

BA 322-005 MAY
S. 89/173

VOL 1/15 JUNE 1978

RECEIVED BY

1992-05-12

mayibuyele



VI
No. 1

bulletin of the ANC South Africa

Editorial

1.

MOSES KOTANE

NEC obituary Page 1 - 5

2. Speech at the graveside of Malome by Comrade Oliver Tambo, ANC President General " 6 - 9

3. Document presented by the African National Congress (South Africa) to the standing Committee of the Liberation of the O.A.U. May, 1978. " 10 - 14

4. Speech delivered to thousands by Comrade Stephen Dlamini, President General of SACTU and member of ANC NEC at a University of Dar es Salaam mass rally in commemoration of 15 years of the O.A.U. " 15 - 17

5. ANC Education Committee member on "education and mass media in the liberation struggle" " 18 - 22

After almost three years of extinction inflicted by financial and other blows, "Mayibuye" is up, and in arms again, for the people's seizure of power from the oppressive regime of Vorster.

The enemy is feeling encircled already and in its last kicks to save itself from the merciless wrath of the people, it is advancing in all fronts. We are at war. The battle lines have been drawn. There is no turning back, nor more space on the fence.

Our people in their resolute march to making history and inevitable victory are arming themselves with liberating ideology - our first, yet most decisive and reliable weapon in our just cause.

In the concrete South African situation, the only national, combat - tested and liberating ideology is the anti-imperialist ideology of the African National Congress - the undisputed, authentic vanguard of the revolution, the voice, the spear and shield of the people in our land.

We are in the midst of war, in all fronts. We are fighting with a very jealous and consequently vigilant political eye, to attain clearly defined progressive socio-economic objectives which are enshrined in our classic Freedom Charter. No enemy diversion inroads against this all - life - time set purpose, from any quarters, shall pass our trenches unchecked, unchallenged and unpunished, including the proposed so-called unity of forces against a so-called common enemy.

"Mayibuye" salutes the gallant sons and daughters of 16th - 26th June in this our long supreme revolutionary contribution and historic mission - to rid mankind, with arms in hand, of the last vestiges and scourge of legalised racism and fascism from the face of the Earth.

Forward to People's Power in South Africa!

Forward to the political and economic power that recognises no race, no tribe, no region, but only **THE PEOPLE!**

Forward to a Government of the People, in a Free South Africa!

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

MAATLA KE A RONA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

OBITUARY OF MOSES KOTANE

On the night of the 19th of May, 1978, in Moscow, Comrade Moses "Malome" Kotane, Treasurer-General of the African National Congress and General Secretary of the South African Communist Party passed away at the age of 72.

The African National Congress lowers its banners in respectful memory of this outstanding revolutionary and patriot, this great son of Africa and the international working class movement. In spite of himself, his unbending revolutionary will did finally submit to the dictates of nature, bringing to an end a glorious life spent in struggle. Death has removed from our ranks one whose experience and contribution as an activist, a thinker, an organiser and a leader cannot be duplicated; one whose experience and contribution, studied, understood and assimilated by present and future generations of our people, will forever remain the inspirational spearhead of the revolutionary struggles of the masses of our people.

MOSES MAUANE KOTANE was born on August 9th, 1905 at Tambukstad, near the Groot Madikwe River in the district of Rustenburg, Transvaal, the second child of 11 children of Samuel Segogwane and Siporah Mmadira Kotane. He was brought up in a peaceful and loving family. From his parents he inherited the pride in his people and the hatred for national and race oppression, which until death almost became his personal hallmark.

Born into a peasant family, in his youth he helped as a herdboyc, looking after the family cattle and other stock and was afterwards employed at the age of 13 on a white farm. Later he worked as a domestic servant, waiter mine-worker and baker, moving from job to job partly because he wanted to improve his educational level.

Comrade Kotane attended school for only a few years and never managed to finish primary school. As a young man, like the youth of our country today who have died in struggles against an oppressive system of education, he was very interested in education. He therefore taught himself to read and to write as he moved from job to job.

Having moved to Johannesburg permanently in 1924, Comrade Moses was very fortunate to be introduced to a night school run by the Communist Party. As he himself said later:

It was2/

"It was at that night school where English was taught to me in the right way... It was there that many things and concepts were made clear to me and where I began to understand the capitalist society, its class divisions and national oppression and exploitation!"

It was perhaps inevitable that, given his background, Moses Kotane would be drawn into the struggle to liberate his people. It is as though Comrade Moses had been recording the days on a calculating machine for when he passed away four days ago he was exactly 50 years in the African National Congress having joined in 1928.

At this time it was already clear to Malome that the only way in which we could win our freedom was by making sure that the ordinary working people of our country were themselves involved in the struggle, that we could not win merely by relying on the educated ones to do the fighting for the majority.

Therefore in the same year that he joined the ANC, in 1928, Comrade Moses Kotane joined the Bakery Workers Union, beginning a life-long involvement with the struggles of the workers of our country. By 1929, already, he was elected Vice-Chairman of the S.A. Federation of Native Trade Unions. It was again this involvement in working class struggles which drew Moses Kotane to the Communist Party which he joined in 1929. Three decades later, when he was benched already, Comrade Moses maintained very close association with the late President-General of the ANC Chief Albert Luthuli. Whenever a difficult problem arose Chief Luthuli used to say:

"Kotane is the leader of the workers. We must hear what the leader of the workers has to say about this".

Malome was therefore an outstanding Marxist-Leninist as well as a fervent patriot. As he himself declared:
"The fullest freedom for the self-expression of nationalities can, with internationalism, be found only within the framework of socialism".

Convinced that Africans can hold their own in fair competition, he despised white supremacy and would not tolerate any trace of it under any circumstances. The Communist Party and the African National Congress were not competitors, he urged, but the strong fists of a single political force which would succeed only if both were trained to strike their blows at the same time and in total agreement. Throughout his life he therefore made it his business to strengthen the two arms of the liberation movement.

Because of these political positions and his dedication to their fulfilment, Comrade Moses was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1939 and a member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress in 1946, rising later to the very responsible position of Treasurer-General of the ANC, charged among other things, with the task of the proper control and use of the funds and assets of the movement, for the advancement of the struggle and not for personal gain.

In his long life of struggle, Comrade Moses Kotane was, as always side-by-side with his colleagues, subject to continual police harassment and persecution. He was for instance one of those arrested in the campaign to suppress the great Mine Workers' Strike of 1946. During the same year he was arrested and charged with sedition.

After the Communist Party of South Africa was banned in 1950, he was one of the first to be served with banning orders and was later again one of the first of our leaders to be put under 24-hour house arrest. He was of course also involved in the Defiance Campaign and was one of those charged during the marathon Treason Trial of 1956-61.

A committed and consistent internationalist, Malome has maintained direct contact with the world anti-imperialist movement since 1931 when he first went to Moscow to attend Party School. He went back again to Moscow in 1935, this time for discussions with the leadership of the Communist International.

Virtually opening the external mission of the African National Congress, Comrade Moses, accompanied by Maulvi Cachalia, attended the Bandung Conference in Indonesia in 1955. This further emphasised his stature as one of the outstanding leaders of the national liberation movement of all the oppressed and colonised peoples, one of the founders of the non-aligned movement.

During4/

During this visit overseas, Comrade Moses was able to meet and discuss with, among others, Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, Abdul Gamal Nasser, Prime Minister of Egypt, President Sukarno of Indonesia and Chou-en-lai of People's China.

Malome was a founder-member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people's army. As he said at the ANC conference held in the then Bechuanaland in 1962, under the watchful eye of the British colonial police:

"When a man takes no notice of what you say, sometimes you have to twist his arm to make him listen to you".

As part of the decision to step up the armed offensive against the racist regime, it was agreed that Moses Kotane should leave South Africa to help in the preparation of Umkhonto we Sizwe and in strengthening international support for our struggle. He left the country in 1963 and for the next six years worked tirelessly and in close community with Comrades Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC with whom he had, by then worked for twenty years and with the late J.B. Marks, his close comrades-in-arms for forty years.

He suffered his first stroke in 1968 and in 1969 was moved to hospital in Moscow. To his death on the 19th of May he was cared for with great attention and affection in the first country of socialism where race and national oppression and class exploitation were eliminated by the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. For this we wish to express our sincere appreciation to the CPSU, the Soviet Government, to the doctors and nurses and the people of the Soviet Union.

His death is a severe loss to us. We are sad because his unquenchable desire to return to the country of his birth, South Africa, to fight for its total national and social emancipation, was not fulfilled. We will carry on the struggle, inspired by his example, led by revolutionary heritage that he has left behind. Our heroic people, under the leadership of the African National Congress will surely seize power and bring to a brilliant conclusion Malome's life's work for which the ANC granted him its the highest award, ISITHWALANDWE and the USSR, the Order of Friendship of Peoples.

Our heartfelt condolences go to Malome's wife, Rebecca and his sons, Leni, Joseph, Sam and Isaac. To you we say:

Gomotsegang jalo dikhutsana.
O ile mogale, mochwarathebe ya
Kgosi,

O madi a borena mo boreneng,
Losho lwagagwe ke chwellopele
le bophelo.

Mayibuye iAfrika!

Thuthuzelekani ngoko
zinkedama,
Kuf'ikhalipha nefanankosi
Egazi lithetha kwinkosi
yeenkosi
Ukufa kwalo kunomvuzo
nomvuka!

Mayibuye iAfrika!

Amandla ngawethu!
Maatla ke a rona!
Power to the People!

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

23rd May, 1978.

STATEMENT BY OLIVER TAMBO, PRESIDENT,
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS-ON THE OCCASION
OF THE FUNERAL OF MOSES MAUANE KOTANE.

We are today paying our last respects to one of the greatest leaders of the South African revolution, Moses Mauane Kotane, General Secretary of the S.A.C.P., member of the National Executive Committee and Treasurer-General of the African National Congress; holder of the national Award of ISITWALANDWE (Hero of the national liberation struggle.)

On the night of May, 19, 1978, time put the last word to a most glorious chapter in the history of the people of South Africa for national liberation and social emancipation - a chapter that reveals our struggle unfolding around the name, the life and the leadership of Moses Kotane, who came to be fondly known as "Malome" (uncle) by our entire Movement.

The world revolutionary movement has lost one of the leading architects of the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa.

But as Moses Kotane passes from our midst, many of the strongholds of imperialism in various parts of the world have been over-run. The colonial system has collapsed, opening the way to the evolution and consolidation of people's democratic power in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

The working alliances forged, with Moses Kotane's participation, between FRELIMO, M-LA, ZAPU, SWAPO, PAIGC and the ANC in the early 60's have seen a geo-political transformation in Southern Africa, featuring the emergence of the Socialist States of Mozambique and Angola, and the imminence of victory for the armed struggle led by the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and by SWAPO in Namibia. This radical shift in the balance of forces during the last 4 years in the life of Moses Kotane reflects itself, within South Africa, in the volcanic political eruptions which have combined with the rising incidence of armed actions to point unmistakably to the maturing of a revolutionary situation in our country during the same period.

These developments are accountable to a corresponding shift in the world balance of forces in favour of the international progressive movement, thanks to the growing might of the world socialist system headed by the USSR.

Moses Kotane, /

Moses Kotane, who spent the first 17 years of his life as a peasant and farm labourer in the Western Transvaal, developed into an outstanding leader of the working class and of the national liberation movement. Given his internationalist outlook as a Marxist-Leninist, the changes that have come about in the world alignment of forces during the past 40 years are in part the result of his personal contribution. In the South African struggle, he correctly understood the complementary roles of the working class and the national liberation movement. It is, without doubt, in the consolidation of the unity of our fighting people that Moses Kotane made his greatest contribution. In this respect he has set a standard for all who would not betray his honoured name.

My first contact with Moses Kotane was in 1946, which was the beginning of a period of great political upheavals in our struggle, a period that was to prove most decisive in the general orientation of our political advancement as a movement. If Moses Kotane was the General-Secretary of the SACP, he was to no lesser degree a highly esteemed and completely devoted leader of the African National Congress. His rigorous self-discipline enabled him to survive the sophisticated vigilance of the South African Fascist police for many years during which he engaged in full underground political work in defiance of banning orders and numerous other restrictions imposed on him by the fascist regime. He fought fiercely to inculcate this high level of discipline among all the activists of our movement.

Reflecting the confidence which our movement had in Moses Kotane, Chief Albert Lutuli, the late President-General of the ANC, often consulted him on complex issues calling for wise leadership and delicate decision. It was for similar reasons that, at our request, Comrade Moses left South Africa to join the external ANC leadership in Dar es Salaam in January 1963. Umkhonto We Sizwe was one year old at the time and its members were leaving South Africa in large numbers for military training abroad.

In the emergence of Umkhonto We Sizwe, Moses Kotane saw the beginnings of the final onslaught on the last stronghold of imperialism - the fascist republic of South Africa. His devotion to the building up of this nucleus of our People's Army was second only to his devotion to the struggle for national and social liberation in South Africa, for the triumph of the socialist cause the world over.

In /

In the arrangements for the political and military training of the cadres of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the maintenance, deployment and the logistic equipment of Umkhonto units, Comrade Moses worked tirelessly from the moment he arrived in Dar es Salaam in 1963 until he suffered a stroke in December 1968.

We shall never forget that during the period of 3 years ending in December 1968, two political giants of the South African revolutionary struggle, J.B. Marks and Moses Kotane, comrades-in-arms for more than 40 years, operated from a small country town - Morogoro, in Tanzania, sharing a small office and sleeping in two small adjacent rooms, now worthy of preservation as national monuments. It was during these trying years that the supreme qualities of leadership of Moses Kotane and J.B. Marks emerged and made their mark on all the younger men and women who lived, worked or associated with them - all, except confirmed and incorrigible counter-revolutionaries.

It is of interest to note that the period from 1963 to date has also unearthed the supreme qualities of other national leaders - Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and others, who have equally influenced the younger militants on Robben Island and thereby made an invaluable contribution to the progress of our struggle. In the same category is the great fighter and revolutionary, the late Bram Fischer, persecuted by the fascists before and even after his death.

Because the liberation struggle had long become an integral part of Moses Kotane's daily life, his profound sense of involvement in that struggle was in no way diminished by the period of 9¹/₂ arduous years he spent on a sick bed, partially paralysed but wholly immobilised. His sharp brain and incredible memory kept him fully abreast of developments in Africa and internationally.

A valiant, courageous and stubborn fighter has fallen at his post, in the battle field. Our battle-steelled working class, our death-defying youth, our militant women, our tested peasantry and committed intelligentsia - our entire people, and in particular, our national liberation movement headed by the ANC, today pay eternal tribute to the people's leader, Moses Kotane, for his monumental contribution to the people in South Africa.

The /

The Soviet Union was Moses Kotane's second and beloved home. He loved the Soviet people dearly and regarded the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as his own Party. It is not surprising that he should have expressed the wish that when his heart ceased to beat he should be laid to rest in the Land of Lenin.

On behalf of the African National Congress and all our people in Africa and across the seas, on behalf of all our revolutionary allies, we would like to thank the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet Government and people, including in particular the doctors, nurses and other Soviet Comrades for the untiring effort to restore our leader to normal health, and for the comradely care and encouragement given him during the whole period of his tormenting illness.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC and the Central Committee of the SACP have lost a revolutionary colleague whose role we can only perpetuate in the continued intensification of our revolutionary struggle until total victory is won. This is a duty the ANC pledges to discharge, no matter how protracted the struggle.

To the family of Comrade Kotane we send, and we express, the sincere condolences of the entire leadership and all the activists of our movement.

LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF MOSES KOTANE!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

MAATLA KE A RONA!

U TSAMAE SENTLE, MALOME!

DOCUMENT PRESENTED BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
(SOUTH AFRICA.) TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE
LIBERATION COMMITTEE OF THE O. A. U. MAY, 1978.

THE INTERNAL SITUATION.

The year 1977 has seen an intensification of the struggle of the people of South Africa against the South African fascist and racist regime. This struggle has continued into 1978, which is the international year against apartheid.

RESISTANCE AGAINST BANTU EDUCATION:

Background: The Bantu Education Act was passed in 1953, designed, in the words of a government spokesman "to fit the Bantu more effectively for their future occupations", namely to be unskilled labourers for the Apartheid system which provides such high profits for the multi-national corporations that invest there.

In 1954, the African National Congress organised the people to withdraw their children from the primary schools in protest against discriminatory education. In many areas the ANC organised "cultural clubs", which conducted education under cover of cultural activities, but this was patently illegal and the government forced these institutions to close down.

The struggle against Bantu education which flared up in 1976 is a manifestation that a new **generaficn** has taken up the matter in a sharper form. In Soweto last year 27,000 pupils boycotted classes, and not many of them registered this year. The Secretary for Bantu Education estimated that 300,000 children throughout the country boycotted schools for varying periods last year, some staying away for many months. What is beyond doubt is that although the boycotts started in Soweto, they spread rapidly to other areas, both urban and rural, including schools for Coloured children at the Cape. (This latter was a demonstration of solidarity as education for the Coloured people is not governed by the Bantu Education Act.)

In Bophuthatswana all schools were closed because of unrest; in Pietersburg 5 were shut; on the East Rand post-primary schools were boycotted; in Pretoria there were no less than 33 boycotts in Atteridgeville alone, that is one township.

Port Elizabeth /

Port Elizabeth was almost as good as Soweto. All 39,000 children at primary and secondary schools stayed away. The Bantustans were not immune. In Venda in the Northern Transvaal, 357 schools were shut and 100,000 pupils sent home. In the Ciskei pupils boycotted schools but returned after Chief Sebe appealed to parents. Despite this, Uitenhage had an almost total boycott of higher primary schools as well as secondary schools, while attendance at Kingwilliamstown was down to 7½ % at one stage. Craddock and Grahamstown had attendances described as "very poor".

We therefore see that Bantu Education is facing a crisis. Seven hundred Soweto teachers have joined the pupils in their struggle against this evil education system, by resigning from their posts.

Faced with this crisis, the fascist regime changed the Minister and the name to the Department of Education and Training. In spite of this gimmick, as late as last month it was reported in the press that "more than 120 school children are being held in connection with a flash riot in which a teacher was stabbed to death and another seriously injured at St. Augustine's High School in Dundee. Damage to school buildings, including a girls' hostel, where windows were smashed and doors broken, is estimated at hundreds of rands ... Two other schools have also been disrupted recently. The principal of the Nthembeni High School near Melmoth, said he received an anonymous letter from Soweto demanding the expulsion of all Soweto pupils. This letter had spread alarm ... and the Mlokothwa High School closed last week after a student/staff disagreement" (Rand Daily Mail 25.4.1978). There are many more incidents of this nature in the country. It is clear the authorities are unable to restore the situation in the educational field to what they term "normal".

POLICE ATROCITIES AND CLASHES WITH THE PEOPLE.

As a result of our peoples unrelenting resistance the police have continued harassing them and murdering them in the streets and in detention. The Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, is reported to have said that there are 600 trials pending under the Terrorism Act. This means that there will be 600 trials of activists in the country.

The police in camouflage uniform used teargas to disperse hundreds of students in Diepkloof, Soweto, on 2nd May, 1978.

It is

It is reported that "a giant cordon was drawn around Soweto, Alexandra and Reef townships on the night of 31st March, 1978, in a joint operation by the police and the army. Road blocks were set up in an effort to seek out stolen cars, property and explosives. Soldiers armed with rifles and with bayonets drawn, surrounded and stopped cars. Troops stood with weapons pointing at occupants. In some cases occupants - searched by police - were made to lean against the vehicles with their arms in the air. The sweep, described by Col. Gert Slabbert, head of the Johannesburg Riot Squad, as a 'fountain operation' was also designed to pioneer combined operations between army, police and traffic officers. 'The army will be called in on future operations to assist the police in combating many offences', a police spokesman said last night. Hundreds of vehicles were stopped on all seven roads leading to Soweto. Military trucks, some canvas-covered trailers, were parked alongside the roadblocks. Troops, policemen and traffic cops worked together as they searched the cars". "A total of 128 people, other than those detained under security laws, died in detention in South Africa last year, the Minister of Police, Mr. Kruger said." (Rand Daily Mail 25/4/1978)

In another statement reported by the Star on 21/2/1978, the Minister of Justice said "The police shot and killed 149 people last year, most trying to escape arrest. "All those shot were Africans, Coloured or Indians!"

The reported incidents of police brutality show beyond doubt that the South African government is fascist and will not listen to reason. The South African fascists are not prepared to permit any organisation which is likely to revive the resistance of the people. This was clearly shown by their clamping down on the new organisation AZAPO by arresting its leader hardly a week after it was formed.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ANC INSIDE THE COUNTRY.

That the ANC has stopped up activity inside the country in spite of the difficulties that it faces, is testified to by the enemy. The Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, has stated that he had crushed the ANC. Later he was quoted as saying: "The ANC has come to stay with the people, what we can do is just to contain it".

There are so many trials involving ANC cadres, that one almost loses count. It is common knowledge that nearly all of them are sabotage or gun battles where the enemy and members of Umkhonto We Sizwe are involved.

The African National Congress is saddened by these arrests, but this indicates the level of its involvement against the enemy in the country. One of our gallant comrades, Solomon Mahlangu, has been sentenced to death for his activity in Johannesburg against police reservists who tried to apprehend him when he was evading arrest.

The Rand Daily Mail, 16/2/78 and Citizen 17/2/78, report "Thousands of pamphlets urging violence and describing the making of home-made bombs, are being distributed by the banned ANC throughout the country."

Security police, said that the police recovered a large number of pamphlets and were tracking down those responsible for their distribution. One of the pamphlet was in the form of a comic strip depicting a love story. It urged violence and described how to make home-made bombs. A second two paged pamphlet distributed called for acts of violence throughout the country. Brig. Coetzee said they were distributed in most black townships near the cities. Last year, the ANC also distributed pamphlets in Cape Town by explosions in buckets.

Another report of the Daily Despatch, 24/2/78, states: "Five pamphlet bombs exploded in Cape Town scattering Christmas shoppers and bringing the Security police out in full force. No one was injured in the blasts. The first bomb exploded at 4.15 p.m. in Adderly Street, near the O.K. Bazaars, the second went off between two motor cycles parked at the corner of Lower Plain and Darling Streets. Another bomb exploded on the Cape Town railway station. (No information was given about the other two bombs). A CID officer said "This is simply an ordinary battery bomb. It consists of hundreds of pamphlets, but cannot cause serious injury".

The blasts scattered leaflets issued by the ANC. Similar bombs exploded in Greenmarket Square before Christmas last year and in various city streets this year.

On 3rd May, 1978, The Star and Rand Daily Mail reported "Several terrorists, some heavily armed with Russian AK 47 assault rifles and explosives, have been captured by Durban Security Police. Large quantities of ammunition, arms, explosives and some documents were also seized. Much of this material was found hidden in the City suburbs. The police have also uncovered secret hiding places elsewhere in the Province where arms and explosives were hidden. Col. Harman Stadler declined to disclose how many terrorists had been arrested.

Brig. Zietsman, .../

Brig. Zietsman, Head of S.A. Security Police, said that there were clashes with ANC guerrillas along the Borders of the Eastern Transvaal and that there were casualties on both sides.

Many incidents of the activities of Umkhonto We Sizwe have not been reported and in this account we have not cited all the activities which were reported in the press.

In desperation about the activities of the ANC the fascist police have not refrained from violating the sovereignty of the neighbouring African states. South African police ambushed two ANC men in a car. One of them survived with bullet wounds and the other has not been found. This took place between Swaziland and Mozambique. The South African police booby-trapped the post office box used by the ANC in Manzini, Swaziland. Comrade Duma, who opened the box lost an arm in the explosion.

The fascist have time and again kidnapped members of the ANC from neighbouring Swaziland and Botswana.

Since the Soweto uprising there has been a continued offensive against the system by the mass of the people in all sorts of ways.

The political crisis for the Vorster regime has deepened, the military activities of the ANC have become an important factor. There have been many more sabotage attacks than those reported in the press and several Special Branch Officers have been executed. The regime has reacted to all this by hitting out at everyone who opposes Apartheid. There is not going to be a lull in the struggle. 1978, as it has already been shown, will again be an important year. No one is going to terrorise the people into submission. The ANC is determined to continue the armed struggle. We are challenging the bastion of reaction in Southern Africa.

The fascist regime is being assisted by a number of imperialist countries. It is on this basis that we call on the Liberation Committee to give us more financial and material help. The Liberation Committee must realise the imperative need of assisting the ANC in pinning down the enemy. In this way the armed struggle of Zimbabwe and Namibia will be helped to win freedom for their peoples.

AFRICA DAY 1978:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY COMRADE STEPHEN DLAMINI

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM, 25TH MAY,
1978.

Your Excellencies, Comrades and Friends, this 15th Anniversary of the formation of the Organisation of African Unity comes at a time when the continent of Africa in general, and our country - South Africa - in particular, are faced by very grave crises. The nature of these crises is manifested by the struggle that is being waged, on the African soil, between the forces of progress and peace as against forces of reaction and counter-revolution.

The social forces which represent progress on the continent, are the majority of the inhabitants of Africa who live under conditions of abject poverty, diseases, ignorance and hunger, not necessarily of their own making, but largely as a result of the legacy of colonialism with its attendant evils of racism and economic exploitation. While it is true that large areas of our continent have attained political independence, it is equally true that economic independence is still a far cry from reality. The underlying cause for this, is the fact that Africa's former colonial powers, still continue unabated to exploit the natural resources of Africa, to the detriment of our peoples whose standard of living is deteriorating by the day.

The genuine aspirations of the economically exploited peoples of Africa are aptly summarised in the aims and objectives of the O.A.U.

These are:-

- 1) To intensify and co-ordinate efforts to improve living standards in Africa;
- 2) To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African States;
- 3) To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa, and
- 4) To promote international co-operation, having regard to the Charter of the UN.

The /

The forces of reaction and counter-revolution in the continent are represented by those individuals in Africa who have acquiesced to serve the ends of the former colonial masters and their selfish individual interests. Their task is to act as middlemen for the financial interests of the multinational corporations that still exploit Africa's human and natural resources, in exchange for finished products which are distributed throughout our continent. As we know from experience, the majority of our people cannot afford to consume these products, largely because of the twin evils of low wages and inflation.

The main victims in this vicious circle are the workers and peasants of our continent, and the system they suffer under is correctly referred to as capitalism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. And, as we know from our history, the powers which have dominated Africa in this role, and still do, are the capitalist forces of Britain, France, West Germany, Belgium, the United States of America, Japan and others, to mention a few. The fact that countries like Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique and others, have opted for Socialism as an alternative social system, is a logical reaction to this oppressive legacy.

As far as our own situation in South Africa is concerned, I must say that we in the African National Congress of South Africa, after careful examination of the peculiarities of our political situation, have embarked on armed struggle in our fight for emancipation... from the evils of Apartheid, which feeds and nourishes capitalism. The armed struggle I am referring to, is currently being spearheaded by the military wing of the A.N.C. - UMKHONTO WE SIZWE or "The Spear of the Nation".

As it is well known, the Pretoria regime of Vorster is undemocratic, it is fascist, it is racist and above all, it has completely abandoned the rule of law. It has increasingly embarked on a path of brutal repression, murder, torture and arbitrary banning of all opinion which demands an end to Apartheid inside South Africa. The Fascist and Racist regime of John Vorster, the self-confessed Nazi-sympathiser, has vowed to maintain the monstrous ideology of Apartheid. Apartheid, in the main, ensures that the majority of the people of our land are reduced to the status of cheap migratory labour, which explains why foreign monopoly capitalists maintain that South Africa represents a favourable climate for their investments.

The oppression ...

The oppression of our people symbolises high profit returns for them.

Our aim and objective is the seizure of political and economic power in our country, so as to bring an end to the exploitation of man by man and the brutal repression of our people. In this we are fully supported by the O.A.U., the U.N., the socialist countries and the whole of progressive mankind. On behalf of the oppressed people of South Africa, the A.N.C. and its M.K. ; wishes to thank all those who support our struggle. We commend the actions of countries like Nigeria who have taken positive steps in our campaign for the withdrawal of all economic aid to Apartheid. But then, especially since this is YEAR OF ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID, we call on all our supporters to double their efforts, and we promise to do the same.

LONG LIVE AFRICAN UNITY!

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIANISM!!!

AMANDLA NGAMETHU!!!

MAATLA KE A RONA!!!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!

Read Vow -
Voice of Women
A quarterly Magazine
of the ANC (SA) Women's Section
P.O. Box 1791
LUSAKA - Zambia.

BE MORE INFORMED!

READ
SECHABA -
Official Organ of the
A N C

EDUCATION AND MASS MEDIA IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE.

by M.W.

member of the Education Committee of the
African National Congress of South Africa.

INTRODUCTION

Education is an instrument by which society can transform itself. The class which controls education in any given state uses it to ensure the survival of its interests. Thus in a colonised society, the coloniser uses education to perpetuate colonisation. Consequently if the science of politics is also conceived with the organisation and administration of communities then education cannot be divorced from politics. It serves the political interests of the ruling class that controls it. In South Africa for instance Bantu Education was politically conceived to perpetuate the domination, oppression and the exploitation of the black people by the white minority. In a capitalist state education is designed to perpetuate capitalism while in socialist societies it must of necessity serve the interests of the people - the working classes. In the process of liberation education must promote and serve the cause of the liberation struggle.

Liberation here is understood to include liberation from political, economic, social, cultural and mental domination. It also means liberation from poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease. The states and liberation movements represented here are in one way or the other waging struggles for liberation in one or the other of these categories.

The liberation movements in their gallant battles in the bush and elsewhere are struggling first for the seizure of the instruments of power so that they liberate their people from political domination. Their second stage of the revolution is the liberation from the other categories in which newly independent countries are already deeply involved. The objective around is to transform the old societies into new ones. Education holds the key in this process.

The Task v....

THE TASK OF LIBERATION. It is perhaps quite appropriate at this stages to answer the question, "What do we want to liberate ourselves from, in the struggles under consideration"? The answer to this question, it is hoped, should illuminate the role education can play.

The colonial systems of education guided by the politics of domination sort to ensure the perpetuation of colonial oppression and exploitation. Education was a means by which society promoted an education group which received privileges approximate to those of the coloniser. This group which later developed into a class saw itself as detached entity from the mass of the uneducated who bare the greater burden of colonial exploitation. In this divided situation, colonised people could be ruled in submission for longer periods. In the advanced stages of colonial, capitalist and imperialist exploitation as in the Republic of South Africa, education is used further to create fictitious ethnic divisions for the same ends.

There is almost a common experience among all of use who have emerged or are trying to emerge from colonial domination. The experience is that colonial education produces men with soft hands prepared only for white collar jobs. There is an invariable conspicuous shortage of men with adequate knowledge and skills in science, technology, commerce and industry. This was made necessary in order to keep the economy in the control of the coloniser, so that the colonised provide the cheap labour. The vast numbers who formed the class of uneducation formed the worse victim in this socio-economic set up.

Perhaps most sever effect of colonial domination was in the field of culture. Indigeneous culture was very often despised and degraded, in the schools in particular. It was described as primitive and inferior to that of the coloniser. This malicious propaganda was intended for the mental domination of those prepared by the colonial schools. The colonised man was thereby depersonalised so that he loses confidence in his own, indigenous identity and cultural institutions. Thus a young person in a colonial school is intended to suffer a slow, deliberate and continuous process of human degradation and destruction of his personality. He becomes a man aspiring to be like the metropolitan man. He tries without achieving perfection to adcp^t the norms and value system of the coloniser in preference to his own. His own identity is more and more obscured as he desperately struggles in to prove

that he is as "civilised" as his coloniser. His thinking is also similarly dominated and sooner or later he may become a danger to his own people and those who attempt to liberate themselves. He sits round with the colonisers as a moderate and sees the Bantustans in South Africa, the "internal settlement" in Zimbabwe or the Turnhuller Alliance in Namibia as sound propositions. He has now been perfectly mentally colonised and is an obstacle to the liberation struggle in which he openly plays a reactionary role.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION. Education in the liberation struggle must confront and undo these evils of the colonial system. It must create a New man out of the colonised man. The new man must become part and parcel of the militants of his struggle for ending political domination in the first instance and other categories of domination during the period of reconstruction which must follow. He must be a man whose reaction is aggressive to all forms of oppression, exploitation and domination wherever they may occur. He is an internationalist in outlook and a comrade in the struggles against oppression, exploitation and imperialism. He sees his own individual prosperity as secondary to that of his society and consequently abhors the exploitation of one man by another. He is mentally liberated and sees his own cultural heritage as a base from which he can meet other nationalities and nations on equal terms.

To achieve these ends and many more like them, it becomes imperative that education in a liberation struggle must make a clean break with the colonial system including its norms, values and traditions. When colonial systems of education are allowed to survive after independence their effect is to subvert the struggle of the people to liberate themselves.

I now venture to propose some elements that could characterise education in a liberation struggle. First and foremost it must form an integral part of the liberation process in its planning, control and programme. It should therefore be part of the total political and socio-economic plan. There must therefore be a clearly defined political line or ideology to guide the education process. This ideology which is also the guiding ideology of the struggle must be taught in the schools as an important component of the curriculum. Cultural activities such as in the theatre, art, music, poetry,

dances

dance etc, must form an important medium in the education system by which the unity of the people is mobilised in furtherance of the liberation struggle. The children must through these activities give full expression to their abhorance of domination as well as the aspirations which propel the struggle. This opportunity for an authentic self expression in ones own natural channel which is cultural heritage, should be used as a tool to decolonise the mind, in the process of creating the New liberated man.

Education for liberation must of necessity be productive. It must attempt to transform society to become self reliant so that true independence when the struggle has been won can be possible. In the schools, in the bush or elsewhere the curriculum must spring from the circumstances and problems of the struggle. The schools should also devote themselves to an analysis of the total liberation process including its objectives and the tasks of reconstruction that must follow victory. Education must utilise all available local resources to ensure the success of the struggle. The schools in the bush should be centres where strong bonds of comradeship are built to unite the armed militants, the students and the refugee communities. In short in these situations the opportunity to bring the school and community together should be utilised. The productive processes of these camps could be a useful medium towards achieving these ends. Thus out of the schools in the bush should graduate genuine models of the New liberated man around who the future new society will be built.

MASS EDUCATION. Mass education must be closely linked with the rest of the educational system, to strengthen the forces of liberation. Like the rest of the education system it must be part of the total planning of the liberation struggle under the direction of the propelling ideology. **The latter must receive thorough analysis through the mass media so as to give direction to the struggling masses on the goals to be achieved.**

The radio and press form very important channels for mass education in the liberation struggles of Southern Africa. Thanks to the independent states that have made this possible. They are the media through which the coloniser powerful 24 hours a day propaganda may be exposed and people organised for their revolution. The radio in particular makes possible more regular and reliable contacts between the armed militants and oppressed and exploited masses in the enemy territory.

Mass education programmes can also use the cultural medium towards achieving some of the objectives of the struggle. Through these programmes the struggling man in the territory still held by the coloniser is able to share in the feelings of his comrades in the battle front. He is also being gradually prepared for the ultimate transformation of his society.

CONCLUSION therefore is that both education and mass media are vital instruments in a liberation struggle. Their effectiveness, however depends on the the inclusion of a liberating ideology which must guide the formulation of their content and their operation. They must also use culture and productive activity to mobilise and unite the people for more effective prosecution of the liberation struggle.

To enable us to continue producing this journal,
please send us donations, to :-

Information and Publicity Secretary

African National Congress (S.A.)

P.O. Box 1791,

LUSAKA.

Republic of Zambia (Central Africa)

Receipt shall be acknowledged.