

CORRECTIONS

SOLIDARITY

**official organ of the
Black Consciousness
Movement of Azania**

No. 6 Second Quarter 1981

- **Dual Power in South Africa**
- **Bus Boycotts N. Transvaal**
- **Nigeria's Address to U.N.**
- **AZAPO Deserves Support**

PRICE 50p

SOLIDARITY

News, theoretical and discussion journal of
the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

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First, a report on the strike to the National Council of the black consciousness inspired Media Workers' Association of South Africa. Written by Joe Thloloe before being forbidden by a banning order to practise as a journalist; he served a prison sentence with Mangaliso Sobukwe, was detained without trial and held incommunicado for 524 days from March 1977 to September 1978. Second, a diary of the strike by MWASA.

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A transcript of an address delivered in November 1976 by Andrew Lukele, a member on the Interim Central Committee on BCMA: "The rulers still retain the instruments of force but their capacity for implementing their will is rapidly being impaired. Real action and the capacity to initiate it are fast gravitating into the hands of the revolutionary masses." Today on the 5th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising, worker organisations and student councils, public rallies and open resistance are an established fact of life, contrary to the letter of the law.

NIGERIA'S ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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It was Nigeria's intervention, by nationalising the assets of British Petroleum, that was a crucial factor in forcing the Tory government to backtrack election pledges and Thatcher's commitment in her Australian speech to give recognition to the "internal settlement". The positive and constructive role played by Nigeria in the liberation struggles of Southern Africa dominated the Federal Republic's President's address to the 35th Session of the United Nations and received further emphasis in his recent state visit to the United Kingdom.

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Solidarity:

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ing successful boycotts of shows of Ray Charles, Champion Jack Dupre and other international artists bent on breaking the international campaign to culturally boycott and isolate South Africa. The significance of these actions by AZAPO is that for the first time a mass based political organisation inside the country is mobilising the people to take the cultural boycott into their own hands rather than leave it entirely to the "conscience" of individual foreign artists or sportspersons, or to the efforts of solidarity groups and progressive governments abroad.

The work of AZAPO in mobilising the people on a massive scale throughout the

country requires a network of communications and continuous political campaigns on the ground.

AZAPO deserves your support to continue and extend its activity across the country.

The BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT OF AZANIA (BCMA), itself operating under extreme financial difficulties, gives support to AZAPO and its work. We need assistance to continue our work of winning support for AZAPO and the mass struggles of our people and to continue sending financial assistance into the country. We appeal to you to send a donation through the BCMA.

Letter From an Activist in Community Struggles

HEROES' DAY. ✎

We had a wonderful and powerful week for our heroes. There was a call by AZAPO to suspend all activities as from 16 to 22 March and this was respected by people in ****. Some opposition to the call was reported in the ****. It was for the first time that a whole week was devoted to remembering our heroes. I was impressed by the idea

of enlisting some **** members and conscientising them along our lines, and they also preached the right message. We do not work within the group as such; we work through some friends in the group. We got these people to go to outlying areas of ****. As a result commemoration services were held in unexpected areas. Have you ever heard of the commemoration of Heroes' Day in ****? Children and wives and relatives

of those who died in the struggle were approached. Through these people the message gets across faster and easier. Otherwise we are seen to be just talking. ****'s family, ****'s relatives, etc were brought forward and addressed the people. The response was quite good. Surprisingly enough, there were no police harassments in **** except those white SB's who kept watching everybody filing in and out of the hall. The main service was in **** where it was jam-packed with the hall too small to accommodate all and many people standing outside. Speeches, poetry, drama, relatives, Roben Island ex-prisoners.

RENTS

The struggle is now intensified in this sphere. Message of mobilising workers towards socialist revolution is being spread around. As you might have seen in the newspapers, the latest information is that people have decided to go on with the boycott of rents and are now planning to have a march in the town — scheduled for this week.

"Resettlement" in ****

The problem there is ****, a Bantustan MP, who is merely interested in making money for himself. He works in the people's committee and at the same time is seen working with the government and **** officials. This has led people to reject **** and this man because they believe he has sold them out. Inkatha is losing its effectiveness because its members promised to do something for the people and failed dismally. The students are involved in projects and the rent issue in the area. At first people did not really know who was moving them out from **** to **** because no one wanted to accept responsibility. But it has now been established beyond reasonable doubt

that the government and the Urban Foundation were responsible, and both have been rejected.

ANTI-REPUBLIC DAY CELEBRATIONS

Already various organisations have launched a campaign to boycott the celebrations. As usual, reasons for boycotting are not totally the same — BLACK SASH, NUSAS, MANDELA FREEDOM COMMITTEE, NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, COSAS, AZAPO, AZASO, SRC'S, **** ACTION COMMITTEE, SACOS and even INKATHA has indicated its willingness to boycott. Basically we are using this as an opportunity to **** core members of ****. For example, when there was **** supply shortage at ****, student's and other community leaders were helping in resolving the issue and this gave a lot of encouragement and the people felt proud that they were being assisted by the so-called radicals so that for Heroes' Day and the Anti-Republic Campaign they are joining forces with us. At the same time the tree is being *chopped*. Various methods of campaigning have been devised instead of howling in the newspapers without taking drastic steps re physical involvement. The soldiers have even been approached by **** not to take part in the parades but to get vomiting tablets.

It is almost 80 per cent certain that Black people won't take part in these celebrations in ****. We have problems with **** which is not stable with its decisions. It has indicated its unwillingness to take part in the celebrations but because money talks they may change their minds.

AZAPO re MATHEBULA AND O'JAYS

Following AZAPO's call to boycott the Mathebula WBA tournament and overseas' artists there were many misunderstandings in our communities. Many people were in favour of the fight taking place irrespective of the AZAPO stand. Even Motlana, the man the media love so much, was in favour of it. They sang DIE STEM, NKOSI SIKELELA and Argentina song before the fight. Now, that Mathebula has lost his WBA title people start to see that AZAPO's stand was correct. Pleasure vs. Principle. At least among the young people, AZAPO's stand was supported.

O'Jays will definitely be boycotted in *** because the campaign has started.

SPORTS

SACOS has called for (1) the dissolution of University sporting codes; (2) the encouragement of individual students to join community clubs instead of playing for the Universities; and (3) a stop to the use of University/school playing grounds and other sporting facilities provided by municipalities and similar bodies. The reasoning is that if we use these facilities then it means we recognise the racialistic divisions of the educational institutions. SACOS' call has the support of students. But various campuses are in a dilemma because they have organised Inter-arsity through SABIC (South African Black Intersarsity Council) which is based on BCM principles and was started during the SASO days to attack apartheid from the sports side as well. There will be a discussion at Interarsity of SACOS' call, AZAPO's stand on the cultural boycott and the divisions amongst students.

WORKERS' STRIKES

There have been sporadic strikes at a number of factories within my region. I was not happy with the way they went because there was no coordination with the other groups. The newspaper cutting tells you about one of these strikes. You will notice that it is at *** where there are many problems regarding the rent increases. This has given us an opportunity to mobilise our people — good!!

HEALTH WORKERS ASSOCIATION

This organisation was formed in February to unite all people working in the health system and to make people aware of how the government causes illness in society. For example, the government puts up the rents, people cannot afford the rents, their wages are low. The result is starvation, malnutrition and related diseases. Therefore, the struggle against disease is a political one in which health workers and the community must all be involved, and doctors must not work in isolation from the people engaged in community struggles. This association embraces social workers, doctors, hospital staff and cleaners, etc. Once this has gained momentum, it is hoped to form unions for the various sections respectively.

Yours in the struggle.

The Media Workers' Strike

JOE THLOLOE

Like the reports of most Mwasa regions, ours will focus mainly on the strike that ended on December 23, 1980. And like most regions, we were overwhelmed by events, but we are proud to say that our members responded with courage and strength.

Before we could hold our regional congress, there was the strike at the Cape Herald. Our initial response was to give the strike as much publicity as possible. But when it became clear that management was treating our colleagues with contempt, the Post and Star units met to discuss the strike and on October 30, both units came out.

These two were the first to respond, possibly because they are also in the Argus group of newspapers, sisters to the Herald.

In their various memoranda: the two units demanded:

1. That the Argus resolve the strike at the Herald to the satisfaction of our colleagues.
2. That all the workers out on strike be

- paid for the time they were on strike.
3. That the Argus management recognise Mwasa.

The first two were logical, stemming from the Herald demands. The third was seen as a more stable solution to the problems of black media workers.

It was only on November 2 that the Southern Transvaal region met to discuss the strike. The region decided to come out on strike and urged the NEC to call a national strike by black media workers.

The next day, November 3, the SAAN and SAPA chapels decided to join the strike. But SAAN, who had just started a tremendous campaign of organising non-journalists, decided that only the journalists would come out.

Mid-way through the strike, the strikers could be classified as follows:

Post Transvaal: 50 Journalists, 21 Non-Journalists
Star: 14 Journalists
SAPA: 5 Journalists
SAAN: 25 Journalists

Thus we had 118 members in the Southern Transvaal out on strike.

It is also interesting to note that at the Southern Transvaal meeting where we resolved to go on strike, there were 47 members present, while the meeting on December 23, where the region decided in favour of calling off the strike, there were 70 people.

On November 5, just before Mwasa's first meeting with management, we had our first inkling that we might not all be pulling in the same direction. At a NEC meeting, attended by our regional executive committee and chapel heads, we were told by Mr Rashid Seria, the Western Cape's national vice-president, that the Herald strike was on the verge of collapse and he indicated that there were differences of outlook between the Herald strikers and the people who had come out in support of the Herald.

At this point we believed that it was only because they were not aware of the extent of the support they were getting and the impact the strike had on the black community here.

The weekend of November 8 and 9, National Executive Committee sent the Southern Transvaal regional secretary, Joe Tholoe, to the Western Cape, to explain some of these things and get feedback on what was happening in the Western Cape.

But before this, on November 6, the Southern Transvaal had a regional meeting at the South African Council of Churches. Members were given a detailed report on the abortive meeting with managements the day before. They were also briefed on the feelings of the strikers at the Herald.

(NOTE: Every step along the line, the Southern Transvaal membership was briefed in full, no fact, however unpleasant was hidden from them.)

The members decided that the strike goes on, even if the Herald staff were to go back to work. The members also

agreed that Mwasa go on a massive publicity campaign and that the union should seek the support of the black community and black community black leaders and should discourage them from buying newspapers.

The pamphleteering campaign that followed was one of the greatest moments in the strike. People, some of whom had been half-hearted when the strike started, found themselves at street corners every morning, distributing pamphlets, explaining what the strike was all about. And from this simple exercise developed commitment.

When the strike finally ended, we noticed that the few people who had gone back to work — six journalists at SAAN, two drivers at POST, three journalists at the Star — were people who had been irregular at our daily meetings.

All the people on strike were divided into groups, depending on where they lived, and these groups worked on pamphleteering, fund-raising, etc. Those people from various newspapers were thrown together and got to know one another very well.

Our first major disappointment was on November 17 when the Daily Dispatch and the Eastern Province Herald went back to work. This disappointment we discussed thoroughly at our daily meetings, as well as the possibility that the Herald might go back to work any time.

When the last 13 at the Herald went back to work, there was a sense of relief in the Southern Transvaal. Relief that the nail-biting tension of will-they-won't-they had come to an end.

From down in the dumps, our spirits were shot sky high the next day, November 21, when newspaper distributors in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area went out on strike with their own grievances and also in support of Mwasa.

(The strike by the distributors was another example of the combination of

cautious leadership and a militant following. This combination, just like the reverse combination, spells trouble for any organisation. The ideal is a leadership that reflects the mood of the people.)

Even the Sunday papers were hit by this strike by members of Commercial and Catering Workers' Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA.) We all saw victory in a couple of days time.

On November 24, the Monday, the distributors were given an ultimatum to be back at work by the next day or they would be fired. Management had also refused to continue negotiations unless the workers were back at work. The leadership then urged the workers to go back to work, but the next day management discredited the union and said the workers went back to work because of the ultimatum and that they did not promise to continue negotiations after workers had returned to work.

We were again down in the dumps, but Southern Transvaal again resolved to continue the strike and recommended that National Executive Committee should not call it off.

On November 26, Post workers got an ultimatum too, but both the Post staff and the region laughed this off. Two drivers — one who was on strike and the other who had given us the impression he was on strike when he was on leave — went back to work in response to this ultimatum.

On November 27 Post workers got letters saying they had dismissed themselves. The fact that all the people who were fired at Post are back at work shows the meaninglessness of management threats when faced with worker unity and strength. This is one tremendous victory that the media are playing down.

When the region met on December 18, it was obvious that management would not be pushed further on strike pay. As far as Post Transvaal was concer-

ned, they had already lost so much that they did not care a damn about what happened next. The Christmas advertising we had hoped would force them to listen had been lost. Their liberal image had disappeared to show the capitalist gogga behind the masks.

From December 18 to 23, it was a winding down period. We had to extract the maximum out of management, and we managed it, because we had shown them our strength.

1. If we had not shown our strength, there was no way management was going to recognise Mwasa chapels where our members were a minority. Even at the beginning of our discussions they were already saying they accept SAAN chapels or Star Chapels, but not SASJ or Mwasa chapels.
2. We have earned the respect of the black community and of our colleagues

At Post people who had joined the South African Typographical Union (SATU) were asking MWASA to find a method of getting them out of that union to join MWASA.

Before the strike we had 25 people at POST Transvaal paying their dues by stop order. The number has now soared to 63 — all the people who were on strike up to the end, with the exception of the six white colleagues who also participated in the strike.

We are now sending out membership and stop order forms to all the other units. We are poised for a tremendous year for MWASA and the black workers whatever Coetzee and his pawns might try.

One other thing needs to be mentioned: So much leadership potential was brought to the surface by the strike.

THE MEDIA WORKERS' ASSOCIATION STRIKE DIARY

17.10.80.

Cape Herald Action Committee sends a memorandum to management demanding that their grievances be redressed. Management asked to reply within seven days.

24.10.80.

Management fails to respond. After pressure, management says matter will be discussed at head office the following week. Herald goes on strike.

30.10.80.

Post and The Star units join the strike demanding that the Herald problems be solved and all strikers be paid for the period they have been out on strike.

2.11.80.

Southern Transvaal region meets and decides the entire region must come out in support of the Herald.

3.11.80.

The SAAN chapel ratifies the region's decision and goes on strike. Sends memo to management. Later in the afternoon a delegation meets management to discuss the issue. Management says it will try to get the Argus and SAAN managements to talk with MWASA. Talks end when the chapel delegation says the MWASA executive cannot make a 10pm meeting that night. SAAN management and chapel agree to meet the next day.

4.11.80.

Talks resume the next day between SAAN chapel and management. SAAN management finally agrees to set up a meeting between SAAN, Argus and MWASA executive. But on condition that only the recognition of MWASA is discussed. The MWASA executive rejects this condition. Managements

relent and talks are set up for the following day at the National Press Union's offices, a neutral venue.

5.11.80.

MWASA delegation meets the two managements, at once it becomes clear that deadlock is looming as managements refuse to even allow MWASA to state their case on strike pay. Management attitude was to attack individual memoranda and suggest that MWASA was shifting its stand, but MWASA quickly pointed out that three points appeared consistently.

- a. Resolution of Cape Herald problem
- b. Payment of workers on strike
- c. Recognition of MWASA.

MWASA accepted a statement by Mr Hal Miller of Argus that the Herald issue may be resolved in a couple of days. But the talks breakdown on the issue of strike pay. Mr Kinsley of SAAN suggests that the two parties meet again when either has something to offer.

6.11.80.

MWASA holds regional meeting at SACC, where the members are given a detailed account of the meeting with managements. The workers are firm. We cannot go back until the demands are met. The members agree that MWASA go on a massive publicity drive to tell black people the truth — as the Press had been lying. Also to seek support of the black community and leaders — to discourage them from buying newspapers. The idea of a support committee is taken up and approaches are made to various leaders to attend a meeting to set up a committee.

7.11.80.

The campaign takes off. Approaches are made to the people and the leaders of the organisations. Committees are found to look into three issues: publicity, fund raising, details of grievances. SAAN people have their security cards withdrawn.

9.11.80.

Meeting of interested parties at DOCC. This meeting is not well attended but we are sure of support. First batch of pamphlets printed. The publicity starts.

10.11.80.

Another meeting of the support committee. Again this is not very well attended — but more have attended. Meanwhile the pamphlet campaign is in full swing.

12.11.80.

Meeting of support committee. Members are elected to various positions.

16.11.80.

National Union of Journalists pickets in London. Dispatch decides to go back to work.

17.11.80.

Dispatch and Eastern Province Herald back at work. Cape Herald back on the streets but 13 of the 37 workers are still on strike. Public campaign against Herald and Argus — traders' organisations say they won't buy or sell advertising in these papers.

20.11.80.

Cape Herald backs down on strike pay demand and go back to work, to the disappointment of the other regions. MWASA delegation meets Mr Sam Motsuenyane. He will meet SAAN and Argus over the weekend and let us know by Monday.

21.11.80.

Allied workers in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area go on strike with their own demands and also in solidarity with MWASA. Newspaper deliveries come to a halt.

23.11.80.

MWASA meeting at DOCC. Some Allied workers present. Moves to work out a

joint strategy.

24.11.80.

Allied guys get ultimatum — back to work or you are sacked. Allied guys relent. Go back to work. MWASA meets Motsuenyane, meeting with managements set for next day.

25.11.80.

Newspaper deliveries back to normal. MWASA and management meet again with Mr Motsuenyane as chairman. MWASA presents a forceful case to show that management is responsible for the crisis and demands that management pays. Management admits it had been responsible for this lack of communication but it is adamant it won't pay the strikers. Mr Motsuenyane warns that he will have to take sides. Even this makes no effect on the intransigent management — who still want to discuss recognition but no strike pay. Talks break down.

26.11.80.

Ultimatum to Post workers: back to work or you have dismissed yourselves. Post workers ignore this.

27.11.80.

Post staff gets letters telling them they have dismissed themselves. Again this is ignored. SAAN/SASJ chapel decides on a picket but only 18 decide on a one-day strike.

28.11.80.

MWASA sees lawyers about validity of these notices and letters of dismissal. Lawyer says no real case but we can ask for clarity on the term "you have dismissed yourself". At meeting at MWASA offices decide to send letter to management.

SAAN chapel of SASJ pickets Star Offices. Only 13 stage one-day strike, des-

pite warning that if they went on strike they would be dismissed together with MWASA strikers. They are given until 6pm, to return to work. Management backs down on MWASA dismissals.

29.11.80.

Post says in statement that none of the workers fired. Free to return to work.

30.11.80.

MWASA meeting at DOCC. Decides that campaign must be stepped up. Approaches Dr Motlana and Bishop Tutu. Motlana approaches Tutu.

1.12.80.

Cape Herald decides on two day strike calling for the reinstatement of the dismissed workers. Hearing at SAAN against SASJ strikers.

2.12.80.

Strikers at Herald, Cape Times and Cape Argus suspended for five days. Strikers at SAAN suspended for seven days.

4.12.80.

Argus board meeting, Mr Hal Miller issues statement saying Post would be back on the streets soon without providing details.

speaker criticised these collaborators with apartheid for spending on luxuries for themselves while the "struggling masses were living in dirt" (Post 4.2.80). Chairperson of the SVC, the Rev M.P. Malatji, told the meeting that parents were "huddled in these match boxes with their children and grandchildren because there are no houses" (*ibid*).

As far back as 1975, people in Seshego and other areas of the Northern Transvaal were complaining that they waited too long for buses. In 1979 the SVC was formed. Like PEBCO and other community organisations which sprang into existence in many parts of the country at about that time, the aim of the SVC was to fight civic issues outside of and in opposition to the government imposed Community Councils. The Council in Seshego existed in the body of the Town Committee replete with a puppet mayor. When in 1979 the bus fares from Seshego to Pietersburg were increased, the SVC felt it was not yet strong enough to resist the rises even though they caused widespread indignation amongst the people

The Lebowa Transport Company (LTC) encountered a different response in 1980 when it decided to raise bus fares by at least 5 cents on a single journey from the village to Pietersburg. On the weekend of the 24 August AZAPO and the SVC held a joint public meeting in Seshego and AZAPO organised other public meetings throughout the Northern Transvaal at which the increased fares were discussed. A call was made at all the meetings for the buses of the LTC to be boycotted.

The workers at the meetings also called for a general increase in wages and for the fare increases to be absorbed by a government subsidy, notwithstanding reports that the increases were already subsidised by the government to the extent of 75 percent. (Post 30.

8.80).

In line with residential apartheid and the policy of treating blacks in the towns as guest workers, public transport for the blacks in every part of the country serves the limited purpose of bringing workers from either urban or rural ghettos to a single point on the outskirts of the town centre from where workers must walk great distances to their places of work. That is, no form of public transport for inner city travelling is available to the blacks. Under apartheid such transport is for the exclusive use of the whites. Thus the meetings also called for a bus service terminating in the town centre and not "at beerhalls in the outskirts of town where our people (are) encouraged to squander all their earnings in liquor" (Post 28.8.80).

On 25 August the day following the public meetings, the people of Seshego started a total boycott of the buses and chose to walk the 12 km long bus route journey from the village to Pietersburg town. Among the commuters were many women in the domestic service of whites but workers in industry and commerce constituted the overwhelming majority. Industry, particularly a silica smelting plant, was hit hard as a result of thousands of commuters arriving late and tired for work. By virtue of being the largest and most densely populated area serviced by the buses, Seshego became the nerve-centre of the boycott movement as it spread to other areas of the Northern Transvaal.

The day for most workers begins at 4 a.m. Schoolchildren were out in the streets at that time so they could back the boycott than met the eye, as com-stops and all along the bus route through Seshego. Taxi drivers responded to the workers' call to reduce their normal charges by a half.

Azapo, Asinamali and Azikhwelwa

ROSENNES PHAHLE

PART 2 AZIKHWELWA — BUS BOYCOTT IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

While the people of Seshego village in Lebowa, Northern Transvaal, made repeated complaints about lack of amenities, poor housing and schools, unsatisfactory water and transport services, the Bantustan "government" was spending more than R500000 on houses for its

functionaries (Post 3.2.80). On 3 February 1980 about 300 people including representatives of AZAPO and the local student organisations attended a meeting called by the Seshego Village Committee (SVC).

Members of the puppet Lebowa Legislative Assembly were invited to the meeting to report what they were doing about the people's complaints. They did not attend. Speaker after

The bus company explained the boycott by saying that "there was more to the boycott than met the eye, as commuters only had to pay an average of 5 cent for each trip" (*Star* 25.8.80). But if the workers had decided they did not need the services of the bus company, neither did the government need their services to decipher the message for them. Always ready to stamp out any legitimate protest by the blacks, the police in camouflage and anti-riot gear and with dogs positioned themselves at the gateway of Seshego. They ordered people off all cars and vans unlicensed for taxi purposes — no worker was allowed to accept a lift from either friend or relative. On that first day of the boycott, at least sixteen pupils were detained and groups of picketing pupils were dispersed by shots fired by the police.

The Lebowa Bantustan Chief of Police, Brigadier W. van Zyl, announced that the police would be "out in force to protect people against possible intimidation" (*Rand Daily Mail* 28.8.80). Against the background of a 100 percent successful boycott and buses running empty, he must have meant that the workers needed police intimidation to use the buses. "Why do they have to man their roadblocks today when we do not use the buses?" asked one worker (*Post* 26.8.80).

Both the police and officials of the bus company tried to spread confusion by claiming at the end of the first day of the boycott that it was 60 percent effective in the Northern Transvaal as a whole (*RDM* 26.8.80) and in this manner hiding the fact that in Seshego it was total. At the same time they were preventing the boycott from spreading as they engaged in running battles with and fired shots at pupils organising pickets in areas outside Seshego.

But by the next day the ripples of

the bus boycott had travelled a long way. Workers from Blood River and Mmutung-Wa-Perekisi decided to walk the 23 km to Pietersburg or to use buses belonging to companies other than the LTC. Those who got on the alternative buses, used them only as far as Seshego where they alighted to walk the rest of the journey in solidarity with the boycotters from Seshego. In Lebowa-gomo, a distance of 40 km from Pietersburg, the workers undertook similar action to support the boycott. One was reported to say "we are in full support of the boycott. It is just unfortunate that we cannot walk the distance from Lebowa-gomo and there is no alternative transport" (*RDM* 30.8.80).

On the third day of the boycott, the "government" of Lebowa Bantustan entered into discussions with the LTC. The only organisation operating outside the Bantustan fraud to be invited to the discussions was the SVC. Otherwise the invitees included members of the puppet Legislative Assembly and the statutory STC (*Post* 28.8.80). With the boycott spreading there was considerable pressure on the Lebowa Bantustan. Its Chief Minister, Dr. C.N. Phatudi, was in touch with the South African government throughout the previous day (*Post* 30.8.80). At the end of the week, a scheme to suspend the increased fares for a period of two weeks was announced by the LTC.

The announcement, despite its tactical timing over the weekend when AZAPO and SVC were unable to convene a public meeting to allow the people to decide on a response to the suspension, did not break the boycott. On Monday morning the boycott continued in full strength. At a public meeting in the evening speakers "denounced the suspension and called for vigilance against attempts at destroying the resistance spirit" (*Post* 3.9.80).

The suspension of increased fares

was followed by their cancellation. When it became clear that not even this further concession would bring an end to the boycott, the LTC announced a re-instatement of the increased fares as from 2 November (*Post* 30.8.80). But neither suspension nor cancellation of the increases in the full two months during which either was held out as an olive branch could break a movement whose demands were not limited to the fare issue only.

The demands which were spelt out very clearly at the beginning of the boycott included a bus service which terminated in the centre of Pietersburg town, rather than on the outskirts from where many workers, especially women in domestic service, had up to 10 km to walk to work. The boycotters were also demanding the re-siting of the terminus away from Polokwane Centre which with its beerhalls was a place for the workers "to drown their sorrows in liquor" (*Post* 3.9.80). At the public meeting following the suspension of the raised fares they reiterated in stronger terms than previously their demand for a general increase in wages because "the cost of living was going up everyday while salaries were rarely increased" (*ibid*). And of the Bantu Investment Corporation (BIC) with a large interest in LTC, one speaker said "we are not in Seshego because of BIC. BIC is in Seshego because of us. If they do not reduce the fares to our satisfaction, then we will walk. We have walked for the whole week and here we are, alive and even healthier" (*ibid*).

In the next two days the Pietersburg Town Council, the Lebowa Legislative Assembly, Industry, and the STC, all of them working hand in glove with the South African government, engaged in behind the scenes talks on the wages of the black workers. Chief Minister Phatudi had earlier professed a concern

for the workers' plight (*Post* 30.8.80). These collaborators could at this stage think of discussing the workers' pay only because they feared the growing indignation of the workers — as was shown at the mass meeting called by AZAPO and SVC in Seshego at the end of that week.

At the meeting held on Sunday 7 September the people applauded the speeches with cries of "Let them go, we don't want the buses. They have exploited us enough" (*RDM* 8.9.80). The "homeland" leaders were rejected in terms such as "two-faced sell-outs who pretended to be working for the people whereas they are friends of the bus company" (*ibid*). The joint meetings of the Pietersburg Town Council and Lebowa "government", and the suspension of increased fares by the LTC were all described as "deviationary tactics" by the Chairperson of the local branch of AZAPO, Mamabolo Raphesu (*ibid*). And AZAPO Vice-Chairperson, Moses Moalusi, told the meeting "don't listen to voices from that government of sell-outs. Remember that government is the one that approved fare increases. That government is not for us. Forget about homeland policies and ethnic decisions" (*ibid*).

In the week of the 15 September, more villages responded to AZAPO'S call for a total boycott of LTC services throughout the Northern Transvaal. The people of Molepo village decided to walk to work in Pietersburg and those of Mokopane village to Potgietersrus. In neither village were the bus fares raised but the boycott of buses was in support of the areas affected. On Sunday 21 September at one of the mass meetings AZAPO regularly held in villages, the call to boycott buses was made at Lenyenye near Tzaneen and at GaMolepo near Turfloop. In areas like Mahwereleng and Moshate, both near

Potgietersrust, where sympathy boycotts were already afoot, meetings were also held to discuss the boycott. Mahwereleng and Lenyenyne, like Seshego, gave strong impetus to the bus boycott movement because of their large concentration of working people.

The meeting at Lenyenyne was said to be the first-ever mass meeting organised in the area by an "independent political organisation" or, in other words, a liberation movement (Post 23.9.80). AZAPO had only recently formed a branch there. The day following the meeting, a total boycott of the buses began and people walked 20 km to work in Tzaneen. According to a newspaper report, a "human barricade prevented the buses from moving". The police response was, predictably, to attack the people with teargas.

At the meeting in Seshego, a demand made earlier for the LTC to be replaced by the black-owned Hamba Buya Buses was repeated. The same demand was voiced at meetings in Moshate and Lenyenyne (Post 23.9.80). After calls to strengthen the boycott and to stop the running of empty buses through the village in an attempt to break the morale of the people, the Seshego meeting ended with a march to the local LTC depot throughout which freedom songs were sung and the power salute made (RDM 22.9.80).

STATE PROVOCATION

Neither the scheme to first suspend the increased fares and then their bogus cancellation, nor the apparently conciliatory concern of the Lebowa "government" over the low wages of the black workers were enough to stop the boycott and arrest its spread throughout the Northern Transvaal. The conventional resort of the South African state is to repress by the most violent means any

popular action by the people. For the time being the government held on to its penultimate card. It harassed the AZAPO leaders of the boycott movement by detaining them. It assumed a posture of toughness by announcing the restoration of increased fares, introducing shorter routes (Post 30.10.80), and announcing that the buses would be restored under police protection (Post 13.10.80).

When AZAPO called for public meetings on the night of the 9 October to discuss the detentions the Lebowa "government" reacted by banning all meetings. This, however, did not prevent the people from holding a meeting. Under the leadership of AZAPO, they walked 1 km from Seshego to cross the so-called "border into white South Africa" where the banning order had no effect and where they held their meeting (RDM, 11.10.80).

It was such provocation by the government and its puppets in the Lebowa Bantustan which transformed a peaceful mass protest at increased fares into several acts of violence. The youth stoned government buildings and vehicles, and attacked the house of Dr. Phatudi (Post 7.10.80), the business premises of Barclays Bank and the Seshego member of the Lebowa "parliament", Mr. J.V. Papo (RDM 13.10.80).

At least 11 members of the Mahwereleng branch of AZAPO, including its newly elected chairman Joe Maila, were taken into police detention (Post 3.10.80). The National Secretary of AZAPO, Sammy Tloubatla, and the Vice-Chairperson of the Soweto branch of AZAPO, together with three other AZAPO members were detained after they had travelled from Johannesburg to address a boycott meeting in Mahwereleng. The police alleged that they had visited a banned member of the banned Black People's Convention.

In Seshego the Rev M.P. Malatji and

AZAPO branch chairperson Mamabolo Raphesu were detained (Post 7.10.80). On the following day they were joined in detention by the Vice-Chairperson of the Mahwereleng AZAPO branch, Meadow Molala, the Vice-Chairperson of the Seshego AZAPO branch, Moses Moalusi, and an AZAPO member from the Seshego branch, Mangope Ramohlola (Post 8.10.80). The four leaders from the Seshego branch, first detained under Section 22, were all subsequently held under Section 6 of the General Laws Amendment (Terrorism) Act (RDM 22.10.80).

The detentions in Lenyenyne included four executive members of the local branch of AZAPO: Chairperson Mmutle Phasha, Vice-Chairperson David Mohwibidu, Secretary Joseph Rahophala and the Rev H.M. Mamabolo (Post 8.10.80). Those detained in Lebowa included AZAPO branch Chairperson Laurence Marapanye and an AZAPO member Jackson Mashiane (Post 30.10.80).

Banished to Lenyenyne is the banned leader of Black Consciousness, Dr. Mamphele Ramphele. Two newspapers in the Northern Transvaal linked her name to the bus boycott — an act calculated to cause the government to restrict her movements even further. The *Letaba Herald* in Tzaneen said she was "giving financial support to AZAPO, the left-wing political movement behind the boycott", and the *Northern Review* in Pietersburg said "In the Tzaneen area, a woman doctor on whom a restriction order has been served is known to be involved in the boycott action there" (quoted in Post 7.10.80).

The arrests and detentions of AZAPO leaders were condemned by George Wauchope, AZAPO's National Publicity Secretary. He said AZAPO would not be intimidated by the detentions and pledged solidarity with the detained leaders and their families (*ibid*).

RULING CLASS TACTICS TO BREAK THE BOYCOTT

Many of the features of the bus boycott in the Northern Transvaal, for example, the sympathy boycott actions in areas not affected by the increase in fares and the practice of almost daily accountability by the leaders to the people by means of public meetings, resemble the experience of the 1957 Alexandra Bus Boycott. Thanks to the militant vigilance of their most outstanding leaders, Dan Mokonyane and Vincent Swart, the people of Alexandra retained control of their movement from the beginning of the boycott to its successful conclusion, notwithstanding the efforts of the press to misrepresent and even appoint leaders for the people.

A scheme to suspend a penny increase on the fares in Alexandra was also put forward. This took the form of a £25000 grant by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce who were quick to perceive that a bus boycott amounts to a go-slow at work because the workers arrive late and tired after a long walk. The majority of the leaders of the boycott, including those representing liberation movements, accepted the scheme when the united front Bus Boycott Committee met with the bus company, PUTCO, and the Chamber of Commerce. The minority, Mokonyane and Swart, who voted against the scheme, insisted that both majority and minority views be put by their exponents to the people at the regular mass meeting. But even before a mass meeting could be held the liberal and pro-government media, basing themselves on the majority view of the boycott committee, were loud in announcing that the boycott of buses was called off. The majority itself insisted on what they called democratic procedure: that only one view, the view of the majority on the

boycott committee, would be put from the platform to the mass meeting.

The people of Alexandra had come to know through weeks of struggle who to trust in the boycott committee. When all the democratic procedure loving leaders had had their say, the people shouted for Mokonyane to address them. They too, understood the quirks of democratic procedure. They came out in support of the "minority" view and rejected the scheme recommended by the "majority". The most advanced political cadres in Alexandra, among them Madzunya banished to and living in Lenyene to this day, learnt a very important lesson: how, like Lenin in 1917, a minority view held by those *actively* involved in struggle is transformed by *struggle* into a majority view.

The people of Alexandra rejected the scheme for a number of reasons. Apart from the inconveniences attendant on the scheme such as paying the increased fare on boarding the buses and then, on alighting, queuing again to collect a penny back at kiosks which were to be situated at bus tops, one question remained unanswered. What happened when the £25000 was all spent? (See *Lessons of Azikhwelwa* by Dan Mokonyane, London, 1978?)

A similar question must have hung over the heads of the people of Seshego and every boycott area of the Northern Transvaal when the LTC announced the suspension of increased fares for a period of two weeks. What would happen at the end of two weeks? Would they be back at square one with the increased fares restored but the boycott movement irretrievably broken? And, when the LTC announced a cancellation of the increases on the fares, it was at the same time introducing a shorter bus route which would terminate even further away from the town centre. If both offers failed to bring the boycott to an end it

was because neither satisfied the people's demands and, in fact, ignored a host of other demands such as improved services and a general increase in wages.

We must also note the manner in which the authorities reckoned they could break the bus boycott or, for that matter, any resistance movement. Their tactic is to completely bypass the movement itself and its popular leaders. That is shown not only by ignoring the people's demands but also by the way in which they unilaterally announce the suspension of increased fares and other schemes over the head of the movement, and without negotiation with the movement.

THE CALL FOR "BLACK OWNED BUS SERVICES"

What are we to make of the demand that LTC be replaced by or share the route with Hamba Buya and other bus services, a demand which, in the hands of a liberal media prone to distort black struggles, was given the explicitly racial expression of a demand for "black owned services"? In its unadulterated form it represented a demand against the monopoly bus services of a repressive state. In this form the demand was made the more insistently, particularly by the SVC, as the boycott became the more intense. In this form, too, the demand enjoyed the wholehearted support of the boycotters who in the nature of the economy of the areas affected by the increased fares are working class people. What do we make also of working people supporting a demand which, if satisfied, would not alter the conditions of their oppression or exploitation? Nor would competing bus services make any difference in the long run — the 1944 Alexandra Bus Boycott was resolved to the people's satisfaction at the time by replacing numerous but small black owned services by a *white* monopoly, the Public Utility Transport

Company (PUTCO).

However, the demand for Hamba Buya services is not irrational if we take into account that the boycott was preceded by long-standing grievances against LTC and that the boycott was not all about the economics of bus services. The demand for Hamba Buya operated services, and the popular backing for the demand, must therefore be judged on the basis of these two conditions.

In 1975 the grievances — lack of inner-city public transport, inordinately long bus queues, waiting at peak hours for as long as two hours for a bus to come — were voiced so persistently that even the conservative STC made representations to the LTC. Only when representations to redress the grievances did they turn to the black-owned Hamba Buya Bus Services of Ben Harris. An application by Ben Harris to extend his services to Seshego was then refused by the Local Transportation Board which is controlled from Pretoria. Thus the demand for the bus services of Ben Harris dates back to 1975 and was then (and in 1980) made either to replace an unsatisfactory service or create competition for LTC.

In this context alone can we understand or explain the remarks of Mamabolo Raphesu: "We are against monopolies. We want free enterprise. The LDC (Lebowa Development Corporation) makes the black man dependent on it" (*RDM* 4.10.80). These remarks were amplified by Rev Malatji (*ibid*) from whom we quote later.

That the bus boycott was not all about the economics of bus services became clear when LTC first suspended the increased fares and their subsequent cancellation linked to a shorter route. The result was not a collapse of the boycott. It was then that the ruling class realised, in the apt words headlined in the *Star* (4.10.80), that "Footsore Seshego takes on the System". At the basis of the

bus boycott, as we shall show by reference to some statements by its leading spokespersons, is a movement of resistance and challenge to capital, white power and its tutelage systems of Bantustans. It is politics, as an expression of dominated classes in struggle and through the intervention of AZAPO, which has dominated the economics of bus services, and rightly so.

POLITICAL CHALLENGE TO BANTUSTANS

The people's rejection of the Bantustans is borne out by the speeches of those whom they chose to lead the bus boycott movement. At all the numerous public meetings held in the course of the boycott, the support which the leaders enjoyed for their statements leave no doubt as to how the people perceive the structures created by the state to perpetuate racial oppression and exploitation. We refer to statements made by only two of the boycott's most prominent leaders, the Rev Malatji and Mamabolo Raphesu. These statements and the struggles in the course of which they were made reveal that there has come into existence for the first time inside the Bantustans a mass political movement which fights the system by operating outside the system.

The Rev Malatji said of the Lebowa Development Corporation, an economic arm of the government: "There is nothing you can do without the LDC — they are the government here and we have no say. They have the monopoly" (*RDM* 4.10.80). Of the Lebowa "government" he said: "It is an umfaan (a child). It must go the father (LDC) and ask" (*ibid*). And of the Chief Minister: "Phatudi tells us to wait for a result. But expect nothing. We find he has no power" (*ibid*).

Even more pointed was the statement of Raphesu: "At the heart of the issue is this: the legitimacy of the Lebowa

government as an institution in the eyes of the people. The Cabinet, purporting to act in the name of the people, is authorising, for example, a far increase they cannot afford. The people did not give its permission for this" (*ibid*).

Neither could the official opposition in the puppet Assembly exploit the boycott to legitimate itself and gain the recognition of the people. They were simply not allowed to *ride staff*. Their pro-boycott noises were rebuffed by both AZAPO and SVC who refused to have anything to do with them. "Both the Government and Opposition are tainted by their participation in a 'white-imposed' homeland system" (*ibid*).

CLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITAL AND STATE

Seshego and the other villages active in the boycott of buses in the Northern Transvaal are a part of a nationwide pattern of Bantustan dormitory locations. A characteristic feature of these locations is their situation at points inside the Bantustans which are within 50 km of a "white spot", that is, a rural town designated by the state for "border" industrialisation and in the sole occupation of whites. Where such a location is non-existent, the state through the government creates one by forcibly moving the urban unemployment to what it calls resettlement schemes inside the Bantustans.

By relocating some industries in the rural towns the government is merely making a modification to the migratory labour system. Instead of the workers migrating to the cities and remaining there for long periods of time, they are made to commute on a daily basis between the rural dormitories and "border" industrial centres. As the journey to and from work is anything up to 100 km a

day, the workers are forced to bear the high costs of transport. It is not surprising then that in many of these rural towns an increase to fares has resulted in bus boycotts. To prevent boycotts, the state heavily subsidises transport through its "development" corporations.

Unlike in the case of the "guest" worker in the cities, the rural employer is spared the cost of housing the worker in compound dormitories. By migrating on a daily basis to work in the rural industries, the worker is thus also forced to incur the cost of his own housing. This explains the grievances relating to poor housing and inadequate water supplies.

Migrant labour, whether it takes the form of long-term "guest" worker in the urban cities or daily "guest" worker in the rural towns, is a system which primarily serves the interests of capital. The wage packet of the migrant worker is sufficient only to pay for personal needs on a day-to-day basis. It does not include an element to see to the worker in times of illness or old age, nor to see to the worker's family and thereby rear the future incumbents of the migratory system. The costs of subsistence over and above wages must be found within the Bantustans. In short, the migrant workers in rural and urban towns, more than any other section of the black working class, must bear the costs of their own maintenance and reproduction, and to that extent are subject to greater exploitation by capital.

It is the state which guarantees the conditions under which capital carries out super-exploitation of the black worker. Thus the policing of the migrant labour system and the accompanying influx control laws, the creation of Bantustans in order to stamp black workers as "guests", the relocation of some industries in the "border" areas and the siting of dormitory locations within 50km — all

these are acts of the state in the service of capital. In a country without a shred of democracy the state for the majority of the people is an unmediated instrument of class rule in the interest of capital.

The people's actions against increases in fares are the struggles of a working class so super-exploited that it cannot afford to pay a cent more on transport. Coupled with a demand for a general increase in wages, these struggles hit at the very core of a system of capital accumulation which pays wages far below the subsistence level. Coupled further

with a rejection of Bantustans they express the workers' opposition to the means which the state employs to guarantee the conditions of exploitation by capital. These are actions which give notice to both capital and the state alike that no longer can the black worker, to paraphrase Marx (*Capital* Vol 1, p572, Moscow 1961), be safely left to his/her own instincts of self-preservation and propagation to fulfil the costs of his/her own maintenance and reproduction by eking out an existence on the barren wastelands of the Bantustans.

The Development of Dual Power in South Africa

ANDREW LUKELE

Let me begin by introducing to you the organisation I am representing tonight, Karabo. Karabo is a group of South African political refugees who are presently residing in the United States. We remain committed to the struggle for the liberation of our country. Towards that end we have grouped together to undertake tasks here which are relevant and

helpful to the liberation effort in South Africa. As part of that undertaking we have joined hands with our comrade organisations, Pan African Students Organisation in the Americas (PASOA) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), in organising and sponsoring tonight's forum. We wish to thank you all most heartily for being with us.

NECESSITY FOR INFORMED SOLIDARITY

I should like to make a few remarks, firstly, on the important subject of solidarity. The need for the solidarity of the oppressed people in the world stems directly from the condition of the world. It is dictated by capitalist and imperialist domination which constrains the lives of the oppressed millions in the world and prevents them and their societies from developing and realising their full capacity. The same interests which have, by means of white domination, reduced the Blacks in South Africa to mere subjects of super-exploitation and political repression; those very same interests maintain in the western world, in the United States, a kind of society which rests on the principles of inequality and individual greed, a society which condemns the ordinary person to discriminations of all forms, to insecurity, and to painful purposelessness and worthlessness — and that in a country which has amassed the greatest store of wealth on the earth.

This is the basis of your solidarity with the oppressed in South Africa. The solidarity that we seek to build has got to be a strong and enduring solidarity. A fickle tie which caters to the momentary urges of self-indulgence just cannot do. Our solidarity is a weapon against the combined strength of our enemies. And their strength is quite enormous. Our solidarity must equal and exceed their combined strength.

How do we achieve such a solidarity of strength? It is a solidarity that comes from deep human passion, a passion that is fed by conviction and sound knowledge. It is nurtured by a deep desire for true freedom. It is an informed solidarity that we seek. Uninformed acts of "solidarity" can be disastrous. They can result in assisting the very enemies of the people we

believe we were helping. We saw that happen in Angola not so long ago.

Many people in this country and elsewhere gave a tremendous amount of moral and material support to what they believed were movements of liberation in Angola. In fact this support went to organisations such as the FNLA and UNITA which, as it turned out, were not movements of liberation, but factions which were in deep collusion with white racist South Africa and with the CIA of the United States. Their aim was to set up in Angola a puppet government that would rule in a manner beneficial to South Africa and to the governments of the western countries, the United States especially. Had it not been for the vigilance and determination of the MPLA, and the splendid revolutionary support of the Cubans, a thoroughly reactionary and counter-revolutionary government, composed of Black functionaries of western countries, would have been foisted on the people of Angola. That, in part, would have been the result of ignorant and uninformed acts of solidarity.

The lesson of Angola is that solidarity must be informed if it is to be effective. This imposes on whomever seeks to express solidarity in action the task of making a painstaking and thorough effort to understand the liberation movement one wishes to support: its aims, its principles and methods, and its place in history.

But this responsibility of the friends of liberation towards the liberation movement is reciprocal. The liberation movement has a duty towards those people who rally to its support. It has the duty to take them into its confidence and to reveal to them its view of itself: how it looks at its problems; what principles underlie its methods and style of operation; and its worldview — precisely where it places itself in the conjunction of forces on the world scene.

We in Karabo are keenly aware of the

responsibility of the movement of liberation in South Africa towards people outside its ranks who seek to rally to its support. It is for that reason that we undertook, jointly with PASOA and YAWF, to invite Brother Jeff Dumo Baqwa to be with us all tonight.

Brother Baqwa has played an important role in the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, especially in the South African Students Organisation. Indeed, it is in response to this movement's echoes that you here and hundreds of thousands of others in the world outside South Africa are stepping forward to pledge support. Jeff Baqwa has been in close contact with the Black Consciousness Movement from its inception.

CRISIS CONSTANT IN SOUTH AFRICA

My further remarks, therefore, will be addressed not so much to the current events in South Africa and the part of the Black Consciousness Movement relative to those events. Rather, I shall attempt a few general statements touching upon the character of the total situation, the situation which constitutes, so to speak, the theatre of operation for the liberation movement in South Africa.

Since June 16, the bourgeois press everywhere has raised a hue and cry proclaiming that South Africa is in crisis. The white racist government of South Africa has consistently issued vehement denials. But the same government is showing unmistakable panic even while it is issuing these denials of crisis, and doling out assurances of peace and stability in the kingdom of white supremacy. What, in fact, is the true situation in South Africa? This is not a common crisis situation; nor even deep crisis. It is a truly revolutionary situation.

A society is in crisis when the groups who monopolise power find themselves

more or less constantly confronted with disruptions. Such disruptions grow out of disaffection and restiveness on the part of the greater population who are the subject of domination by the state. These disruptions interrupt the flow of command from the state to the subjected population. The state is then obliged constantly to resort to open force and brutal suppression as the only means to insure that its commands are carried out by the oppressed subjects. South African society under white domination has existed in this condition of crisis since the very moment it was launched. There has never been a time when white domination worked smoothly in South Africa. Because there has never been a moment when the Black population was resigned to the usurpation of power by the white settlers. The extreme and extraordinary have been the normal condition of the day-to-day existence of the South African fascist state. Crisis has been its constant and permanent feature.

BLACKS ON THE MARCH TO REVOLUTION

But what is now taking place in South Africa is something much deeper than crisis in the sense indicated. It is a revolutionary situation. The constant disaffection of the masses of our population has passed over from mere resistance to attack upon the entire system of oppression. The sporadic and unconnected rebellions of the past have now merged into a unified and coordinated force of attack. The rumblings that we hear in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Capetown, and Port Elizabeth are the march steps not of a mere section of the population, the students. In the Soweto uprising we hear the beginning of the march steps of the whole Black population. This uprising aims at nothing less than the seizure of power.

What stamps a revolution with its

special character of being a revolution is that it goes beyond simply disturbing the workings of the oppressive system. It demolishes the existing structure of power and brings into being its own center of command. And it accomplishes this by means, not of the existing official organs and institutions of authority, but by means of its own instruments. It establishes a center of command that is *alternate and rival* to the existing state power; and it implements its command by means of its own organs-instruments which have been fashioned by the people themselves, home-made implements, so to speak. In revolution, the principle of self-reliance finds its highest expression.

It is not possible fully to understand the significance of the Soweto uprising and the incidents connected with it unless one takes the large view of the movement as a whole. The individual acts and episodes should not be looked at in isolation from the thrust of the total movement. South Africa has its own special features which are different from those of other African countries which have had their revolutions in recent times.

Typically, what happened in those other countries was that the revolutionary movement was able, relatively early, to establish its own physical and territorial basis of authority. It created a zone which came completely under its jurisdiction of command — the liberated zone. In South Africa, the establishment by the revolutionary forces of their center of command has not yet taken this tangible, physical form. But the center of command has been established most undoubtedly. It exists and you can identify it by its results. Let me mention only two of these results.

BLACK MASSES ESTABLISH CENTRE OF COMMAND

You will recall that soon after the white racist state had fired its first shots at the student demonstrators in Soweto, in Alexandra, etc., the Black urban workers came out in a massive solidarity effort of their own. They downed their tools. This happened in Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Port Elizabeth, the three largest cities in South Africa. I cannot think of a single event in the whole history of our struggle against white oppression which compares with this event in significance. As far as I am aware there has not been a place, even in the most highly industrialised countries of the West, where workers came out in such large numbers, in such solidarity, discipline, and firm determination. Make no

mistake, this was not an ordinary strike about wages, conditions of work, etc. It was an *extraordinary* form of strike action: profoundly political in its motivation; and it declared itself political in its banners as well.

It is common knowledge that in South Africa strike action by Blacks is prohibited by law. Black trade unions do not have legal recognition. But the body of Black workers established their strike action as an enormous fact of life, albeit not of law. Everyone in South Africa recognised this fact. Indeed it was recognised practically everywhere on this globe. This fact, as a reality, was "recognised" even by the South African state power, even though it continued to rave and say that its law did not recognise strikes by Blacks. This sort of thing happens only when the law and the state power behind it cease having any hold on the social reality, on actual events, that is.

The fact which these strikes so clearly established is that the Blacks in South

Africa are well on their way to establishing their life, as a fact, away from the old order of state and law, and independently of the existing order. They establish their will; and they implement it by their own instruments. This way they place their lives on a self-sustaining basis. This is the basis of the "power of the people," the concept that governs the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa.

But we must be careful not to make the terrible mistake of believing that the life of the people on a self-sustaining basis can exist permanently alongside the old order of white dominance. This is the belief which the white supremacists have been at pains to foster. Towards this end they have created the bantustans, even the so-called "independent" bantustans.

The power of the people does not develop parallel to the existing white state power. It grows *at the expense* of the present white state power; and, as the one grows in strength and vitality the other progressively undergoes death. The motion is quite like that of the liberation movements in the other African countries, notably Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola. The expansion of the liberated zone inevitably meant the reduction of the area of jurisdiction of the forces of colonialism. The expansion of our center of command likewise spells the erosion of the authority and jurisdiction of the old order. In South Africa this is already a fast-growing fact.

OLD ORDER BEING SWEEP ASIDE

As another illustration of this fact, let me cite an excerpt from an article which appeared in yesterday's [November 19, 1976] *New York Times*:

An elusive student group has emerged as the single most powerful group in the black township of Soweto except for the police, who are busy jailing

most of the student activists they find. While the Government reviews ways of giving blacks more control over their own communities, the group known as the Soweto Students Representative Council has become almost a shadow government in the sprawling township outside Johannesburg.

Recently, after months of close involvement in the uprisings against apartheid in which more than 200 Soweto residents have been killed since June, the student group declared a period of mourning for the rest of the year.

In a community of more than a million people, it was far from clear that an edict issued by a group of students, many in their teens, the oldest about 25, would have much impact.

However, the results have been an impressive demonstration of the power the students wield. Whether out of fear of retribution or sympathy for the students' aims, residents of the township have shown a remarkable respect for the young people's decisions.

This report issues from a source which is not even remotely sympathetic to our movement. The situation, which it merely samples, is not confined to Soweto nor to the student section of the population. It typifies a nation-wide phenomenon. The incontrovertible fact that has emerged is that the Black masses in South Africa have at last established their center of command. The powers that be are frantic; because, try what they may, they have been unable to track it down. This is because it derives ultimately from the will, passion, and determination of the bulk of the oppressed nation. There can be no doubt that the initiative in directing events has begun to pass over from the rulers to the ruled. The rulers still retain the instruments of force but their

capacity for implementing their will is rapidly being impaired. Real action and the capacity to initiate it are fast gravitating into the hands of the revolutionary masses.

REVOLUTIONARY SIGNIFICANCE OF STRIKE ACTIONS

One of the "Great Lies" of the old order that has come tumbling down in the revolutionary process now underway in South Africa is the idea fostered by white supremacists of the supposed omnipotence of their system. The strikes alone have delivered a mortal blow to this "Great Lie". The Black workers carried out a massive political strike, and demonstrated to themselves their own strength and the relative helplessness of the state. They became convinced of what they have been learning over time; namely, that their labour is the greatest force in society; that the entire establishment of the white state rests ultimately on the force that comes from their combined labour.

The slogan "power to the people" is no longer a statement of hope and aspiration; it is a statement of demonstrated fact. It is no longer mere theory, because it has seeped down to the level of popular belief and prejudice. When as revolutionary a concept as this becomes the common property of the people, then there is no longer room for the myth that there can exist a power above that of the people. When we view the recent strikes in South Africa from this angle, then their significance emerges fully.

Their significance is derived, in the first place, from the nature of South African society itself; the place of Black labour and its relation to the mass movement of the population. Almost the entire Black population are working

people. The displacement of the bulk of the population from the land, which was effected by the Industrial Revolution in most European countries, was accomplished by means of force and military conquest in South Africa. Consequently, there does not exist in South Africa a peasantry properly so-called. Almost the entire Black population consists of industrial and agricultural labourers. Because of colour discrimination there is hardly a Black bourgeoisie. The so-called Black middle class is extremely small and weak, relative to the extent of industrialisation in the country and to the numbers of the Black population.

This gives an idea of the potential strength of the political strike in the South African situation. This form of political action is accessible to almost the whole of the Black population. Its importance cannot be overstated.

South Africa combines important characteristics of both the western industrialised countries and the underdeveloped Third World countries. Like the first, it is relatively highly industrialised: this makes feasible the industrial form of strike action. But it shares with the Third World countries the character of being an underdeveloped country subject to a kind of colonial domination, which makes the struggle for self-determination a historical imperative. The movement towards liberation gathers its momentum from these combined urges: to eliminate capitalist exploitation and to achieve self-determination. Because the South African white state is recognised relatively easily to be the instrument of capitalist exploitation, the Black workers realise that the real and effective counter to such exploitation is not along the lines of pure trade-unionism, but towards the seizure of power. It is this combination of factors which explain why the Black workers in South Africa have been able to impart a political and revolutionary

character to their strike action well ahead of any working class movement in the industrialised countries of the West.

THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

I'd like to mention just one other falsehood that has been spread concerning the liberation movement in South Africa. When the uprisings first erupted in Soweto on June 16, the white supremacists raised a hue and cry, trumpeting that what they called riots and disturbances were instigated by "irresponsible" elements who were coercing the population by means of "terror". As events developed, these happenings were described as being the result of machinations by groups of individuals operating from outside the country. In truth, of course, these events were the revolutionary expression of the masses in South Africa.

The movement which ushered in these developments is the Black Consciousness Movement. This Movement is not a single party; it consists of a network of people's local, regional, and nation-wide organisations which operate among the people *within* South Africa, not from the outside. It is truly a united front of people's organisations. The claim that the uprising was being master-minded or directed by groups outside the country is utterly false. And it is in fact resented by the people in South Africa. Rightly so, because this lie is also a slur upon their intelligence and self-respect. It takes the inveterate contemptuousness of the South African white racists to fabricate such a lie about the masses of South Africa.

Let me leave you with this simple message:

The Black Consciousness Movement opens up an entirely new chapter in the



history of South Africa. The movement of liberation belongs now, in the first instance, to all the oppressed people of South Africa; and ultimately to history, that is, to the whole of mankind. We of South Africa are re-entering our history and the history of mankind from which we have been excluded for so long by the combined forces of international capitalism, imperialism, and South African white domination. Your solidarity will assist us in clearing the great leap.

Nigeria's Address to the United Nations

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY ALHAI SHEHU USMAN
ALIYU SHAGARI, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC
OF NIGERIA TO THE 35TH SESSION OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
MONDAY, 6TH OCTOBER, 1980

Mr President,

The past year was remarkable for the many intractable international crises which this Organisation has had to deal with. It is a matter of particular pride to Africa that your predecessor was Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim from the sister State of Tanzania. Not only did he preside over the 34th session with a sure and confident hand, Ambassador Salim also had the rare distinction of presiding over three special sessions of the General Assembly. We pay him the highest praise and felicitations.

WELCOME TO ZIMBABWE

Mr President, it is with great pride and satisfaction that, on behalf of the Government and people of Nigeria, I extend the

heartiest welcome to the new sister State of Zimbabwe into our ranks. Few events can match the joy, drama and impact of the independence of Zimbabwe. I salute my brother, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, and all his compatriots for their courage, heroism and magnanimity. Their victory demonstrates clearly that the will of a determined people can never be permanently suppressed. It proves beyond doubt that a determined people fighting for a just cause and dedicated to the recovery of their right will ultimately triumph, no matter how formidable the odds against them. Our brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe have proved to the world the truth of the old adage which says that "the limits of tyranny are prescribed by the will of the victims of tyranny".

Nigeria, Africa, and indeed the entire international community, can take justifi-

able pride in the independence of Zimbabwe. It has coincided with the end of the second decade of the struggle against colonialism and against exploitation. Since 1960, when the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution containing the Declaration on the Granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, it has never relented in its efforts to support the legitimate struggle of peoples in colonial bondage to regain their freedom and their liberty. That Zimbabwe, whose right to independence was so long denied and contested, is today a nation, sovereign and independent, is due in no small measure to the impetus generated by that Declaration.

I also most warmly congratulate the new State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its attainment of independence and membership of the United Nations. It is our desire to forge closer relations with it as a fellow member of the Commonwealth and to cooperate with it in building a better, safer and more just world.

Universality of membership was part of the dream of the founding fathers of the United Nations for this world body. That dream is now virtually a reality. But that fact should not lure us into complacency. Rather it should spur us into redoubling our efforts until the right of self-determination of all peoples everywhere is no longer an issue.

MORE ARE YEANING TO BE FREE

Mr. President, half a millenium of colonial rule by European powers did not succeed in destroying our self-image as Africans. Nor did it quench our thirst to be free, to be respected and to develop our resources for the good of our people. In the past twenty years, over forty African countries have regained their freedom and independence. During that period, some of them have fought civil

Wars not out of irreconcilable differences of ideology or ethnicity. They have fought in order to defend the gains of their independence; to frustrate foreign intervention in their affairs; and to maximise their sovereign attributes. Some African states, quite tragically, have fought one another across borders. They fought not to colonise anyone, but in order to defend their territorial integrity. Others have fought in order to be independent. Through all the tensions and conflicts of the past twenty years, no independent African state has lost its independence. More are yearning to be free. And they will soon be free and independent. Namibia and South Africa are already waiting in the wings. They decidedly will soon be free. The message is clear. Never again will Africa be colonised. Never again will Africans tolerate living under racist domination and exploitation.

REFUSE TO SUBSIDISE THE ECONOMIES OF THE RICH

Mr President, Africa bears the scars of a long history of spoliation and deprivation; of the ravages of the slave trade and foreign aggression; of both political and economic injustices. The current crisis in the world economy is wreaking havoc in Africa. For some areas of the Third World, the on-going international negotiations about trade, capital flows and so on, may mean growth through effective participation in key international markets and institutions. For most of Africa, these negotiations are about survival itself. The very existence of some of our nations is being critically threatened by adverse economic forces and natural disaster.

It will take years before we in Africa can exercise our right to full equality and effective participation in the current

international economic system. In spite of the enormous natural wealth and resources of Africa, our continent remains the least developed, and our peoples the most deprived. These degrading disabilities mock our political independence. We are therefore resolved to make progress. We must therefore refuse to subsidise the economies of the rich by continuing to sell cheaply our raw materials and labour to them in return for their exorbitantly priced manufactured goods.

NAMIBIA: COLLUSION BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND WEST

The problems of no other continent define the international agenda better than those of Africa. I intend therefore to further dwell on African concerns. For the destiny of Nigeria is inextricably linked with the fortunes of all the countries of Africa and all the peoples of African descent abroad. As a result we have, and will continue to vigorously strive for the restoration of the rights and dignity of the black man everywhere, who for too long has suffered humiliation and discrimination.

Mr President, the situation in Namibia continues to be a source of embarrassment and concern to this Organisation. It continues to undermine the will and credibility of the United Nations. Above all, it continues to raise serious questions about the sense of honour and good faith of some permanent members of the Security Council, grave questions about their perception of their duty and responsibilities under the Charter. For the power of the veto was not intended to be used solely for the protection of selfish interests. Rather, the veto was meant to be employed to promote and advance the high purposes of the United Nations Charter; to sustain and encourage the practice of international law and morality.

Nigeria will no longer tolerate the provocations by South Africa or the dilatory tactics of her allies in the western bloc with regard to self-determination and majority rule for Namibia. We deeply deplore the collusion between South Africa and its Western allies, which continues to deny the people of that territory of their inalienable rights. Fourteen years have passed since the International Court of Justice handed down the decision that South Africa had neither legal nor moral right to maintain its perverse administration in Namibia. Further, it is now over two years since the Security Council endorsed the Western Five's proposals for Namibia's transition to independence. I therefore find it intolerable that the independence of Namibia continues to be bedevilled by the intransigence of South Africa.

It seems to me that the recent exchange of correspondence between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the South African Government call for immediate action. They offer another opportunity, if any was really necessary, for the United Nations to test the true intentions of the South African Government. The United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) should therefore be deployed without undue delay to carry out its mandate to supervise a free and fair election in Namibia, so that by the next session of the General Assembly, Namibia shall have taken its rightful place in the world community of Nations.

SANCTIONS TO SUPPORT ARMED STRUGGLE

Throughout all the thirty-three years that the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa have been considered and condemned by this august Assembly, it has become clear that the only peaceful avenue left for their elimination is the

imposition of sanctions under chapter VII of the Charter. In calling again for sanctions, particularly oil embargo, to complement the existing arms embargo against South Africa, I want to emphasise that our Charter specifically prescribes sanctions to give effect to the decisions of the Security Council. I sincerely hope that the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, which the United Nations, in cooperation with the Organisation of African Unity, plans to hold next year in Paris will succeed in addressing this important matter as an effective alternative to the use of force by the United Nations to bring about the birth of a new society in South Africa.

But sanctions alone will not destroy apartheid and racism in South Africa. They can however be used to support the armed struggle. That struggle is now gathering momentum. If South Africa persists in its defiance of international will for fundamental change in its policies, none of us has the right to deny the struggle of the South African nationalists full support. Certainly not Nigeria. We shall continue to assist, encourage and support that struggle with all our might and resources. The peoples of Africa will never flinch from this struggle until ultimate victory is won. The termination of apartheid and racism in South Africa is the challenge of our decade, and the attainment of this goal will constitute man's last major victory over the evil forces of colonialism.

PALESTINE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Global interdependence has too often lately been defined in narrow economic terms. Given its full dimensions of peace and security, it truly permeates and dominates every aspect of international life today. In no area is that concept

more ominously felt than in the Middle East, a region so close to Africa and with supreme symbolism for my country.

The Middle East situation is of the gravest concern to Nigeria. At the international level, we have spared no effort in the councils of either the Organisation of African Unity or the United Nations or the Non-Aligned Countries to seek for a viable solution in conformity with the highest imperatives of peace and justice. For we do not believe that peace and justice are incompatible.

If all the States in the region are to enjoy the right to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries free from threats or acts of force, the inalienable rights of the Palestinians cannot, and must not be overlooked. To an African, the rights of self-determination, statehood and independence are sacred. To a continent which can easily fall a prey to military might, occupation of territory by force is totally unacceptable. To a people who believe in the United Nations, scornful disrespect of the decisions of the Security Council cannot be justified.

In my view, Israel's persistent refusal to recognise that it cannot continue to enjoy legitimacy and rights based on this Organisation's original Partition Plan for Palestine, and at the same time, deny corresponding legitimacy and rights of nationhood under the same Plan to the Palestinians, is the greatest obstacle any lasting peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian Arabs must and should be enabled to have their own independent, sovereign state. Nigeria firmly supports the legitimate right of the Palestinians to their homeland. Israel cannot expect normalisation of relations with Nigeria, indeed Africa, while she continues, in defiance of world public opinion, to occupy the Arab territories which she captured in 1967. Further, her unilateral expropriation of Arab lands, and planting of Israeli settlements in the occupied

territories makes any meaningful discussion of normalisation of relations at this time even more difficult. Her recent action purporting to alter the present international status of Jerusalem came as an affront to the conscience of my people, to whom Jerusalem has a special meaning and significance. We therefore cannot and will never accept these measures.

WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DESPAIR

Mr President, recent events give us no cause for joy. The tensions and crises which developed last year remain unresolved. The armaments race has assumed a new and dangerous momentum, at a time when the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has

failed. The North-South dialogue on the economic problems of the world is stalemated, as a consequence of a most regrettable inability to agree even on procedures to begin negotiations. The present stalemate in the climate of negotiations between the developing and the developed countries holds terrifying prospects for all. Perhaps, more than is realised, the world is poised delicately on the brink, that critical margin, between survival and disaster.

The dangers may be grave. But we cannot afford to despair. Our needs and times call for statesmanship imbued with courage and vision. Courage to do what has to be done. Vision to determine where to begin. The present uncertain international situation challenges all those entrusted with the responsibility of safeguarding the destiny of mankind to pause and think. Times have changed. Conditions have changed. The concepts and structures which precipitated some of the current international crises cannot remain unchanged. Any organic institution without the means to adjust to change without the means of its survival.

Mr President, we have come some way but have a long way to go. We have made some progress but the end of the journey is still far. But reach it we must. Since the beginning of human history the world has been full of conflicts, disputes and wars. This is the tragedy of human existence. The big question is, can man ever live with his neighbour in perfect harmony? Can areas of conflict be reduced? In short, can wars be avoided? Some may answer yes, others may say no. Whatever may be our answers, one thing cannot be disputed — that we stand to gain in a world of peace and to lose in a world of war. We must therefore commit ourselves to ensuring peace in the world.

Solidarity With the Eritrean Struggle

TRISH JOHNSON

In the last 20 years the people of Eritrea have fought a war of liberation against The Ethiopian army of occupation. The war has created more than half a million refugees mainly in neighbouring Sudan and has rendered homeless within Eritrea itself a further million people. It is the longest war ever fought in Africa and on the Ethiopian side is being waged with highly sophisticated military hardware: from anti-personnel devices such as napalm and cluster bombs — used against guerrilla fighter, civilians and livestock indiscriminately — to multi-head rocket launchers. Recently the Ethiopians have added helicopter gunships and nerve gas to their arsenal. Despite the scale of the war and the commensurate human suffering the media (and liberation support groups) have paid it scant attention, and people everywhere are largely ignorant of a movement for national and social liberation which is unique.

Eritrea's claim to independence is based on its creation as an Italian colony in the 1880s. The new Italian settlers drove peasants off their lands and estab-

lished extensive plantations where they cultivated fruit and vegetables for export to their homeland. The newly landless peasantry sought work in the cities where they were segregated into ghettos under Mussolini's racist laws. The Italians built factories and used this army of the dispossessed as a labour force. The appalling living and working conditions of industrialisation led to the formation of a militant working-class, the biggest in Africa at that time.

Britain took administrative control of Eritrea after Italy's defeat in the Second World War and harnessed the work-force in support of the Allied war effort in Africa. Britain bought their acquiescence by permitting the formation of political parties and trade unions.

Once the Allied victory was accomplished and Britain no longer needed Eritrea's industry she dismantled the economy, selling off industrial plant abroad, and attempted to dismantle the country altogether by proposing to carve Eritrea up between her neighbours, Ethiopia and Sudan. This plan failed but,



in 1952, in violation of the demands of the Eritrean people for independence, the UN placed Eritrea in a federation with Ethiopia.

For Ethiopia's dictatorial Emperor Haile Selassie Eritrea's advanced level of political organisation was highly threatening. The Ethiopian army was sent into Eritrea provoking protests, demonstrations and strikes which it bloodily put down. Political parties and trade unions were banned. The national language and flag were suppressed. Remaining industries were removed to the capital of Ethiopia. Unemployment rose dramatically. Unrest increased.

This sham federation was ended in 1962 when Haile Selassie's troops surrounded the parliament chamber and forced Eritrean deputies at gunpoint to vote themselves out of existence.

Even before annexation had been forced through nationalists had taken to the countryside and in 1961 a volley of gun-fire announced the birth of armed struggle. The US and Israeli-trained and equipped Ethiopian army was unable to contain the nationalist struggle led by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). By mid-1977 the liberation movement had liberated 95% of the country. Three years previously the Ethiopian army had overthrown the Emperor, and in 1977 they expelled the Americans. The Soviet Union filled the gap with a billion dollars worth of arms and hundreds of military advisers.

This huge imbalance of weaponry and expertise appeared to shift the balance of forces in favour of Ethiopia. In a series of offensives in 1978 and 1979, mobilising 120,000 men under Soviet direction, backed by tanks, rockets, artillery and aircraft, the Ethiopians forced the Eritreans out of the cities and back to their base in the mountains. This was a pseudo-victory for the Ethiopians. In a planned and systematic withdrawal the EPLF

conserved its combat strength and drew the Ethiopian army into terrain where the EPLF could use guerrilla tactics perfected in many years of struggle. Late 1979 and 1980 saw a turning of the tide with the EPLF launching a counter-offensive which inflicted heavy losses on the Ethiopian army and forced them into retreat.

Throughout the struggle as the EPLF has taken control of the countryside it has put in hand a process of radical social change. The people have been formed into democratic village and regional assemblies, and organised into popular organisations of women, workers, peasants and youth through which they contributed to the nationalist struggle and run their own affairs.

Land has been redistributed to poor peasants. Literacy campaigns are undertaken. A decentralised programme of medical provision has brought health care to everyone for the first time. In a network of workshops concealed underground shot-down aircraft are recycled into guns, buckets, ovens, kitchen utensils, ploughs, hoes, X ray equipment and machine tools. School desks, crutches and artificial limbs are made in the carpentry shops and in the sewing shops uniforms and children's clothes are sewn from bales of cloth stolen on night raids into cities occupied by the Ethiopian army.

Among the most significant achievements of the Eritrean liberation struggle has been the emancipation of women from traditional domestic seclusion. In their popular organisations women are taught to read and write and given a political voice for the first time in their history. Arranged marriages have been banned and women given the right to half the property in the event of divorce. More than a third of the EPLF's guerrilla fighters are women. There is no sexual discrimination in allocation of tasks among fighters — men cook and sew, women repair tanks and trucks.

The EPLF has 75 per cent of the population in areas still under its control — many of the people followed them in their withdrawal from the cities in 1978 — yet unlike all other African liberation groups it has no international backers. Even when more than 100,000 Soviet-led troops and sophisticated Soviet weaponry were thrown against it it refused to appeal to the West for help. This is in line with its policy of non-alignment and self-reliance.

As the Eritrean liberation struggle enters its 21st year it seems to be breaking out of its isolation on the international scene. The Eritreans have learned the hard way to place no faith in either of the super-powers, and are concentrating their diplomatic initiatives in Africa. They have picked up support from Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea-Conakry and Algeria and delegations have been received by Tanzania, Madagascar and Benin. The most important recent

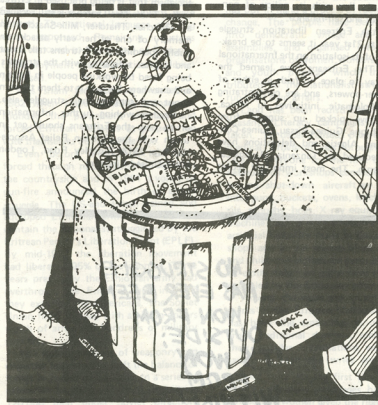
development is the alliance currently being formed between the EPLF and progressive forces inside Ethiopia fighting against the present military regime.

The EPLF knows that it could cash in on the Tories' and Reagan's virulently anti-Soviet stance but it does not seek support from governments which would use the Eritrean case for tactical purposes but which fundamentally oppose the socialism that is being practised in Eritrea today. There Mrs Thatcher is still recalled as 'Thatcher, Thatcher, Milk-Snatcher' in memory of one of her early attacks on public spending, and Eritreans talk about and express solidarity with the struggles being faced by working people in Britain and elsewhere. We owe it to them to learn about and support their struggles also.

Readers wishing further information or to help the Eritreans should get in touch with the Eritrean Relief Association c/o 261A Finchley Road, London NW3, United Kingdom.

**NO STRUGGLE
HAS EVER BEEN
WON FROM
OUTSIDE;
IT'S WON
FROM
WITHIN!**

Workers of Wilsons need public support



The workers dismissed by Wilson-Rowntree have called for support in their struggle by asking the public not to buy Wilson-Rowntree products.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

(1) The National Democratic Revolution is based upon the *minimum demands* of the oppressed masses of Azania, namely, the reconquest of *all our land and its resources* and the attainment of full democratic rights.

(2) The *Black Consciousness Movement* recognises that the national oppression of our people is a direct result of *capitalism and imperialism* and thus our struggle is both anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist.

(3) The *Black Consciousness Movement* consequently adopts the theory and practice of *scientific socialism* to guide it in the struggle.

(4) However, because of the structural and institutionalised nature of racism in the South African social system, the class struggle continues and will continue to manifest itself in colour terms, and for this reason, we continue to believe in the mobilising role of Black Consciousness in the struggle in which the black people rally against their common oppression.

(5) In response to the popular struggles of the masses for political, social and economic emancipation the current strategy of imperialism as represented by the South African regime is shifting emphasis from expressing itself in purely

race terms to a sharper class content, as witnessed by its overtures to the black middle class. This underscores the class essence of the struggle against national oppression.

(6) The *Black Consciousness Movement* of Azania recognises that the black workers are the most oppressed and exploited section of our society, and, therefore, constitute the major force in our struggle. Thus the strategy for the revolution should be based on the historical, political and organisational experience of the *black working class*.

(7) Organisationally, the *Black Consciousness Movement* will be guided in its functions and conduct of the struggle, by a form of *discipline*, which develops out of a consciousness which itself is a product of internalised revolutionary principles: *criticism and self-criticism; democratic centralism; collective leadership; the principles of recall and active participation*.

(8) In order to advance the Azanian struggle against imperialism on a global scale, the *Black Consciousness Movement* will seek to establish and maintain fraternal links internationally with progressive and revolutionary forces, governments, liberation movements and solidarity groups.

OUR BANNING IS NO CAUSE FOR CELEBRATION

"In declaring Solidarity, No. 5, first quarter 1981 (Black Consciousness Movement of Azania) undesirable, the Directorate of Publications has also banned every subsequent edition of the publication — Sapa."

Rand Daily Mail 23.5.81.

Many overseas readers have expressed warm support for SOLIDARITY. The banning of SOLIDARITY may even earn us more readers abroad. But to use the banning of SOLIDARITY to boost our sales would be diverting our strained resources away from those to whom SOLIDARITY is directed: the working people inside South Africa. The painful truth is that SOLIDARITY is reaching far too few of them. Its banning will make it even harder for us to infiltrate it into and increase its circulation inside South Africa.

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