polarization has been carried resulting in a great deal of suspicion and hatred between Blacks and Whites. Hence, our decision to "go it alone" without the involvement of whites.

Basic to our approach is our conviction that it is only the oppressed who can effectively plan and implement his strategies and tactics for liberation. Over and above this we are convinced that in order for the oppressed to plan and implement his strategies for liberation, intelligently, he has first to purge himself of all psychological stereotypes and cobwebs in his mind. Hence our call for a psychological revolution.

It is within this context that one should analyze and interpret the role of Black Youth in South Africa and their desire to recreate Azania.

#### A Reappraisal/Evaluation of the role of the Black youth in the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

The above analysis, though superficial, of the historical origins and development of the Black Consciousness Movement in general, is meant to serve, as a general context within which to set out the role played and being played by Black Youth in South Africa reactivate the political will and determination of Black People in South Africa to stand up and fight for their freedom and emancipation despite the heavy price they have to pay. Right from its inception SASO, has always advocated the solidarity of the Black Community, thus the formation of the Black People's Convention in 1972 was the realization of SASO's ambition to create and forge rapport between the Black Youth and the adult Black Community. In fact, BPC is the brainchild of SASO. It was formed to provide home for the adult Black Community which could not find a home in SASO which is essentially an association of students.

Perhaps what should be noted in this brief appraisal is that the black youth of South Africa salvaged the black struggle from its deathbed. They filled the organisational vacuum left behind by the banning of the ANC and PAC.

Perhaps more important, they provide the much needed political leadership which was lacking after most the leaders of both the PAC and ANC have either been banned or jailed. Furthermore, the black youth provided the only opposition against the regime. Above that they are the only ones who mounted a sustained attack against the regime's ~~Botswana~~ policy.

*Paulin Jan*



It is against this background one should evaluate the present uprisings and demonstrations in South Africa which began on June 16th, 1976.

The uprisings were the consummation and actualization of the politicization programme mounted by SASO and BPC . . . a programme designed to heighten the political awareness and consciousness of Black people in South Africa, particularly the Blacks who are the major victims of the regime's policy of mind manipulations and distortions.

If anything, the June uprisings ushered in an era that has seen the transfer of the leadership of our struggle from the old generation to young generation, the black youth. Another point which needs to be elucidated here is that many people have tended to see the present uprisings as "revolts" and "riots", stemming from mere dissatisfaction with "Bantu Education" or other minor issues. The major cause, however, of the uprisings should be sought in the high degree of political awareness amongst the black youth. They are a reflection of a determination and willingness by the Blacks to carry the liberation struggle that will result in the birth and reincarnation of an egalitarian and free Azania.

As proof of this willingness, the black youth of South Africa are presently shedding their blood. As early as 1971, the black youth in the person of Nyameko Pityana, the then Secretary General of SASO stated unequivocally that "Black man, you are on your own" and this is the message the black youths are trying to communicate to the whole black community; that is, We are our own messiahs.

This might perhaps sound like youthful adventure and romantic intellectualization but we are convinced that power concedes nothing freely and there is no reason to believe that the white Monolithic power structure in South Africa will be an exception.

Thus perhaps rather than mourning the death of the youth who were felled by the regime's guns during the uprisings we should and must fight on in order to create the Azania they so dearly and faithfully died for.

## THE ROLE OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Sipho Buthelezi

### INTRODUCTION:

An excellent revolutionary situation exists in South Africa today and the object of this paper is to analyse the historical development of the struggle, since the beginning of the seventies. Particular emphasis will be placed on the Black consciousness movement and its particular significance in the struggle for national liberation in South Africa today.

We would also like to examine, in particular the historical background of the birth of the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) and its significance in the historical development of our struggle.

Finally, a critical assessment of the liberation movement of South Africa as a whole is one that demands urgent attention.

### The rise of the Black Consciousness Movement and the birth of the BPC

The period between 1960 and 1968 is characterised by a conspicuous political vacuum in the development process of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. This political vacuum was created by the bannings of the people's political organisations, namely the ANC and the PAC. When the ANC and PAC were banned and exiled by the fascist colonial regime of South Africa, the Black oppressed in South Africa were thrown into political wilderness.

A significant feature of this period was the re-surgence of the so-called "multi-racial" Organisations which sought to speak on behalf of the black oppressed in South Africa. This was a particularly glaring feature in student politics. The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) assumed the leadership role of the entire student community in South Africa. NUSAS went further to assume the role of a vanguard organisation, speaking on behalf of the entire Black community.

During this period, also, there was a creation of more and more repressive legislation and other fascist measures by the enemy, in a concerted effort to perpetrate the vicious oppression of the Black man in South Africa.

The heightened and sharpened contradictions between the white oppressors and the Black oppressed provided excellent objective and subjective conditions for the further development of the revolutionary consciousness of the Black oppressed, in South Africa.

It was against this background that in 1968 Black students in South Africa correctly decided to form an all-Black student organisation – SASO. The formation of SASO had

a profound effect on the development of the struggle as a whole. It was at this time that the Black consciousness philosophy emerged as a dynamic revolutionary force, which sought to unite the Black oppressed for an onslaught against the white superstructure.

With the rise and development of SASO, excellent conditions were created for the formation of a broad base for the unity of all revolutionary forces in our country. This excellent situation saw the birth of the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) on the 16th December, 1971.

#### The birth of the BPC and its significance

The founding of the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) was a turning point in the history of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. The birth of the BPC in 1971 came at a time when the political struggle in South Africa had reached a stalemate.

As has already been stated, the bannings of the ANC and the PAC in 1960 had created a conspicuous political vacuum in the Black community. That is, for about a decade there was no organised political activity amongst the Black oppressed. The BPC was born out of this peculiar experience which the Black oppressed shared collectively as the viciously oppressed and brutally exploited people; a people who basically lacked any relevant and effective political machinery through which their aims, aspirations, ideals and goals can be effected and realized.

The birth of the BPC expressed itself as a manifestation of the sharpened contradiction between the white oppressors and the Black oppressed; between the propertied and the disinherited. This historical development was also a manifestation of the ceaseless and concerted struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed – a struggle that has been waged in various forms for more than three hundred years of colonial occupation of South Africa.

Further, the BPC came into being to fill the vacuum in the political struggle for the Black oppressed in South Africa. This political vacuum had existed for ten solid years. At this stage, one may ask the question: What is the significance of the birth of BPC in relation to the struggle for national liberation in South Africa?

Firstly, we wish to mention that the birth and growth of the BPC dispelled the myth that it was illegal for Black people to form their own organisations which would seek to express their political aspirations. This myth had become entrenched in the minds of our people during a period of brutal intimidation, perpetrated by the enemy since the early sixties. It took the form of mass trials, imprisonment and executions of Black people in South Africa, which is still going on up to this day. With the formation of the BPC the people emerged triumphant and victorious over the South African fascist regime, for they could once again overtly re-assert their dedication to the national liberation struggle.

Coupled with this healthy development of the struggle was the fact that the Black people of South Africa regained confidence in their own political organisations as instruments through which their interests can be secured. Since the early sixties, when the ANC and

PAC had gone into exile and became obscure in the struggle internally the Black masses had lost faith in these political organisations. This holds true even today. Since the June 16 Revolution the Black people of South Africa have sustained the revolution by fighting the enemy with stones and bottles. This unfortunate situation exists after more than 16 years of loud utterances about "armed struggle". The fact of the matter is that exile organisations, in the name of the ANC and the PAC have become isolated from the struggling masses inside South Africa. This is an unfortunate and an unhealthy development in our struggle.

Finally, we wish to mention that the formation of the BPC came as a victorious achievement for the Black oppressed in South Africa and signified the rededication of our people to fearlessly and successfully launch a final onslaught against the fascist regime of South Africa. This historic development of our struggle was accelerated by the firm and resolute belief that: "It is the inalienable birthright of any community to have a political voice, to articulate and actualize the aspiration of its members. In South Africa, the Africans, the Indians and so-called coloureds comprise the Black oppressed, a people who have been deprived of this inalienable birthright; and for too long there has been a political vacuum in the Black community. Further, false statements have been made that it is illegal and unlawful for Blacks to found political movements and to engage in political activity unless such political activity has been prescribed and approved by white colonial society and its government."

#### General focus on the Liberation struggle in South Africa

Since the birth of the Black Consciousness Movement in the late sixties and its development during the present decade, excellent conditions exist for Revolution in South Africa. The June 16 Revolution in South Africa confirms this statement. The struggle for national liberation in South Africa has moved a step nearer towards the defeat of the enemy and the victory of the people!

At this historic stage of our struggle, it is thus important for all revolutionaries to take careful stock of the situation and to seek solutions to problems that beset the liberation movement as a whole.

Whilst history has demonstrated beyond doubt that the masses (Black) are invited inside South Africa, an unhealthy situation persists outside the borders of South Africa. The liberation movement in exile is torn apart with disunity and internal strife. The exile scene is punctuated by internal splits, factionalism and opportunism. This unhealthy situation does not reflect the international situation and, furthermore has threatened to divide the people of South Africa.

This position has not in any way enhanced the struggle, but rather has become a rot that must be eliminated. The disunity within the liberation movement has served to weaken the revolutionary forces and to strengthen the enemy.

It is, therefore, urgent for all revolutionaries and other progressive forces to come into conference and to emerge united in a common front against the forces of colonialism, fascism, and imperialism, that perpetrate the vicious oppression of our people in South



Africa. It must become clear to us now that the success of any struggle, especially in our situation, draws its strength from the invincibility of the masses who are united in struggle. Personal and other considerations and interests should give way, in favour of loyalty to the supreme principle of REVOLUTION. We must all accept the inevitability of history which has taught us (the world over) that the interests of the masses are *supreme*. The interests of the masses in struggle take precedence in any revolutionary struggle.

We, therefore, call for a united front of all revolutionaries, revolutionary groups and other progressive forces.

The lesson we have learnt from the June 16 Revolution is that the black people of South Africa are ready to give their lives to the struggle for national liberation and independence. Hundreds of our people have been killed and thousands have been imprisoned, tortured and persecuted. Our people, however, have shown concerted determination to carry on with the struggle, relentlessly and fearlessly.

It is also significant to note that the enemies of our people are united against us and are bent to destroy the revolution. This is illustrated by the fact that the Vorster regime has gone a stage further with the implementation of its Bantustan programme. On the 25th October the Transkei was given the so-called "independence." The creation of this puppet Transkei regime poses a serious threat to our struggle and is contrary to the wishes of the Black people of South Africa. Recently the so-called Black Unity Front was formed by the reactionary puppets and is headed by well known enemies of the people. This so-called Black Unity Front led by Gatsha Buthelezi, is a sustained and united effort by the enemies of our people to confuse the Black masses. Then also, Lucy Mvubelo and some other reactionaries have recently formed what they call "Women for Peace." This also illustrates how far the enemies of the revolution are bent to confuse the masses.

It is against this background therefore, that unity of all progressive forces in our struggle has become the first item on the agenda. It is only through the unity of the masses in struggle that a successful onslaught can be launched against the enemy and through this we can assure the success of the Revolution in South Africa.

**"POWER TO THE PEOPLE"**



## NAMIBIA: THE MAIN QUESTION TODAY.

(Presented by SWAPO – Southern African People's Organisation).

In an attempt to contribute to the work of this important Consultative Conference, we propose to address ourselves to the current manoeuvres by the South African government to impose a neo-colonial confederation of Bantustans on the Namibian people. This is, in our view, the main question before SWAPO and all genuine Namibian patriots today.

### Turnhalle as the chosen instrument

The Vorster government in Pretoria remains adamant in its refusal to deal directly with SWAPO as the leading, political and military force fighting for the attainment of genuine national independence and social liberation in Namibia. On the contrary, this racist regime is continuing with its fraudulent scheme to establish a confederation of tribal homelands, as the basis of what the regime calls "independence for South West Africa." The chosen instrument in pursuance of this sinister objective is the so called Turnhalle constitutional conference.

According to the Vorster government, the planned independence must be achieved through the Turnhalle tribal talks which have been going on for fourteen months now in Windhoek.

This tribal gathering, which has recently proclaimed December 31, 1978, as the date for the so-called independence for South West Africa, has created a false impression to some people that the battle for Namibia's independence is just about to be won.

Through news media and diplomatic manoeuvres in the West, the Turnhalle tribal gathering has been made to appear as if it were a genuine effort to end Pretoria's illegal and oppressive occupation of Namibia.

The false impression that the independence of Namibia is just around the corner has, furthermore, been reinforced by the advent of the Kissinger shuttle diplomacy in Africa. In an obvious attempt to divert attention from a systematic preparation for a bitter and protracted armed liberation struggle, the imperialists and friends here in Africa have been urging us to spend much of our time looking for constitutional lawyers to help us in the supposedly impending Geneva Conference on Namibia. These are some of the new problems we are being faced with.

No doubt, the false impression that Pretoria is now open to negotiation with regard to Namibia, provided the three Western powers in the U.N. Security Council with a convenient excuse to veto the Afro Asian resolution on arms embargo against S.A. recently.

The truth about the Turnhalle is that the gathering has been sponsored, organized and financed by the South African government. The moving spirits behind the Turnhalle talks are none other than Dirk Mudge, Van Zijl, H.A. Du Plessis – Vorster's three most important men in Namibia. The three are all members of the fascist Nationalist Party of South Africa. They have been instrumental in the implementation of all the oppressive apartheid laws and regulations in Namibia.

Pretoria's primary aims in organizing this counter – revolutionary gathering of tribal puppets in Windhoek are:

- (a) to mollify political and diplomatic pressure by the world community that South Africa must give up her illegal and oppressive occupation over Namibia;
- (b) To undermine SWAPO's internal and international support and prestige and;
- (c) to blunt the growing national consciousness among the Namibian people.

Thus, the Turnhalle talks represent an attempt, on the part of Pretoria, to appear to be disengaging from her repressive and racist colonial rule in Namibia, while in actual fact the Vorster regime is tightening its grip on that country. The South African ruling class is not prepared to abandon its economic and strategic interests in Namibia. This is why Vorster is so violently opposed to any suggestion that SWAPO be allowed to assume state power in Namibia. He knows that SWAPO, as a political organization of revolutionary democrats, will never accept any kind of pseudo-independence which will perpetuate the socio-economic status quo in Namibia.

Pretoria is, therefore, seeking to impose the Mudge/Kapuuo\* sort of leadership on the Namibian people, a leadership which is prepared to manage a South African neo-colonial confederation of eleven tribal homelands. This neo-colonial arrangement will leave 2/3 of Namibia's land with all its mining-fishing-ranching industries in the hands of the white settler minority. This will mean that the \$525 million gross surplus of Namibia's \$700 million GDP will continue to benefit only a small group of foreign capitalists and a budding local bourgeoisie made up of white settlers and a Turnhalle-created tribal nobility. The tribal puppets, now participating in the Turnhalle tribal talks, are already being enticed with large sums of money in order to turn them into an adjunct of the South African white ruling class. For instance, each of the so called delegates to the talks is getting more than R600 per month. This is a lot of money to be given to non-productive and semi-illiterate tribal chiefs in a country where the average monthly wage for the workers who produce the country's wealth is only about R40. To these huge sums of money paid to the puppets must be added many other fringe benefits, such as, free hotel accommodation, the use of luxurious government limousines and occasional trips to the United States, Britain and West Germany. But for the white rulers, this is a necessary price to pay for the retention of their own socio economic privilege in Namibia.

any conference to negotiate the transfer of power to the Namibian people must be conducted on the basis of direct talks between SWAPO and the government of South Africa, with the help of the United Nations.

#### The Resistance continues

Against the background of Pretoria's Turnhalle manoeuvres, SWAPO decided to close its ranks and gear all its revolutionary structures both at home and abroad to be the vanguard and the concerted expression of popular opposition to the Turnhalle manoeuvres.

To this end, a SWAPO Congress was convened in June this year in Walvis Bay, Namibia. Among the key decisions taken at that Congress was the pledge to broaden and deepen our political mobilization in every village and district of Namibia. This programmatic decision has since then been put into practice; and as a consequence, five different political groupings from the central and Southern areas of Namibia have disbanded themselves and joined SWAPO. We consider this to be an encouraging vote of confidence, regarding the liberation activity of our movement in Namibia.

Besides, the Congress at Walvis Bay, SWAPO leadership abroad held an enlarged meeting of its Central Committee in Lusaka in August this year to re-assess our programme of action and to streamline our organizational machinery for a stepped-up military pressure on the enemy forces in our country.

Out of the Central Committee meeting fundamental decisions were made towards the redoubling of our liberation activity, which, we believe, will be long and bitter.

The struggle will be long and bitter because Pretoria is very determined to stay in Namibia under the guise of having given "independence" to the Turnhalle group. Plans are afoot to form a neo-colonial interim government in Windhoek by March next year.

Moreover, the South African government is pouring many troops in Namibia on the pretext that the People's Republic of Angola is concentrating Cuban troops on the border with Namibia. In the light of all these new dangerous moves by the South African government we call upon all progressive forces and peace organizations to condemn and denounce all imperialist manoeuvres and intrigues to legitimize Turnhalle. In our judgement, the impending formation of a so-called Interim Government via the Turnhalle will be tantamount to making Dirk Mudge an Ian Smith of Namibia, since effective power will still be in the hands of a local white settler group which itself will be maintained by South Africa; and under such circumstances oppression and exploitation of the African people will continue as at present. This is the main question facing us today.

## SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS AND STRATEGIES OF IMPERIALISM

By Y. Tandon

It is proper to try to understand the "trends and strategies of imperialism in the present period, for although there are underlying motive forces at the roots of imperialism that are operative throughout the epoch of monopoly capitalism, its strategy and tactics in a particular period are dictated by the concrete situation in which it finds itself during that period. We have witnessed in the last couple of years the whole Southern African arena flare up in an armed struggle between forces of national liberation and imperialism. The concreteness of the present situation has to be clearly understood in order to take a correct counter-imperialist strategy.

But while it is correct to focus on an analysis of the present trends and strategies of imperialism, it must be carried out within the framework of a scientific analysis of the essential motive force behind imperialism in the epoch of monopoly capitalism. We emphasise here the importance of understanding the essential motive force, for there are theorists both in the imperialist camp and in the anti-imperialist camp who maintain that imperialism is not essential for the survival of capitalism, that it is simply a matter of "bad policy" of some "imperialist minded" governments, and that if only we could "reason" with these governments and show them that imperialism does not pay or that it is anti-humanitarian, they will pack up their bags and leave. Such an understanding is most superficial and plays into the hands of imperialism.

By essential motive force, we mean a force that is independent of the will of individuals, a social force that is created by the very process of material production and therefore endemic to that particular system of social production. We mean to argue here that imperialism is endemic to the capitalist system of social production in its present period of monopoly finance capitalism, one without which capitalism cannot survive. However, every system creates within its own womb the seeds of its own destruction — capitalism has created the working class which will bring about its ultimate demise, and imperialism in the colonies, semi-colonies and neo-colonies of the third world has created the force of national liberation. That does not obviate the need to understand the essential motive force behind imperialism, for as Engels put it in *Anti-Duhring*, freedom consists in understanding "the laws of necessity" so that we know how to master them, and make them serve human progress, just as we master the force of electricity.

Capitalism cannot survive without imperialism because it has now reached a stage, that of monopoly capitalism, when the national market no longer provides a sufficient basis for reproduction of social capital. A global exploitation of labour-power and an increased concentration of capital on a global scale (what we know in its organisational expression as the multinational corporations) are the essential bases of capitalist reproduction. Does it mean anything more than the fact that the capitalist economies require new materials



from outside and a global market for their commodities? And if so, why should their relations with the peoples of the third world necessarily be "imperialistic"? Why cannot they get their raw materials and markets through "normal" trade relations, without, that is, imperialist subordination of the economies of the third world countries?

That is a good question. Bourgeois reformers argue these days that there is no reason why the United States monopolies, for example, should not trade with any third world country on the same basis as it trades with say Japan or the United Kingdom.

The question is not one that can be answered in the abstract. Imperialism is a historical phenomenon, and it cannot be abstracted out of history. The point is that by the time capitalism reached its monopoly, or imperialist, phase, Japan itself, like the United Kingdom and the United States, had become a fully capitalist country, and it was only a matter of time when it too found it necessary to establish imperialist domination over parts of China and South East Asia. That does not mean that American imperialist capital does not penetrate Japan. Stronger capital always attempts to dominate weaker capital. But in the case of Japan we already had a strong national bourgeoisie which could accumulate capital on its own account, and enter into alliance or competition with other imperialist capitals. It is this inter-imperialist competition that had led to the two World Wars, wars fought to redivide the world on the basis of the relative strength of the respective capital of the imperialist countries.

In the rest of the third world imperialism had imposed its dominance and discipline before a national bourgeoisie could arise and carry out an independent bourgeois democratic revolution. Production in these countries since then has always been under the whip of imperialist capital, and to serve its specific interests within the framework of its global strategy. We shall later analyse the phenomenon of neo-colonialism, but it has this bearing here that imperialist whip continues to lash on these countries even after their political independence. The point, however, is that these differences between Japan and the third world are fundamental and arise out of historical circumstances.

With these countries it has never been a question simply of getting raw materials and using their markets for the sale of manufactured products. These economic functions have been carried out within a certain framework of relationship, a relationship of direct exploitation, one in which trade never took place on the basis of what bourgeois economists like to call "free trade", but one in which imperialist capital directly dominated production itself in the colonial or semi-colonies, determined the wage structures in these countries, and directed the production into lines which served the imperialist needs. That is why, for the greater part of the lives of these countries they have been producers of industrial raw materials to feed the factories of the imperialist countries at prices determined by conditions set by the imperialist monopolies. If they have now begun in some of these countries to go into some manufacturing (although the bulk of them still remain producers of industrial raw materials, including metals and oil), that is because of the development of the productive forces in these countries (such as, for example, Brazil, India and South Africa,) allow for such manufacturing, though this is still done under the effective control of imperialist capital.



The relationship between the developed capitalist countries and the third world colonies and neo-colonies has necessarily to be imperialistic, because on no other basis can they control the conditions of production by which they can secure from these countries the kind of commodities they require, in the right quantities and of the right quality, and at prices effectively set by the monopolies. This does not mean that there are no contradictions between these countries and imperialist monopolies. As we said above, nothing can exist without its opposite. The present struggle over the prices of oil is a manifestation of this contradiction, and an exemplification of the point that the monopolies do not want their commodities at any price set as a result of "free trade", but at a price that they can monopolistically dictate to the third world commodity producers.

This, in fact, is the essence of imperialism. The crisis of over-production in relation to profitability (and not in relation to consumption, as some underconsumptionists like Baran and Sweezy, Samir Amin and Arghiri Emmanuel see it, following the lead of Rosa Luxemburg) that capitalism faced in the latter part of the nineteenth century forced the capitalist enterprises on the one hand to greater centralisation of capital (of which cartels, trusts and syndicates were their organisational expression), and on the other hand to restructure the organic composition of capital in order to fight against the crisis of profitability. The supply of cheap raw materials from the colonies and semi-colonies was part answer to this crisis, and it has continued to remain an essential element in capitalist production and reproduction on an extended scale. Hence imperialism.

#### **The present strategy of imperialism**

By the present we mean since the end of the second World War, for although the two sets of circumstances which condition the present strategy have been present ever since the end of the First World War and the October Revolution, these have become specially potent since 1964. The first is the challenge posed by socialism. Socialism is the direct negation of capitalism, for it aims to divest the capitalists of their ownership and control of means of production and put them directly in the hands of the producers themselves. The second is the third world people's struggle for national liberation, which, in particular is the negation of imperialism though it cannot achieve this without negating capitalism also. It is for this reason that the present strategy of imperialism is two pronged. It is on the one hand anti-socialist; and it is on the other hand anti-nationalist.

Looked at it from the other side, an alliance between the forces of socialism and those of nationalism would for sure spell the death knell of imperialism and capitalism. To separate nationalism would for sure spell the death knell of imperialism and capitalism. To separate these two forces has thus become the cardinal and key element in the strategy of imperialism. This is what has given birth, in relation to the third world countries, to the strategy of neo-colonialism. Let us therefore explore this phenomenon, for although much has been written on it, its essential elements are sometimes obscured in moralising platitudes and mystification.

"Neo-colonialism" as Dan W. Nabudere has correctly pointed out, "is a historical stage in the evolution of particular social production relations based on an inherently exploitative

system". (p. 396) Its objective remains the preservation of the exploitative system of imperialism in its fundamental essentials, as we described above. Its strategy is to separate nationalism from socialism where the two coalesce in the areas under imperialist control. Its tactics are determined by the circumstances of each particular situation in which imperialism finds itself confronted with its two opposites, socialism and nationalism, like yesterday it was in Vietnam and South East Asia, and today in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa.

The general implications of the strategy have become clear over the years, and can be objectively studied and documented. At the *political* level, the strategy has been, when confronted with demands for self-determination to prolong colonialism for as long as possible, and then, when all else has failed, to divide the nationalists among "radicals" and "moderates" so that power could be handed over to the latter. (One can see this strategy at play, for instance, at the present Geneva conference on Zimbabwe). At the *international* political level, the strategy is to separate the nationalists, as far as possible, from the influence of socialist states, and socialist ideas. At the social level, the strategy is to encourage the growth of such social classes as would continue to remain economically and culturally dependent on imperialism, and constitute the "moderates" out of whom a government might be formed when the time comes. At the *economic* level, and at this level the strategy of neo-colonialism is at its strongest, it is to make minor concessions when necessary (such as on matters of trade and aid, or nationalisation) but to turn every opportunity to tie the neo-colonies more securely to the economic apronstrings of imperialism. Here such international institutions as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the GATT and the European Economic Community (the Lome Convention) are at the service of imperialism to regulate the economies of the neo-colonies under the dictates of monopoly finance capital. At the military level, and at this level the strategy paradoxically is at its weakest, it is to use war as a means to advance its political interests whenever necessary. The weakness of the military means stems from the fact that it can be very counterproductive for imperialism, for it on the one hand unites the nationalist forces, making it difficult to divide the "moderates" from the "militants", and on the other hand, it opens the door to the possibility of uniting nationalism and socialism (in the form, specially of assistance from socialist countries to the national liberation forces), which is anathema to imperialism. This is for instance what happened in Vietnam and Angola. It is for this reason that imperialism has made an ideology out of "peaceful settlement" of disputes, though it never fails to use war when it suits its interests. Finally, at the *ideological* level, and here its weapons are almost as powerful as at the economic level, the strategy is either to inculcate reactionary brands of nationalism (one, for instance, that "believes" in capitalism, private enterprise and the "free trade"), or failing that, to encourage such brands of petty bourgeois socialism as are far removed from proletarian scientific socialism. Increasingly, imperialism is beginning to recognise that some brands of petty bourgeois socialism, such as those proclaimed in many parts of Africa, some of them camouflaged even under the false red banners of "scientific socialism" or "Marxism" are extremely useful functional tools in the struggle against the truly proletarian socialism.

These, schematically, are the elements of the strategy of neo-colonialism, whose particular combinations are determined by *tactical* considerations relating to each concrete situation. Imperialism of course, is as prone to miscalculations as its adversaries in the struggle. The entry for example, of South African troops to push the fortunes of UNITA in Angola in late 1975 by means of military support created quite the opposite effects from those imperialism had intended. On the other hand, imperialism might find an unexpected ally in the situation. A "front line" state in the neighbourhood of the theatre of struggle may itself have interest in the outcome of the struggle (like Syria in the present struggle in the Lebanon), and may unexpectedly (for hitherto it may have championed the cause of liberation) turn out objectively as an ally of imperialism in eliminating "extreme" elements from among the nationalist forces. The complexity of the concrete situation thus presents a vast array of tactical considerations which may change rapidly during the course of the struggle.

Having said this, it must quickly be added that the outcome of the struggle against imperialism in a particular concrete situation is *not a matter of chance*, or a fortuitous combination of tactical considerations on the part of both adversaries. The tactical decisions made at a point in time may appear to be expressions of real options made at the will of those who made these decisions, whether it is imperialism or the national liberation forces. But, in the final analysis, they are expressions of the particular class interest that they represent, which, in their turn, are determined by the nature of the struggle itself. On the side of imperialism the nature of the classes are easier to identify for they have been a constant factor in all struggles for national liberation. But on the side of the liberation forces, the nature of the class forces may be a little more difficult to define, for the situation in Vietnam would be different from that in Mozambique, and the situation in Mozambique different from that in Angola, and the situation in Angola different from that in Zimbabwe.

It is therefore necessary for us to say a few words, in very general terms, on the counter-imperialistic strategy that is objectively called for given the nature of imperialism in the present epoch, the nature of the national struggle, and the alignment of forces internally to the colonies and neo-colonies and internationally.

#### The counter-imperialist strategy

Although the word "strategy" would seem to suggest the mental act of a military genius who would produce from his mind a brilliant strategy for the defeat of the enemy, to believe that this is in fact what happens is to lapse into metaphysics. Engels puts us right on this question: "Armament, composition, organisation, tactics and strategy depend above all on the stage reached at the time of production and on communications. It is not the 'free creations of the mind' of generals of genius that have had a revolutionizing effect here, but the invention of better weapons and the change in the human material, the soldiers; at the very most, the part played by generals of genius is limited to adapting methods of fighting to the new weapons and combatants, (p. 200). If this is true of military strategy of which Engels was writing here, it is even more true of political strategy that

it is not the "free creation of the mind" but a product of the social relations of production and how the opposing classes are posed in contradiction to each other as "combatants".

There is another thing that has to be born in mind. A strategy does not simply spring from the blue. As Mao Tse-tung had argued in his controversy with the Deborin School of idealism in the Soviet Union in the 1930's: Contradictions appear from beginning to the end of a process. The Deborin School had argued that contradiction appeared not at the inception of a process but only when it had developed up to a certain stage. (SW, Vol. I, P: 317-8):

Thus capitalism had created its opposite, the proletariat, at its very inception. The contradiction between those who own capital and those who sell their labour-power will continue until the end of capitalism. There have, of course, been many phases in this struggle, and in each phase the "combatants" had worked out their own strategies, given their relative strength and the degree of political consciousness. We have now reached a phase in which capitalism is in its last phase, in its most reactionary phase (for historically it has been a progressive force at some stage), while the proletariat is beginning to recognise the measure of its strength.

It is the same with the struggle between imperialism and the peoples of the third world. This struggle has been going on from the very inception of imperialism, though it has passed through many phases, and the strategies of the two "combatants" have varied from phase to phase. We are now in the eve of imperialism's final collapse, though not yet the collapse itself.

In the developed capitalist countries, a national bourgeoisie had emerged and had in alliance with the oppressed peasantry smashed the bases of feudal oppression. Bourgeois relations of production had begun to erode feudal relations from the fifteenth century onwards, but it was not until about the last quarter of the nineteenth century that the bourgeoisie had completed their national democratic revolutions in Western Europe, the United States and Japan. By the time of the first World War, national democratic revolutions were already a thing of the past in these countries. From now on it was the struggle between the capitalists and the workers that commanded the centre of the stage.

This, however, was not the case with the colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial preserves of imperialism. Here the national question still remains unresolved. Here the national democratic revolutions are not a thing of the past, but a thing of the present. Imperialism blocked the development of the nation-states in the areas under its control and continues to do so. What we know as "nations" in the third world are historical creations of imperialism. Their "national bourgeoisie", where such exist, are too weak and too dependent on imperialism to be able to carry out the national democratic revolutions in these countries. They are on the one hand oppressed by imperialism, since imperialism thwarts their attempts to centre the national market, but on the other hand they are fearful of a rising proletariat which could effectively rob them of victory, like the Bolsheviks had done six months after the bourgeois revolution of April, 1917. Thus both in Turkey, after the Kemalist revolution of 1923 led by a national merchant



bourgeoisie, and in China, after the Sun Yat-sen led bourgeois revolution of 1911, these revolutions could not be consolidated, and the bourgeoisie had to run for the protection of imperialism to save them from the working classes, and the two countries became semi-colonies of imperialism. Thus, the "national bourgeoisie" of the third world countries, flabby and weak as they are, a spent force. In other words, they are not able to carry out their historic mission of liberating the peoples of the third world from the yoke of imperialism, and of carrying out a rational democratic revolution.

It was a correct appraisal of this situation that had led Mao Tse-tung to declare that time had come when the historic mission had to be taken over from the bourgeoisie by the working classes themselves. The old type of national democratic revolutions were blocked by imperialism. Hence only a "new" type of national democratic revolutions were on the agenda. In these the proletariat would take the leadership in combating imperialism directly, in alliance with the peasantry (excepting, that is, the feudal landlords), the petty bourgeoisie, and even the "national bourgeoisie" where such existed, for they too are oppressed by imperialism though too weak to overthrow it.

Those who say that socialist revolutions are already on the agenda of the peoples of the neo-colonies in the third world are profoundly mistaken. As long as imperialism continues to dominate these neo-colonies, the struggle against imperialism by a *national front* led by an alliance of workers and peasants is the immediate order of the day, though in order to consolidate its victory and prevent a counter-revolution the New Democratic Revolution has to pass immediately over to the phase of the socialist revolution. These two stages of the revolution are distinct and cannot be confused, or fused, one with the other. It must be understood, furthermore, that as long as capitalism and its necessary outgrowth imperialism remain in the rest of the developed capitalist world, the national liberation struggles of the peoples of the third world must remain a part of a larger struggle in which the other part consists of the struggles of the working classes of the imperialist countries themselves.

It is in the light of this strategy which sums up the experience of the working classes everywhere and of the oppressed peoples of the third world in their struggle against imperialism that we must assess the prospects and outcome of the present anti-imperialist struggle in Southern Africa.



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REPORT ON THE ROLE OF THE RIOT POLICE IN THE BURNINGS  
AND KILLINGS IN NYANGA TOWNSHIP, CAPE TOWN, CHRISTMAS 1976.

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"I tell you, if these were silent,  
the very stones would cry out". (Lk. 19.40)

This report has been prepared by members of the Ministers' Fraternal of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga. We believe that we would be failing in our Christian duty if we did not share what we have seen and heard.

We have received repeated and reliable eye-witness accounts concerning the events which took place during the Christmas weekend in Nyanga. From these accounts the following facts have emerged: -

- 1) IT WAS THE RIOT POLICE WHO MADE POSSIBLE THE APPALLING KILLINGS AND BURNINGS OF THE CHRISTMAS WEEKEND IN NYANGA, AND THAT IF THEY HAD CHOSEN, THEY COULD HAVE PREVENTED ANY SERIOUS CLASH.
- 2) THE RIOT POLICE OR A SIGNIFICANT SECTION OF THEM ENCOURAGED AND INSTIGATED CERTAIN MIGRANTS TO ATTACK.
- 3) CERTAIN MIGRANTS WERE DECEIVED INTO THINKING THAT THEY WOULD BE STOPPED FROM GOING TO WORK.
- 4) SOME WERE TOLD TO ARM THEMSELVES TO AVOID ATTACK WHEN THIS WAS NOT INTENDED.
- 5) RIOT POLICE ACTUALLY ASSISTED WITH THE ATTACKS - SHOOTING AT RESIDENTS - PREVENTING THEM FROM PROTECTING THEIR FAMILIES AND HOUSES.
- 6) SOME RIOT POLICE ACTUALLY ENCOURAGED THE MIGRANTS TO KILL SOME OF THE RESIDENTS BY POINTING OUT THE WOUNDED ON THE GROUND.
- 7) PETROL BOMBS WERE USED IN ATTACKS. SOME WERE TRAINED, BY CERTAIN PEOPLE IN AUTHORITY, IN HOW TO MAKE AND USE PETROL BOMBS.

We are aware that the above assertions are extremely serious. However, we are fully satisfied that they are true. These things are generally known in the townships. We present below only a few of the many eye-witness accounts that have reached us:

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS

Mrs. E.X. Police shoot at people fleeing from scene of violence.

"When we heard that our homes were being attacked, we decided to go to the bushes between Nyanga and Crossroads. My husband carried our large mattress. As we went we were seen by police, who then started shooting at us. We fell on our stomachs and a little later got up and made our way back, this time to the Church.

"We were crying out - Lord, where are the police to protect us? But we saw how they were helping those who were attacking us and burning the houses".

Mrs. D.M. Riot Police instigated Group of Men to kill and burn.

"On Sunday afternoon, 26th December, 1976, I was in my backyard when 5 vans with Riot Police came into 5th Avenue, Nyanga. I saw a Riot policeman sitting in front on the bonnet. He shot at Mr. M. (clan name). Mr. M. is an elderly man, he was carrying no weapon, intending no harm. I had only just spoken to him as he passed my gate.

"After the shot Mr. M. fell to the ground, bleeding at the stomach.

/ "I saw ...