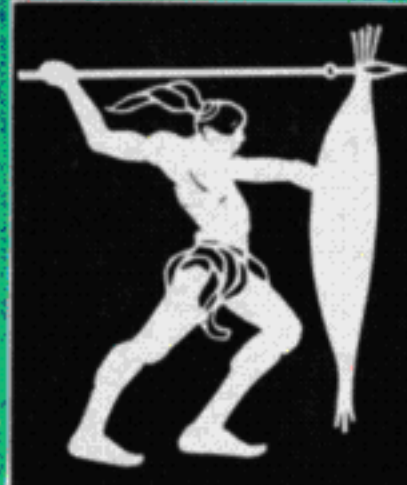


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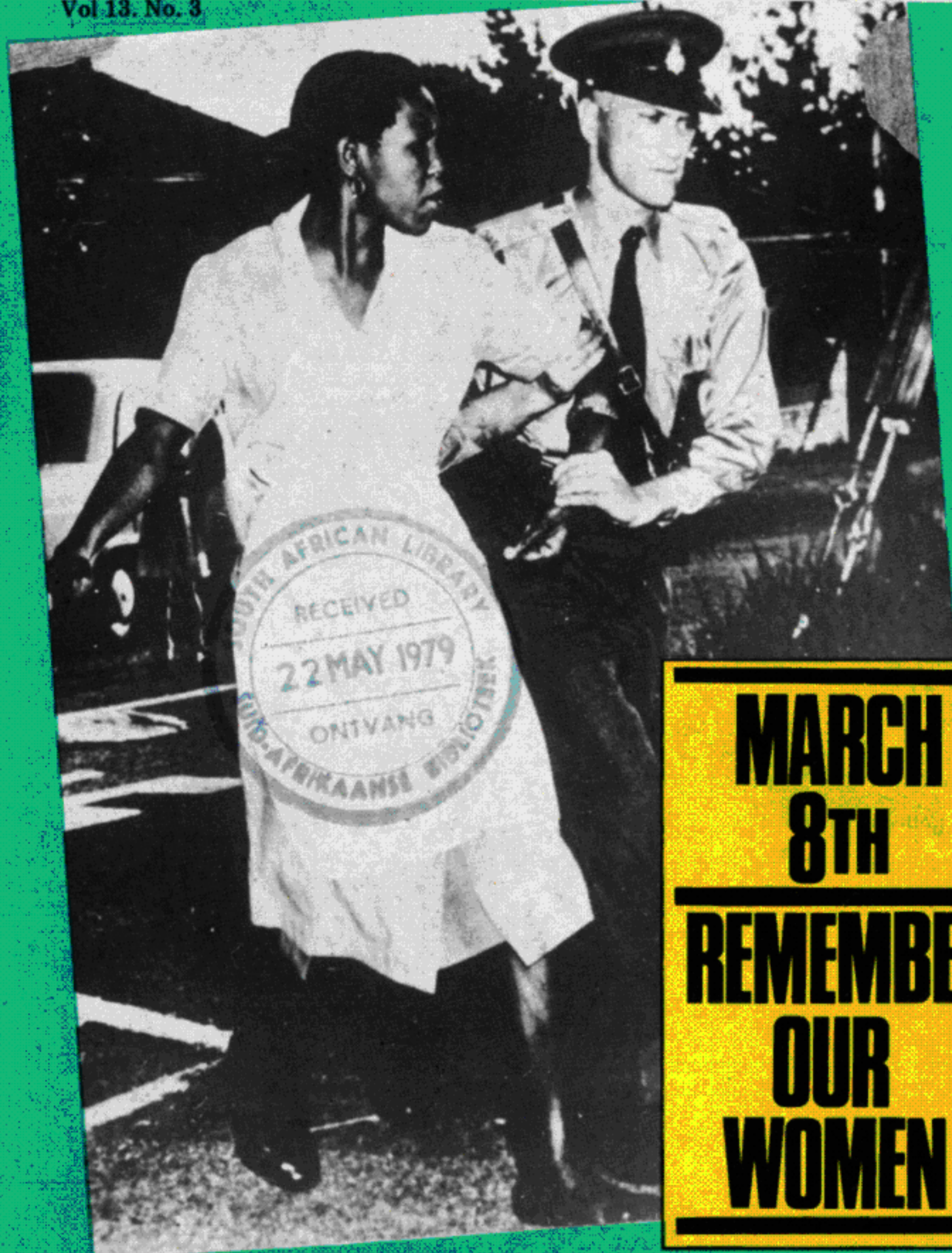


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8TH
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EDITORIAL: Down With Bantustans!	1
INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA: Apartheid in Crisis	3
POEMS	10
THABO MBEKI: The Historical Injustice	11
SEXWALE AND TSIKI: The ANC is Right	23
BOOK REVIEW	31

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DOWN WITH BANTUSTANS!

Transkei became "independent" on October 26, 1976 and on December 6, 1977 it was Bophutha-Tswana. It is said that Vendaland is the next one and by the beginning of the 80's almost all of them will be "independent" and then "there will be no black South Africans any longer"!

On December 4, 1978 — the day racist South Africa forced a "general election" on the Namibian people — K.D. Matanzima, the Chief Minister of the Transkei made a statement on International Anti-Apartheid Year. He poses as an anti-apartheid fighter! In the document he says: "Had Transkei been admitted to the United Nations...I would, myself, have attended the special plenary meeting of the General Assembly on October 11th to present, in person, our contribution to its deliberations."

Matanzima goes on to tell the world that "the Transkei was not given protectorate status in 1910, like Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana, but, instead, was forced without any consultation by the British Government into the Union of South Africa." Otherwise before 1910, everything was fine in the Transkei. Hints must be moving in his grave.

This statement which is meant for the African states — Matanzima wants to join also the OAU — would not have worried us if it were not for the fact that in the Western countries there are voices which are clamouring for the recognition of the Bantustans: Matanzima has a "diplomatic representative" and a Transkei Information Office in London; Bantustan "passports" are recognised in some Western countries and

representatives of the Bantustans have been touring Europe and America begging for money and recognition.

There is the other aspect of this problem: more and more Bantustans are going to be "independent" and logically we shall be faced with the problem of more voices "demanding" recognition by the OAU and the UN.

It is therefore necessary to state that Bantustans are an integral element of the system of Apartheid; a vicious instrument of national and racial oppression; a poisonous weapon in the hands of the oppressors and racists to sow the seeds of disunity and to spread "tribalism"; a reservoir for cheap African labour and an aspect of the military-industrial complex and the militarisation of the social and economic life of the Africans. The aim of militarisation of the social and economic life of the Africans is to recruit and train Africans who will be ready to fight against ANC guerrillas. Bantustans are therefore not a "separation" or "secession" from the white state apparatus.

The African National Congress stands for national liberation from colonial and racist oppression in Apartheid South Africa: so-called historic, geographic and ethnic claims of whatever kind or "tribal" affinity cannot dissuade us from our goal. We believe that each African country has to be decolonised within the confines of established boundaries and the oppressed people have a right not only to wage a struggle to assert their right of national self-determination and independence but also to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development to ensure permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources.

We disagree with Matanzima's contention that the principle of self-determination should be reduced to a question of "diplomacy". We firmly believe that such a principle must take into account the rights and status of different nationalities within a given country — the whole country — and the inalienable right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live or will live. In other words the principle of self-determination is inherently anti-

EDITORIAL

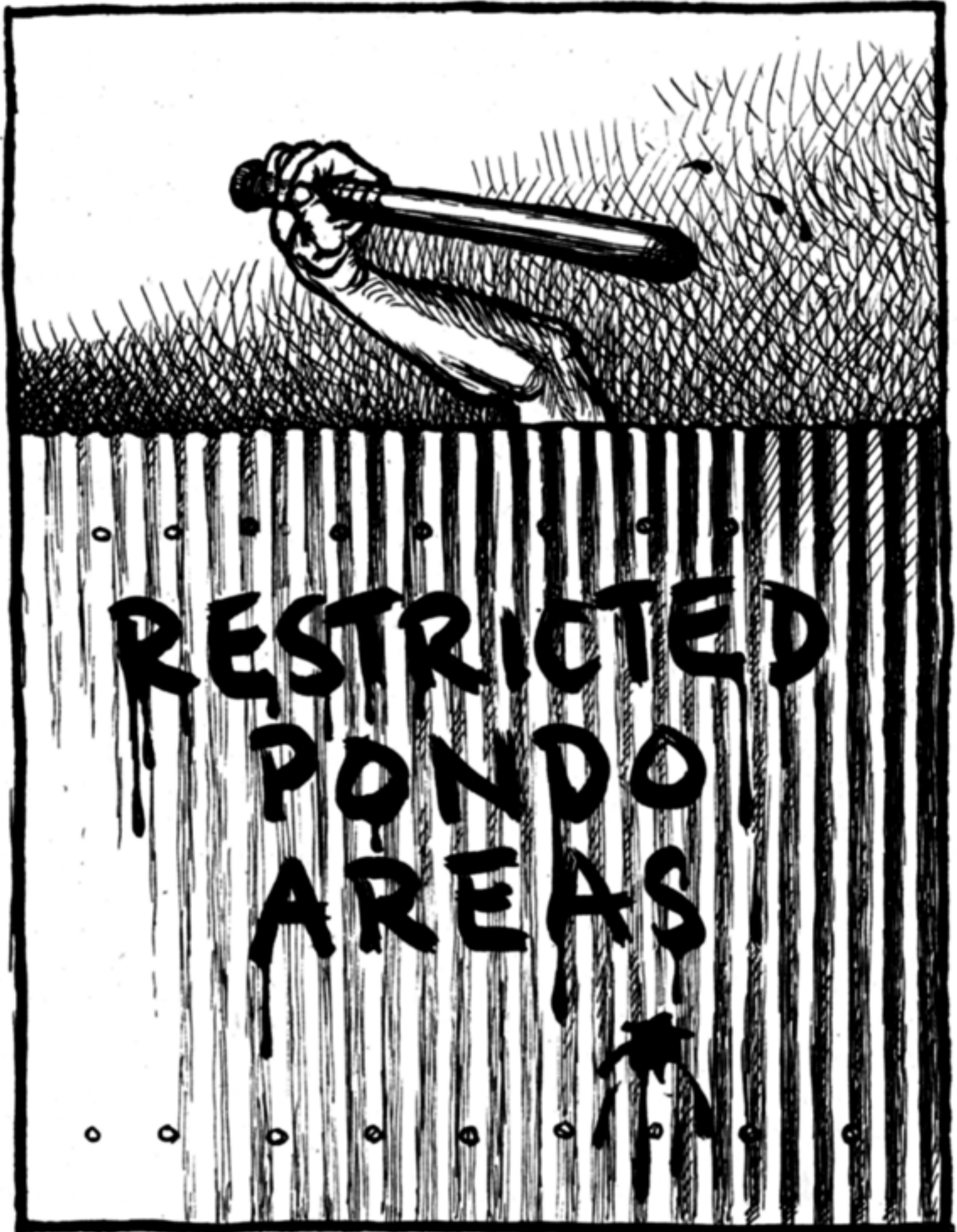
colonial and is not the equivalent of a demand for "seperation", "fragmentation" or the formation of small "states" but implies a consistent expression of the struggle against all national oppression.

We fully agree with the UN Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Peoples which states that, though all peoples have a right to self-determination, "any attempt aimed at having the partial or total disruption of national unity and territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the principles of the UNO Charter", a position which is held also by the OAU.

In other words the principle of national self-determination is closely linked with the

development of democratic and mass orientated popular systems. Does Matanzima with his arrests, detentions, banning orders, total dependence on South Africa and international imperialism qualify to be an "anti-apartheid" spokesman or even an upholder of the principle of self-determination and independence?

We warn those who are supporting the Bantustans... beware of the wrath of the people!



APARTHEID IN CRISIS

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Gugulethu

It was reported that about 200 old-age pensioners began queuing up all night outside the Gugulethu Civic Hall to collect their bi-monthly pensions of R41. "Many did not have blankets" and some were suffering from leg, chest and heart trouble.

The bitter irony of all this is that the Administration Board officials "often ran out of money" before all the pensions were paid and "those who did not receive pensions were instructed to collect their money from the Plural Affairs Commissioner."

Reverend Wesley Mabuza, Minister at the Gugulethu Methodist Church, hit the nail on the head when he said: "It's a disgrace that the government can pay R12 million for a newspaper and then expect people who have made their contributions to the country to go through this".

Krugersdorp

The plight of our old people is increasing and so are their numbers. In Krugersdorp — and not only in Krugersdorp — people, mostly pensioners, go "food gathering" in a refuse dumping area near Kagiso Township on the West Rand. The pensioners cannot afford the breadline solely with their meagre contributions from the government. Therefore people "indulge in unhealthy undertakings" because foodstuffs dumped there are unhealthy for human consumption.

But what can they do? What is the way

out? According to the Krugersdorp Town Clerk, J.J.L. Nicwoult, the only solution to this problem is to fence the area "in order to make it impossible for the scavengers to gain entry".

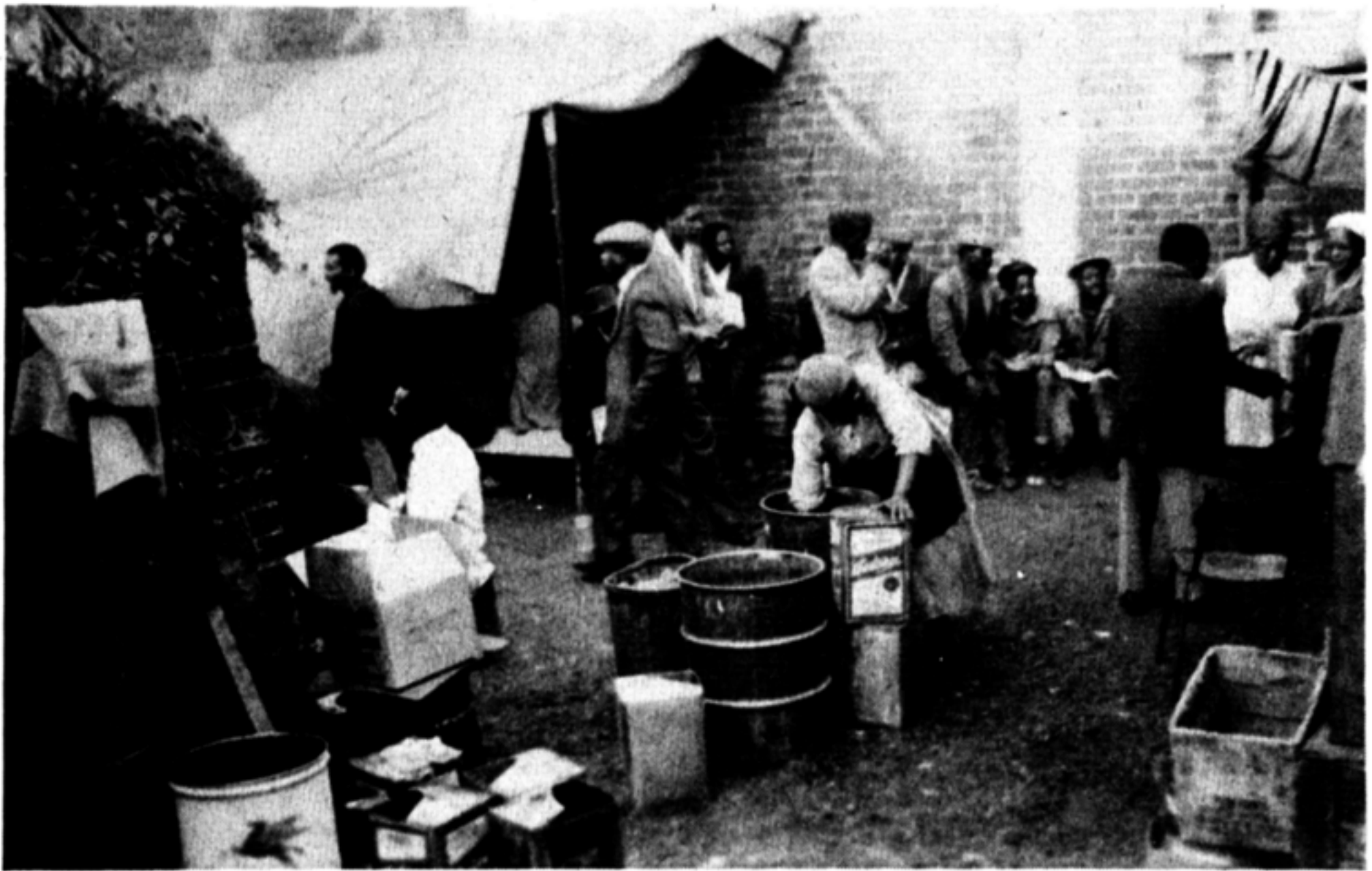
Soweto

Only 20 kilometres from Johannesburg's glittering shopping centre lies a totally different world — people searching each day's truckload of garbage, gleaning food and other useful fragments from what others in Johannesburg's more "prosperous" white suburbs have discarded as inedible and useless.

A large number of destitute Soweto families are forced to find their daily food at the municipal garbage heap: they compete with the Roodepoort municipal bulldozer, trotting ahead of it before garbage is flattened into a central dump at Maraisburg. There are also the pickers employed by a contractor to reclaim usable plastic, glass and other materials that can be recycled.

The gleaners scurry between the municipal and private disposal contractors' tip-trucks as they drop their loads of refuse. Mrs. Selina Matsosa, a widowed mother of 10, who walks from Meadowlands to pick the Maraisburg municipal dump each day to feed her family, said: "It is shameful because it is hard for a proud person to accept such a way of life."

This search for food in a municipal garbage heap — deliberately situated next to black areas far from white areas which need



not be polluted — is not without its problems.

The daily one-hour walk from township to the central dump is a hazardous trip for starving and unemployed because they are often molested by thugs: "Mrs Johanna Ramakgubedu of Mzimhlope said her husband had been attacked by five white men who assaulted him and cut off his beard as he returned from the dump with food for his family."

There is also the danger of bulldozers which are used to bury the "rubbish" immediately after it is dumped. What about the broken glass which is so dangerous to those shoeless people, especially when one takes into consideration the possibility of infection and disease? The food, which is in various stages of decomposition and covered in flies, is risky to people's health.

The question arises: why should people lead such a humiliating and dangerous way of life? The answer is deprivation. These dumps are not only a source of food (fruit, vegetables, meat, chicken etc) but also provide waste products (reject cigarettes, old clothes, bits of wool, discarded pots, dishes, rags, plastic bags and cardboard)

which are collected, often made into something to be utilised at home or sold. The people are starving. Mrs Dorothy Louw, 36, and her husband are unemployed: she managed to rush in and catch a pumpkin before it was buried under the other waste. "That pumpkin was the only thing that we ate for three days" she said.

These few examples are a reflection of a broader problem. According to a Natal University study group survey of urban and rural unemployment, one in every three unemployed Blacks in Johannesburg and other cities is destitute or near-destitute; one in four of young black work-seekers in Johannesburg and Durban has never had a job. There is also the question of bureaucracy. The survey shows that nine out of ten who held jobs and paid contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) — in Lebowa — have never been given their UIF cards by their ex-employers: "Many were ignorant of the existence of the unemployment insurance they paid for... Many employers did not enlighten them or fulfil State's requirements to supply their cards."

For those who have cards, unemployment

insurance takes five weeks or more before payment: "at the bureaucracy's best speed." There are also endless cases of people with wrong dates on their cards or other problems in the paperwork that must satisfy the bureaucracy in charge of unemployment.

This apartheid system results in some other social problems: money from wage earners has had to be stretched into bitter poverty to keep alive so many jobless relations; also the problem of borrowing from clansmen and friends who soon run out of what little they have to spare. Many women, who are mothers and fathers at the same time, have up to now had the persistent will to work on any terms to make a living. But now this will seems to be diminishing and through sheer desperation are becoming more and more rebellious.

Education Crisis

Verwoed launched the Bantu Education Bill in 1953 and during its second reading he told parliament: "I just want to remind honourable members that if the native in South Africa today in any kind of school in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights he is making a big mistake." What does this mean in reality?

This means that an African student is sent to a "tribal college" to develop a unique pride in his ethnic origin and ethnic future as a member of a unique "separate nation"; his people and parents — whom he regards as leaders of his people — are not consulted on what is planned for him; he is sent to "university" to fulfil the white man's dream of what he should become — a dream which has turned into a racist nightmare.

Even before going to "university" an African child has few well-qualified teachers; he has to switch from mother-tongue instruction at primary level to the two "official" languages (English and Afrikaans) of the country at secondary level. Note: no African language is "official" in South Africa.

At university his medium of instruction is mainly English. It should be remembered that matriculation qualifications are

generally poor; only 8 per cent of the students admitted to "universities" have a first class matric. There are many factors responsible for this: living conditions, poverty; government policy to reduce African intellectuals; students exposed to little intellectual and cultural stimulation partly because the parents are illiterate etc. At "university" the student is torn by numerous inner conflicts as he battles to come to terms with the situation where he is subjected to deplorable behaviour by the Whites. The university itself is a microcosm of South African life in general where white staff members fight for their security and the black staff for control of the university — a deep seated antagonism.

Bantu Education was enforced in 1954 and in 1959 the universities were affected by the "Extension of University Education Act" which despite its name — meant the policy of enforcing racial separation. In terms of this Act the government decreed that the Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand and Natal should close their doors to black students unless they had government permission to make exceptions. The then renowned University of Fort Hare was taken over by the government and made a Xhosa University and "ethnic universities" (also known as "bush colleges") were established in Zululand for Zulus and the University of the North (Turfloop) for Sothos/Tswanas; at Durban Westville for Indians and the University of the Western Cape for Coloureds.

Till then there were 633 Blacks at the University of Cape Town and 4,813 white students. By 1973 there were 505 black students out of a total student population of 8,562 at the University of Cape Town (5,9 per cent) and 432 Blacks out of a total of 10,235 at Witwatersrand (4,2 per cent). At both universities the number of African students dropped from 113 in 1959 to only 31 in 1973. This resulted, according to the publication "Open Universities in South Africa and Academic Freedom, 1954-1974", in "the virtual destruction of academic communication between white students and students from the largest 5



Working conditions under 'Bantu Education'

population group in the country”.

The Afrikaans speaking universities have remained lily-white — except for a few Blacks admitted recently. Racism in white universities is rampant: in 1971 the University of Port Elisabeth caused the cancellation of inter-university sports competition with Rhodes University because Chinese students were representing Rhodes! The University of Natal has a separate medical school for African, Coloured and Indian students. There were moves to close this medical school to Blacks because a Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa) was established at Ga Rankua outside Pretoria. The situation at universities in South Africa is chaotic but at primary and secondary school level it is worse.

The pupil-teacher ratio is 20 to 1 for Whites and 55 to 1 and often more for Blacks; black parents have to pay for school fees and books while their white counterparts pay nothing; the drop out rate is enormous; in many schools the “double session” system is still in operation with teachers teaching two sets of classes; education for Blacks is not compulsory.

In short Bantu Education is a white

instrument designed to make Africans second-class citizens forever; it is geared towards “white collar slaves”; it is a deliberate attempt to destroy our human worth and dignity; its aim is to prevent the African child from emerging from the insular tribal state and becoming a member of the world community in which the entire heritage of the world’s past is accessible to him. It is a racist form of education both in content and form — in 1977 the State spent R644 a year per child for Whites and only R42 for Africans.

Questionnaire Circulated

The Institute of Plural Studies at the University of Pretoria, an Afrikaans university, — its director is Professor N.J. Rhodie, brother of Dr. Eschel Rhodie — has sent out about 1000 questionnaires to the teachers all over the country to complete within 14 days. The questionnaire deals with various aspects of Government policy, particularly state security. Many teachers in Soweto received it “and have been threatened with expulsion if they show it to any other person” especially members of

the Press.

This questionnaire — a second of its kind from an Afrikaans university — was sent to the teachers via the offices of the school boards. It deals with the Bantustan system, June 1976 uprisings, Inkatha and the security of the state. Teachers are asked if the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction “triggered off the riots or was merely an excuse or pretext for violence”; what percentage of Blacks older than 16 took part and what percentage was passive or how strong the influence of “agitators” or radicals with political views was. There are also questions about how prepared the Blacks are to defend the country from “foreign invasion” or “to defend law and order if threats come from within... even if it meant upholding law and order established by the white Government” or to what extent urban Blacks believed “Russian-Cuban intervention would bring about a better deal for Blacks in South Africa particularly if intervention meant the downfall of the white establishment”.

The question arises: Is this an investigation of the role of teachers during the June 1976 uprisings or of their sympathies today? Why all this panic?

The New Black Education Bill

In November 1978 the Education and Training Bill was gazetted in Pretoria. This Bill which is supposed to repeal all former legislation for black education, is in fact a means to close some loopholes in the former laws regarding black education.

The Bill that has been put out by the Bantu Education Department's successor, the Department of Training and Education, stipulates that: it is an offence for any other person to give education to Blacks — the only exceptions are registered correspondence colleges and people who have been granted permission by the Department's Minister, Cruywagen. This means that it is illegal for black children to attend private schools unless Cruywagen consents. This is a declaration of war against some churches and individuals who have been teaching some black pupils. It also means that parents

must first get permission from school boards and committees which in any case do not decide on the type of education the child must get. Also what these bodies can decide on is still subject to approval by Pretoria.

The Bill also provides for “compulsory” education for children of a particular age group — tuition and boarding fees have to be paid! The Blacks are not interested in the term “compulsory” while they are given a special type of education which is inferior for that matter. Compulsory education must be free; there must be parity in expenditure per capita and the people regardless of their colour, religion or ethnic affiliation must participate actively to draw up an education system that will suit the interests of all people. What has been made compulsory is the inferior education of the Blacks!

There are other sinister aspects of the Bill: strict control of the students and teachers who are now specifically precluded from commenting adversely on government departments including the provincial councils. They are now not even allowed to complain about their working conditions, salary, health facilities or influx control and the Act is retrospective. That means all those teachers who criticised Bantu Education two years ago or even resigned can have action instituted against them when the Bill becomes law, that is, to be punished for something that was perfectly legal when the action was undertaken!

This Bill means that the conditions of the black teachers, students and parents are becoming worse. For instance, the original Bantu Education Act of 1953 made it an offence to educate Blacks at schools not registered with the then Department of Bantu Education or which had not been exempted from registration by the Department and this new Bill retains the prohibition but raises the penalty from R100 or six months' imprisonment, to R500 or one year's jail.

This is another sign of a crisis that is taking place in South Africa and our movement knows very well how to deepen it — as the intensification of ANC action at all levels has shown.



Removal of Batlokwa

It is reported that on November 15, 1978 a "stormy mass meeting" took place at Matock near Soekmekaar. "There were jeers and barracking as the deputy secretary of the department, Mr. Serfontein, explained the government's plan to resettle the tribe at Bochun, about 100 km north-west of their present home".

Serfontein represented the Department of Plural Relations and his task was to inform the people that about 66,000 people in the Northern Transvaal, the Batlokwa under Chief G. Ramakgopa and Chief Lethebe Machaka, who live near Soekmekaar north of Pietersburg are affected by the removals gazetted in August under regulation R217. There was a murmur of dissatisfaction when Serfontein said that the decision had been taken by the South African parliament and was irrevocable.

"We are staying here!", "We are not interested!" shouted the peasants. Even Lebowa's Chief Minister, Dr. Cedric Phatudi, has "strongly objected" to the resettlement

plan. On September 28, 1978 the Chief Commissioner for the Northern Areas, J.S. Pieterse, addressed the chiefs on the same topic, "but the Chiefs remained adamant that their tribes will not be resettled".

The Ramokgopa and Machaka communities have been resettled twice in the past 33 years and now they are already established with built up areas and some property.

Why must the two communities be removed? This removal is viewed by many people as a provision for the so-called "white corridor" for the security forces to the north. The Northern Transvaal has witnessed a number of armed clashes between the white racists and units of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the racist minority regime is afraid that armed struggle in the region is preading like veld fire.



View of a village in KwaZulu Bantustan

POEMS

SOLOMON MAHLANGU: Addresses his gaolers

Don't be puzzled that I smile
even in moments of anguish
Don't be sullen that I keep
my spine upright
in this grim den
in this intended grave
I am a free man
In your leper camp
I remain a full man
question not then my piercing
stare, mine goring gaze
is born of truth lived.

This stream,
this tapped fountain of life
weened gathered storm of hardship
born of nauseating uncertainty
bears thorns which prick my soul
cold torture
which steels my being
chilling suspense
that cracks my brain
Your lawless claws
kill unborn babies
You enjoy to bend us
to endless humiliation
AN ANIMAL DEATH!!

But as you grope around corners
for borrowed peace and purse
I offer my people echoes of
happiness
You who dread the mysteries to come
You who curfew your minds
with your backs to the prison wall
cradle it until you stoop
until it drills your chest
Until you bow to melt
into broken pieces of hope
bow to fate
hold its quivering tail
I touch this darkness and give
meaning.

BLACK MOTHER

you always stand at a stance
when i breathed the sweat
of thy womb
waiting
the rugged glance of your black
face
a playing ground
for harrowing winds
when your motherly glance
goes beyond
horizons
waiting

i am here black mother
the mirror of your suffering your
waiting
always personifying an answer
that never comes

black mother
withdraw that horizoned glance
the eagle is within thy fold
let me chance that horizon
with fleet footed dare
then you'll wait for something
the issue of your abandoned labour

don't look at me thus black mother
for i will kick like i did
at your waiting when i was waiting
let me break this umbilical cord
to tug with the filthy eagle death

black mother
i want to plant a seed
a leafy black green
black mother
i want to plant a seed
a leafy black green
that will crawl to its feet
proud of the efforted success..

Rebecca Matlou

Victor Matlou

THABO MBEKI

THE HISTORICAL INJUSTICE

This speech was delivered by Thabo Mbeki, member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, at a seminar held in Ottawa, Canada from February 19 to 22, 1978. The speech is interesting and Sechaba publishes it with a view to generating a discussion on the important issues raised in this article.



Comrade Thabo Mbeki

Modern political science recognises the fact that social systems are founded on definite historical origins.

If the saying 'out of nothing nothing comes' is true, then it must follow that the future is formed and derives its first impulse in the womb of the present.

All societies therefore necessarily bear the imprint, the birth-marks of their own past. Whether to a greater or lesser extent must depend on a whole concatenation of factors, both internal and external to each particular society.

The latter consideration has often led many observers of the process of social development to over-emphasise the particularity of each society, to deny that this social development is in any way reducible to a science founded on observable facts, a science which has general laws, definitions and categories.

In this way, the relative is credited with the features of the absolute. Each society is thus presented as unique, its birth and development products of accidental collisions and inter-connections and therefore incapable of scientific prediction and cognition.

We consider that this position constitutes a dereliction of intellectual duty. Those of us who claim to be revolutionaries obviously cannot proceed in this manner. Indeed we must resist all attempts to persuade us that our future lies in the hands of an ungovernable fate. For the imperative of our epoch has charged us with the task of transforming ourselves from the status of objects of history to that of masters of history.

We must, by liberating ourselves, make our own history. Such a process by its nature imposes on the activist the necessity to plan and therefore requires the ability to measure cause and effect; the necessity

to strike in correct directions and hence the requirement to distinguish between essence and phenomenon; the necessity to move millions of people as one man to actual victory and consequently the development of the skill of combining the necessary and the possible.

All this becomes attainable if we have succeeded to discover the regularities of social development, if we have studied our own society critically and in depth to discover the interconnections, the dynamic links that knit together and give direction to what might at first appear to be a chaos of facts, incidents and personalities thrown up by this particular society. For, to repeat, out of nothing, nothing comes.

Therefore to eliminate the speculative element as much as possible when talking about the policies of a new South Africa, it is necessary to examine the principal feature of the predecessor of that future reality, namely, present-day South Africa.

But again, a penetrating understanding of our country today requires also that we look at its past. We hasten to assure you that we shall not drown you in a plethora of historical detail.

Rise of Capitalism and Colonial Expansion

The first category of social science that we want to use tonight is that of class. To understand South Africa we must appreciate the fact and fix it firmly in our minds that here we are dealing with a class society.

In South Africa the capitalists, the bourgeoisie are the dominant class. Therefore the state, other forms of social organisation and the "official" ideas are conditioned by this one fact of the supremacy of the bourgeoisie. It would be therefore true to say that in its essential features South Africa conforms to other societies where this class feature is dominant.

Yet a cursory comparative glance around the world would seem to suggest that such a statement is hardly of any use in helping us to understand the seemingly unique reality of apartheid South Africa. More and perhaps better explanation is called for. We return therefore to the category, a class society, as well as step back into history.

The landing of the employees of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope 326 years ago, in 1652, represented in embryo the emergence of class society in our country. And that class society was bourgeois society in its infancy.

The settlers of 1652 were brought to South Africa by the dictates of that brutal period of the birth of the capitalist class which has been characterised as the stage of the primitive accumulation of capital.

Of this stage Marx wrote: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in the mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation." (1)

"The transformation of the individualised and scattered means of production into socially concentrated ones, of the pigmy property of the many into the huge property of the few, the expropriation of the great mass of the people from the soil, from the means of subsistence and from the means of labour, this fearful and painful expropriation of the mass of the people forms the prelude to the history of capital. It comprises a series of forcible methods... The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished with merciless vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious," so wrote Marx. (2)

Such indeed was the slave trade; (such also incidentally the eviction of the Scottish Highland peasants many of whom came to settle here in Canada — vandalism of the most merciless kind.) Such indeed was the expropriation of the African peasantry.

It should therefore come as no surprise that six years after the arrival of the Dutch settlers, in 1658, the first group of slaves arrived in the Cape Colony.

In 1806, when England seized the Cape Colony from Holland by force of arms, there were 30,000 slaves in the Colony as against 26,000 settlers. There were also

another 20,000 "free Coloured, Nama and Khoi in white employ..." (3)

Equally, it should come as no surprise that these 20,000 African wage-earners had been compelled into this position by the process, described by Marx and other historians of the period, of the "expropriation of the great mass of the people from the soil, from the means of subsistence and from the means of labour..."

Described as "free" in relation to the 30,000 slaves in the Colony, they were also "free" in so far as they had been liberated by force of arms, disease and starvation from their status as independent producers with their own hunting, grazing and arable land, their livestock and their working implements.

Calvin's Doctrine distorted

Nowhere is this clearer than in the fate that befell Calvinist theology. Tawney has said that: "Calvinism was an active and radical force...(Its adherents were) disposed neither to idealise the patriarchal virtues of the peasant community, nor to regard with suspicion the mere fact of capitalist enterprise in commerce and finance... Calvinism was largely an urban movement...(Its teachings were directed primarily) to the classes engaged in trade and industry, who formed the most modern and progressive elements in the life of the age..." (6)

Writing of a British Governor-General in India, Marx says: "His favourities received contracts under conditions whereby they, cleverer than the alchemists, made gold out of nothing. Great fortunes sprang up like mushrooms in a day; primitive accumulation went on without the advance of a shilling." (4)

And there we have the reason why Europe carried out this early accumulation at home and abroad with such merciless enthusiasm and passion — because the process assured men of property stupendous and immediate profit. Brought up in this European hothouse of rapine, the settlers in South Africa could not but continue this process in their colony. The result was that when England abolished the slave trade in 1834, nearly two centuries after the arrival of the first batch of slaves, the descendants of the original colonists rebelled

against this decision.

Judging themselves too weak to reimpose slavery by arms, the Boers resolved to take themselves out of the area of British jurisdiction. Thus began the so-called Great Trek of the Boers into the interior of our country.

Of course, all along, the Boers were determined that again they would have to seize our land and livestock and enslave our people.

We see therefore that the methods and practices of primitive accumulation which represented a transitional phase in the development of capital in Europe, assumed permanence in the South African economy and life-style of the Boers. They acquired a fixity characteristic of feudal society, legitimised by the use of force and sanctified by a supposedly Calvinist Christianity.

The South African settlers of 1652 had themselves been the expropriated of Europe. But, as in America, here in Canada, in Australia and elsewhere, after a little while, they were able to re-establish themselves as independent producers, acquiring land in the manner we have described, on the basis of the expropriation of our people, despite the most fierce resistance of the indigenous people.

It was exactly the blissful regaining of their status as masters of their own house, their re-emergence as independent producers, that froze the Boer community at a particular moment of historic time and thereby guaranteed their regression.

Thrown up by the birth of a higher social system, they reverted precisely to that natural economy which capital was so vengefully breaking up. But capital had already taught them that in the pursuit of a better life, everything, including murder, was permissible and legitimate.

A natural economy presupposes the absence of accumulation, "consisting of the petty dealings of peasants and craftsmen in the small market town, where industry is carried on for the subsistence of the household and the consumption of wealth follows hard upon the production of it, and where commerce and finance are occasional incidents, rather than the forces which keep the whole system in motion." (5). Thus it is the direct opposite of a

capitalist economy even when the latter is at its primitive stage of accumulation.

When they reverted to a patriarchal economy, the Boers therefore abandoned all that was dynamic and revolutionary in the formation of bourgeois society and transmuted the rest into something stultified and reactionary.

The Boers had brought this Calvinism with them from Holland and were joined later by the Calvinist French Huguenots. But when they grafted this eminently bourgeois theology onto their patriarchal economy, they in fact transformed its content into a species of Lutheranism, which was essentially a theological school which sought to idealise feudalism and save it from destruction by the capitalist mode of production which was springing up all around it.

From Calvinism the Boer took the doctrine of predestination and perverted it.

For Calvin, the chosen of God were those who survived the jungle of capitalist enterprise in industry and trade and emerged as successful men of business, without regard to race or nationality.

In the patriarchal economy this was transmuted to read: the chosen of God are those who are white. For his part Luther had said: "An earthly kingdom cannot exist without inequality of persons. Some must be free, others serfs, some rulers, others subjects." (7). Racism, today so much part of South African reality, constituted a justification, an attempt to rationalise, to make acceptable the enslavement and expropriation of the black people by the white.

In Boer society and in the end among almost all the Whites, racism as an ideology, acquired the attributes of a psychological fixation, with the characteristic of fixated behaviour that an ineluctably irrational perception of a particular set of relationships coexists with and distorts the perception of all other sets of relationships. In the circumstance that, in any case, ideological formations bear a complex rather than a simple relationship with the material world, generating a momentum which carries them beyond the material conditions that created them, we could expect that this racism

would in time present itself as an autonomous force, God-given or nature-given, as an incontrovertible condition of human existence.

To go back to Calvin, where his theology had sanctified individualism to detach the bourgeoisie from the narrow and rigid world of feudalism and thrown him, unhampered by old prejudices, into the world market, the Boers sang praises to a stultified individualism even narrower than that of the feudal epoch, an individualism which drew its strength from the economic self-sufficiency of each Boer family, the isolation of the homesteads one from another and the isolation of a whole community from the rest of the world; an individualism which became truly itself and complete only to the extent that it despised and set itself in contrast to everything that was black: an individualism therefore which was and is characterised by a rapid racism.

British Involvement

British capital subdued this petrified and arrogant individualism during the Anglo-Boer War. In 1910 Boer and Briton entered into a social contract in which the Briton undertook to help ease the Boer out of the Dark Ages while promising to respect his traditions. For his part, the Boer pledged not to resist the advance and domination of British capital.

Between them, Boer and Briton agreed that they would share political power and, finally, that the indigenous African population would not be party to this contract but would be kept under the domination and at the disposal of the signatories, to be used by them in whatever manner they saw fit.

There were therefore written into this agreement, the so-called Act of Union of 1910, the continuation of the methods and practices of exploitation characteristic of primitive accumulation of capital which had remained fossilised in the Boer economy but which British capital had outgrown, certainly in Britain.

Why did the the British ruling class, having won the war against the Volksraad, thus regress?

One reason of course is that we are

here dealing with the post 1885 Berlin Conference period. It could therefore be argued that the predominant colonialist practices and attitudes of the time made it natural and inevitable that the British ruling class would do in South Africa what it was doing in other colonies.

Yet this explanation would not be complete. For Britain had maintained an uninterrupted colonial hold on South Africa, to one extent or another, since 1806.

The decisive point to bring to the fore is that British capital, throughout the 100 years before 1910, had itself, in South Africa, clung tenaciously to the methods and practices of primitive accumulation.

Thus while in 1807 the British administration prohibited the importation of slaves into the Cape Colony, in 1909 it introduced a vagrancy Act directed at the Khoi people. (8).

Under this law, all Khoi people not in the employ of a white person were declared vagrants. Vagrancy was made an offence. To prove that one was not a vagrant one had to produce a pass. To get the pass you had to enter into a written labour contract with a white employer.

This measure was introduced to meet the labour short-fall created by the non-importation of slaves. It was therefore used to drive those Khoi people who still maintained an independent existence, off the land, to turn them into permanent wage earners and to create the means to direct this labour where it was needed.

In the end, it was the British armies which defeated the African people, the British who drove us off our lands, broke up the natural economy and social systems of the indigenous people. It was they who imposed taxes on the African peasants and, starting with the Masters and Servants' Act of 1856, laid down the labour laws which govern the black worker in South Africa today.

In Europe, the economic freedom of the worker to hire himself out freely to the highest bidder, which came with and was part of the bourgeois revolution was of course connected with, accompanied and enhanced by the political freedom of the worker to represent himself in matters

of state through the vote, itself an integral part of the victory of the bourgeoisie over feudal society.

In South Africa this was not to be. Here, the capitalist inherited the rights of the feudal lord and appropriated to himself the right to determine where, when, at what price and under what conditions the African shall sell his labour power to the capitalist. He also appropriated to himself the right to decide "what is good for the native".

It is therefore clear that British capital in South Africa differed from the Boer patriarchal economy with relation to primitive accumulation in two major respects.

The first of these was that it outgrew chattel slavery and therefore abolished it: the second, that, as capital, its aim continued to be that of greater and greater accumulation, through the pursuit of maximum profit.

It was therefore inevitable that British capital would be all that more thorough in the expropriation of the African peasant, all that more brutal in the exploitation of African labour, more scientific and less wasteful.

The historic compromise between the British bourgeoisie and the Boer peasantry represented hence not an historical aberration but the continued pursuit of maximum profit in conditions of absolute freedom for capital to pursue its inherent purposes.

British capital had at other times and in other circumstances made other compromises. One of the most important of these was undoubtedly that made with the British working class.

In its struggle against its feudal predecessors, the British bourgeoisie had called upon and received the support of the working people. It therefore had to take cognisance of the fact that its political victory did not belong to it alone.

It further took note of the fact that the denial of political freedoms to its ally while claiming them as a natural right for itself, posed the danger that these working masses would pass beyond the struggle against the feudal lords and take on the bourgeoisie itself.

While convincing the workers of the sacredness of private property, especially

its own, bourgeois property, it nevertheless conceded them their political democracy. Thereby and mainly because of this concession, it destroyed the possibility for capital to continue using primitive methods of accumulation within Britain.

Capital in South Africa never had to contend with such a situation. Historically, it owes the working class nothing and has therefore conceded to it nothing, (excepting of course the white workers, about whom later.)

It is clear that during its war with the so-called Boer republics, the British ruling class consciously avoided putting itself in a state of indebtedness to the black people. For instance, in January 1901, Lord Milner, the British High Commissioner "told a Coloured deputation... that he could not accept their offer to take up arms against the republican forces." (9). The same thing happened when another Boer rebellion had to be put down in 1914.

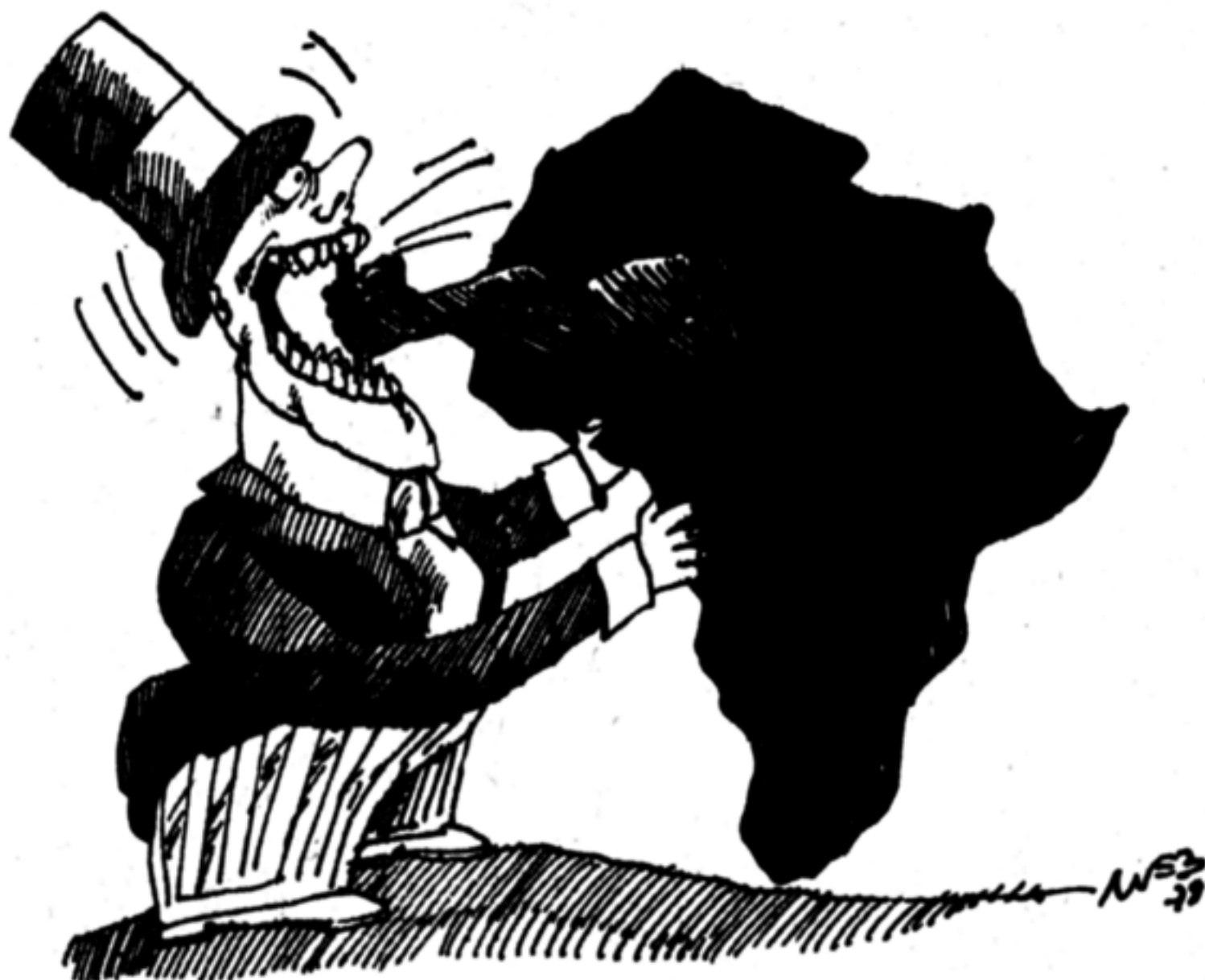
That the bourgeoisie was aware that the denial of democratic rights to the workers was in the interests of capitalism was evident

when indentured labour was imported from China after the Anglo-Boer war.

Then, the mine-bosses stated that "a big body of enfranchised white workers 'would simply hold the Government of the country in the hollow of their hand' and 'more or less dictate not only on the question of wages, but also on political questions'". (10)

Translating the advantages of black worker disenfranchisement into cash, the Chamber of Mines stated in its 1910 Annual Report that it "viewed the native purely as a machine, requiring a certain amount of fuel" It decreed accordingly that the diet of the African miners living in the mine compounds should be determined in terms of the formula "the minimum amount of food which will give them maximum amount of work." (11)

Of the bourgeois countries, South Africa is unique to the extent that profit maximisation is the overt, unhidden and principal objective of state policy, and can therefore be regarded with respect to this characteristic as an almost perfect model of



capitalism, cleansed of everything that is superfluous to its essential characterisation; a model which displays to all, in their true nakedness, the inner motive forces of this social system and its fundamental inter-connections.

The position that black people occupy in this model can be defined as follows:

- a) they are the producers of wealth;
- b) they produce this wealth not for their own benefit but for its appropriation by the white population; and,
- c) they are permitted to consume part of this wealth but only in that proportion which will "give the maximum amount of work" on a continuing basis.

This may sound harsh and anti-human but it characterises "pure capitalism". Let us see for instance what Marcuse in his studies of Max Weber had to say: "The 'formally most rational' mode of capital accounting is the one into which man and his 'purposes' enter only as variables in the calculation of the chances of gain and profit. In this formal rationality, mathematimisation is carried to the point of the calculus with the real negation of life itself..."(12)

If this sounds too abstract, the white South African Member of Parliament G.F. Froneman translates it into the concrete when he says: "(within white society, Africans) are only supplying a commodity, the commodity of labour...It is labour we are importing (into the white areas) and not labourers as individuals..." (13)

Froneman went on to say that the numbers of Africans to be found in the so-called white areas therefore make no difference to the composition of Society — society with a capital S - precisely because the African is not an individual, comparable to a white individual.

Rather, he is the repository of the commodity labour power, which can and must be quantified in a profit and loss account to the point of the very "negation of life itself". In that very real sense the African therefore belongs to the category of commodities to an equal extent as gold, diamonds and any other commodity you care to mention, to be bought and sold, hoarded and even destroyed depending exclusively on the state of the market

The denial of the humanity of the slave which occurred during the period of primitive accumulation of capital is therefore repeated here but at a higher and more rational level.

That rationality demands that to ensure maximum profit that portion of the national wealth which accrues to the black people as consumers should be kept at the barest minimum.

Consequently, the real wages of the African miners are today lower than they were in 1911. (14). Note also the almost total absence of social security benefits for the African people. To provide these benefits would be to increase the cost of reproduction of the producers and conversely to decrease capital's share of the national cake.

It might be argued that our thesis might begin to collapse when we tackle the question of the white workers.

Appearance would have it that in maintaining a white labour aristocracy, capital is behaving in a most irrational fashion, that capital itself has become so impregnated with racial prejudice that it cannot seek to extract maximum profit from a white worker.

Yet we must bear in mind that the capitalist class does not view itself solely as the appropriator of wealth in contradistinction to our being the producers.

The capitalist class is also heavily burdened with matters of state administration. It has taken on itself the task of ruling our country. As early as November 1899, Lord Milner had said: "The ultimate end (of British policy) is a self-governing white Community, supported by well-treated and justly governed black labour from Cape Town to Zambesi (sic)." (15).

A principal pre-occupation of this self-governing community must therefore be to ensure that the "justly-treated and well-governed" do not one day rise up and transform themselves also into a self-governing community.

From the very beginning, British capital knew that it had to face this possibility and that if it fought without any allies, it would lose in such a confrontation.

The historic compromise of 1910 has therefore this significance that in granting

the vanquished Boer equal political and social status with the British victor, it imposed on both the duty to defend the status quo against especially those whom that status quo defined as the dominated.

The capitalist class, to whom everything has a cash value, has never considered moral incentives as very dependable. As part of the arrangement, it therefore decided that material incentives must play a prominent part.

It consequently bought out the whole white population. It offered a price to the white workers and the Afrikaner farmers in exchange for an undertaking that they would shed their blood in defence of capital.

Both worker and farmer, like Faustus, took the devil's offering and, like Faustus, they will have to pay on the appointed day.

The workers took the offering in monthly cash grants and reserved jobs. The farmers took their share by having black labour, including and especially prison labour, directed to the farms. They also took it in the form of huge subsidies and loans to help them maintain a "civilised standard of living".

The indebtedness of these farmers to the profit-making bourgeois in 1966 was equal to \$1¼ billion, amounting to nearly 12 per cent of the gross national product.(16)

In 1947 a commission of the Dutch Reformed Church included in its report the prophetic words: "In the country, one feels dependent on God; in the towns on men, such as one's employer." (17)

In the struggle that marks the growing onslaught of the black producers on the society of the parasites, the white worker will have to pay for that dependence on the employer-industrialist, the white farmer for that dependence on the employer-creditor.

The God of Calvin is a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation of those who hate him: the God of Capital will after all have his pound of flesh!

Engels wrote in 1895 that: "When Bismark found himself compelled to introduce (universal) franchise as the only means of interesting the mass of the people in his plans, our workers immediately took it in earnest and sent August Bebel to the

first constituent Reichstag. And from that day on, they have used the franchise in a way which has paid them a thousandfold and has served as a model to the workers of all countries. The franchise has been... transformed by them from a means of deception, which it was before, into an instrument of emancipation... And so it happened that the bourgeoisie and the government came to be much more afraid of the legal than the illegal action of the workers' party, of the result of elections than those of rebellion."

Engels continues: "Of course, our... comrades do not thereby, in the least renounce their right to revolution. The right to revolution is, after all, the only really 'historical right', the only right on which all modern states without exception rest..." (18)

Yet it came to pass that in large measure the working class of western Europe and North America did in fact for some time anyway renounce its right to revolution.

Some of the mass parties of the workers became parties of Order and Reform. And to the extent that bourgeois Law and Order was the basis on which the proletariat founded its trade unions and secured for itself higher wages, better working conditions and the right to strike, this was an inevitable outcome.

That bourgeois Law and Order also gave the proletariat the right to form its own political party and the right to instal that party in power, all within the legal framework of bourgeois democracy.

In the work from which we have just quoted Engels says: "The irony of world history turns everything upside down. The Parties (of the property owning class) ... are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves. They cry despairingly...legality is the death of us; whereas we, under this legality, get firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like life eternal... (There) is nothing left for them to do but themselves break through this fatal legality." (19)

The condition of the black workers of South Africa, the place in society allocated to us by the capitalist class, demands that we must assert our right to revolution.

Capital in its South African mould

turns things right side up again. We are perishing under the legal conditions created by the bourgeoisie whereas they, under this legality, get firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like life eternal. We have no choice but to break down this fatal legality.

For the burden of our argument has been exactly this that in the totality of the social relations that describe the apartheid system, we have a place only and exclusively in so far as we are "the ragged trousered philanthropists" — the exploited producers. We are otherwise the outsiders, the excluded — on our own continent, in our country!

In this context, take the Bantustan programme. In its objectives stated by the creators of this policy, the black producers will have the right to be complete human beings only in these areas which have been set aside as our so-called homelands.

Otherwise, when we enter so-called white South Africa, we have the following *dramatis personae*: "He who (is the) money-owner...strides in front as capitalist; the possessor of labour power follows as his labourer. The one with an air of importance, smirking, intent on business; the other, timid and holding back, like one who is bringing his own hide to market and has nothing to expect but — a hiding." (20)

The Bantustan policy is therefore not a *deus ex machina*, a contrived and inartistic solution of a difficulty in the drama of South African life. Rather, it is but the legal codification, the pure representation in juridical form, of the centuries-old socio-economic reality of the alienation of the black producer from the society which he daily produces and reproduces.

At the level of abstraction, there are two alternatives out of this condition available to the black workers.

One of these is to cut the umbilical cord that ties us to bourgeois South Africa, for us to cease to be producers on somebody else's account. What would then happen?

We could then join the *demi-monde* of the thieves and murderers, the pimps and prostitutes and, by becoming true and complete outcasts, recast ourselves in the parasitic model of our bourgeois progenitor, outside the bounds of bourgeois legality.

Such an alternative is obviously absurd.

The racist regime is on the other hand pushing us into the Bantustans. This constitutes a death sentence for thousands of our people. For South Africa's land policy, of which the Bantustans are the historical outcome, is founded precisely on the land dispossession of the African people which ensures that hunger compels us to bring our own hides to market.

The second, and in fact, the only historically justifiable and inevitable alternative is that we cling very firmly to our position as producers, that we hoist the bourgeoisie with its own petard.

The irony of the South African situation is that exactly because capital permits us to enter the city, to pass through the sacred portals of a white church, and set foot in the even more sacred sanctuary of madame's bedroom, but only as workers, capital thereby indicates to us daily that it is in fact our labour that makes the city to live, that gives voice to the *predikant*, the preacher and provides the necessary conditions for procreation.

Since then we are, in a very real sense, the creators of society, what remains for us is to insist and ensure that that society is made in our image and that we have dominion over it.

In as much as the producer and the parasite who feeds on the producer represent antithetical forces, the one working, the other idle; the one wanting to escape the obligation of the nurse-maid and the other striving to ensure that he is for ever the fed, in as much therefore must a South Africa over which we have dominion be the antithesis of a present-day South Africa.

The Freedom Charter

That free South Africa must therefore redefine the black producer or rather, since we the people shall govern, since we shall have through our own struggle, placed ourselves in the position of makers of history and policy and no longer objects, we shall redefine our own position as follows:

- a) we are the producers of wealth;
- b) we produce this wealth for our own benefit to be appropriated by us the

- producers;
- c) the aim of this production shall be the satisfaction, at an increasing level, of the material and spiritual needs of the people;
 - d) we shall so order the rest of society and social activity, in education and culture in the legal sphere, on military questions, in our international relations, et cetera, to conform to these goals.

In my view, this redefinition contains within it the theoretical basis of the Freedom Charter, the political programme of the African National Congress adopted in 1956.

It should be of some interest to point out that this programme was written exclusively on the basis of demands submitted by thousands upon thousands of ordinary workers, peasants, businessmen, intellectuals and other professional people, the youth and women of all nationalities of South Africa.

It is a measure of their maturity that these masses should have so clearly understood the fundamental direction of their aspirations. It is a demonstration in practice of how much the bourgeoisie, by refusing to temper its greed, did ultimately teach us to identify our true interests without any equivocation.

Whenever we stand up and say "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people...", (21), we always meet with three different reactions.

There are those, naturally who agree with us. There are those who howl in derision: these are the white supremacists who are confident of the everlasting power of the repressive force of apartheid South Africa.

But perhaps more important, there are those, themselves the offspring of the black producers of our country together with their sympathisers, who, in anger, throw at us the epithet, traitor!

Yet this is what a free South Africa will be like. For as the masses themselves long discovered, the antithesis to white supremacy, exclusiveness and arrogance is not a black version of the same practice.

In the physical world, black might indeed be the opposite of white. But in the world of social systems, social theory and practice have as much to do with skin pigmentation as has the birth of children with the stork. To connect the two is to invent a fable with the conscious or unconscious purpose of hiding reality.

The act of negating the theory and practice of white apartheid racism, the revolutionary position, is exactly to take the issue of colour, race, national and sex differentiation out of the sphere of rational human thinking and behaviour, and thereby expose all colour, race, nation and sex prejudice as irrational.

Our own rational practical social activity, rational in the sense of being anti-racist and non-racist, constitutes such a negation; it constitutes the social impetus and guarantee of the withering away of this irrationality.

Consider the circumstances in which we might position "black capitalism" as the antithesis to "white capitalism". Fortunately, Fanon has already warned us that one of the results of imperialist domination is that in the colonial middle class "the dynamic pioneer aspect, the characteristics of the inventor and the discoverer of new worlds which are found in all national bourgeoisies are lamentably absent."

"In its beginnings, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial countries identifies itself with the decadence of the bourgeoisie of the west. We need not think that it is jumping ahead; it is in fact beginning at the end. It is already senile before it has come to know the petulance, the fearlessness, or the will to succeed of youth." (22)

Thus black capitalism instead of being the antithesis is rather confirmation of parasitism with no redeeming features whatsoever, without any extenuating circumstances to excuse its existence. If you want to see a living example, go to the Transkei.

Even more, by thus expelling racism to the realm of the irrational by our own practice we would help to deny those who want to exploit and oppress others, including our very selves, the possibility of finding justification for their actions in such

prejudices.

We particularly, who are the products of exemplary capitalist exploitation, must remember that when German capital found opportunity, especially during the 2nd World War, to revert to primitive forms of accumulation, under the stimulation of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious, it used exactly these prejudices literally to enslave and slaughter millions of people.

We must remember that the exploitation of the so-called *gastarbeiter* in Western Europe today is founded, in part, on contempt for their nationality: that in the United States and Northern Ireland the black and Irish worker respectively are oppressed and exploited on the basis of colour and national prejudice.

The charge of traitor might stick if we were to advance a programme of equality between black and white while there remained between these two communities the relations of exploiter and exploited.

But we have already said that our victory presupposes the abolition of parasitism and the re-integration of the idle rich as productive members of society as well as our writing off the debt of the white worker and farmer so that they can start again afresh, as equals with other producers, in law and in every other respect, without the heavy weight of blood money in their pockets and on their consciences.

The Freedom Charter itself says that "the national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people." It also goes on to say "all the land (shall be) redivided among those who work it to banish famine and hunger." (23)

We believe sincerely that it is only in conditions of such an equality as is underpinned by these provisions that we shall each be able to discover and unfold our true individuality, reacquire the right to be human, and thereby create the conditions for the creative realisation of the considerable talent of our people, both black and white, which today is so firmly stifled by the suffocating purposes of a small exploiting and oppressive minority.

To transcend the status of mere producer to that of human being, capital has taught us

by negative example that we must guarantee ourselves the right to work and to social security, good housing and health services, education, culture, pride and joy in the multiplicity of languages and progressive national traditions among ourselves and among the people of Africa and the world.

We must therefore preface our own system of accounting with the provision that our rational calculations must serve to enlarge human life and not to negate it.

We have therefore to strive to banish war and the use or threat of force in the settlement of international disputes. We must work to abolish the use of war against individuals and communities as an instrument of policy, and therefore uphold and fight for the right of all peoples to true self-determination, for friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation among the peoples of the world.

We are convinced that in this way we would restore our country to its rightful position in the world as a steadfast friend and ally of all who struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, and not the repugnant predator that she is today.

In 1953, one of our outstanding leaders, Nelson Mandela wrote: "To talk of democratic and constitutional means (to achieve liberation) can only have a basis in reality for those who enjoy democratic and constitutional rights...We cannot win one single victory...without overcoming a desperate resistance on the part of the Government...(Therefore) no organisation whose interests are identical with those of the toiling masses will advocate conciliation to win its demands." (24)

This is a call to revolution. This revolution is necessary, as Marx and Engels once said: "not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew." (25)

We have tried to convey to you our own view, as scientifically as possible, of our past, our present and our national democratic future and the organic connection between these.

Let us leave you with a few more words from Nelson Mandela: "In South Africa, 21

where the entire population is almost split into two hostile camps...and where recent political events have made the struggle between oppressor and oppressed even more acute, there can be no middle course. The fault of the Liberals...is to attempt to strike just such a course. They believe in criticising and condemning the Government for its reactionary policies but they are afraid to identify themselves

with the people and to assume the task of mobilising that social force capable of lifting the struggle to higher levels...The real question is: in the general struggle for political rights can the oppressed people count on the Liberal Party as an ally."(26)

That question posed 25 years ago has reached a broader audience today, including this audience; can the oppressed people count on you as allies?

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4. Karl Marx: *op. cit.* pp752-3.
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14. See: Francis Wilson: *Labour in the South African Gold Mines*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1972 and Hans Kramer: *in Asia, Africa, Latin America*, Special Issue 1. 1976, Berlin.
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16. *ibid.* p.167.
17. *ibid.* p.203.
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19. *ibid.* p.270.
20. Karl Marx: *op. cit.* p.176.
21. African National Congress: *Forward to Freedom*, Morogoro, 1969.
22. Frantz Fanon: *The Wretched of the Earth*, Grove Press Inc., New York, 1968. p.153.
23. African National Congress: *op. cit.*
24. Nelson Mandela: *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, Basic Books Inc., New York, 1965. p.34.
25. Marx and Engels: *The German Ideology*, International Publishers, New York, 1970. p.95.
26. Nelson Mandela: *op. cit.* p.33-34.

"MANY OF OUR TROOPS SAID AFTERWARDS THAT IT WAS HELL TO HAVE TO SHOOT AT WOMEN."

- DEFENCE FORCE SPOKESMAN, SUNDAY TIMES, MAY 7.

SEXWALE & TSIKI:

THE ANC IS RIGHT

During the Pretoria 12 trial, our cadres turned the court into a political platform, accusing the racist regime of crimes against our people and defending the ANC and its policy. The following statements were made by Mosima Sexwale and Naledi Tsiki, who were sentenced in March 1978 to 18 and 14 years respectively. These reflect the mood and calibre of the youth who have recently joined the ANC, and we hope they will inspire our supporters to intensify the campaign to free South African political prisoners.

SEXWALE

It is more than a year since I was first brought to Court to stand trial on the charges which have been brought against me. I have until now said nothing for I was not prepared to deny that I was a member of the ANC nor was I prepared to answer questions in Court about the ANC or about comrades who have not been arrested. What I admitted during the trial was in fact the truth and what I denied was in fact false. I have not tried to escape responsibility for anything that I did; but now that I have been convicted — and I knew from the beginning that I would be convicted — I want to explain my actions so that you, who must sentence me, should understand why I chose to join the struggle for the freedom of my people.

It is necessary that I should begin by explaining to you my background and the circumstances in which I grew up for that more than anything else accounts for my presence in Court today. I was born in Soweto on 5th March, 1953, the third child in a family of six children. During most of my childhood, the sole breadwinner in our family was my father. He had fought for his country and for his ideals, during World War 11, and when the peace returned

he was employed as a clerk in the "Non-European" Section of the Johannesburg General Hospital. He has continued in this position up to this day.

My mother was willing and able to work and indeed needed to work in order to supplement my father's meagre income. However she had been born in Pietersburg and had come to live in the "prescribed area" of Johannesburg only after she had married my father. As a result, she was not able to obtain the required permission from the authorities to work in Johannesburg, and for about 15 years she was unable to take up employment.

At about the time when I joined my two elder brothers at High School, my uncle passed away and my father had to take over his family responsibility. This meant another six children in the family, and a doubling of the family's financial problems. At about this time, my mother finally received permission to work in Johannesburg, and this relieved the desperate situation to some extent.

I do not intend to suggest by what I have said that I had a childhood which was deprived in relation to those with whom I grew up. On the contrary, I found that my childhood friends were in much the same sort of situation as I was. We all lived in poverty and we were all subjected to the humiliations which the Whites imposed upon the Blacks. We lived in the same typical "matchbox" houses; we were continually aware that there was not enough money available to meet our needs for food, clothing and education; and when we went into town and saw the luxury in which white people lived, this made an indelible impression on our young minds. In fact, there was one respect in which, in comparison with my friends, I was privileged: my parents laid great store by education and made considerable sacrifices so that their children could receive a proper school-

ing. They did this despite the financial problems involved — and there were real financial problems because wages were low and schooling for black children was not free, and school uniforms and books added a further financial burden.

My school years were important and I would like to talk about them. After the years of elementary schooling, I started my primary school education at a Catholic school in Phomolong. The school was the direct responsibility of the Roman Catholic Mission, and had its own syllabus and curriculum which was different from that of the unpopular Bantu Education Department. The education was of the best, and here I studied from Standard 1 to the end of primary education in Standard 6.

Looking back, I now see that it was during my primary school years that the bare facts concerning the realities of South African society and its discrepancies began to unfold before me. I remember clearly having to go to school without breakfast because my family could not afford it. The meal of the day was in the evening, and that meal was usually all I had to eat until the next evening. I remember, too, a period in the early 1960's when there was a great deal of political tension, and we often used to encounter armed police in Soweto. We saw slogans painted on walls — I remember particularly vividly a slogan reading "Release Nelson Mandela and Others" painted on the walls of a building I passed each day on my way to school. I remember the humiliation to which my parents were subjected by Whites in shops and in other places where we encountered them and I remember the poverty.

All these things had their influence on my young mind, and by the time I went to Orlando West High School I was already beginning to question the injustice of the society in which we lived, and to ask why nothing was being done to change it. In this too, I was not unusual. Throughout the universities and high schools of South Africa, the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and its subsequent high school equivalent, the South African Students' Movement (SASM), were very active in conducting meetings to preach the philosophy of black consciousness.

The preaching fell on fertile ground: very many of us felt the need for Blacks to have a sense of pride in themselves, to abandon old feelings of inferiority, and to stand together. This is really what SASO and SASM stood for, and I became an active participant in preaching this philosophy and selling the publications which promoted it.

Like other members, I attended discussions, participated in meetings and cultural activities, read books with others, and investigated, examined and discussed the situation in South Africa. We passed resolutions, issued statements, and took decisions about peaceful action for improving the position of the Black man in South Africa.

I rapidly appreciated, however, that this activity was all very well, but these were only student organisations. Our efforts were small and ineffective and had no influence on government policy. I realised that it was only political organisations which could hope to play a part in changing the situation. But these had been banned and silenced. Existing organisations were tolerated either because they operated within the restrictive limits of the unacceptable "Bantustan policy", or because they had little popular support. It was clear to me that as an organisation like the Black People's Convention grew, so it would be increasingly harassed, until it would be finally closed down by the government as indeed happened.



The oldest and largest political organisation was the African National Congress. There were many former members living in the townships and the ANC was a common topic of discussion. I talked to former members, read whatever literature I could lay my hands on, and generally informed myself about its ideals and activities. The ideals appealed to me as authentic, rational and highly democratic.

I learnt, too, of the history of the ANC and its associated organisations. I learnt of its formation in 1912 as an organisation working for a peaceful solution to the problems of the African people via parliamentary channels. I learnt how these channels had been progressively closed, with the result that the ANC turned to other peaceful methods such as strikes, boycotts and stayaways, all linked with proposals and invitations that the government meet ANC leaders to discuss the problems and demands of the black people. I learnt that these proposals for talks had been summarily rejected out of hand; that the ANC escalated its efforts; and that the government replied to these further peaceful efforts with violence and by banning the Organisation. I learnt that this, in turn, led to the end of the ANC's non-violent policy and to the decision in 1961 to turn to the use of force. I sympathised with this decision: I felt that the black people could not simply sit back and fold their hands — and that one could not meet the government's machine guns with empty hands. It seemed to me that the ANC had been forced into a situation where it had no alternative.

And so, when I left high school to go to the Swaziland campus of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, I was already a passive but firm supporter of the African National Congress. I believed that the methods it had chosen could not be questioned, because there was no alternative: the non-violent struggle seemed to me a relic of the past, a myth which was suicidal in the 1960's and 1970's. And I supported the policy as set out in the Freedom Charter: a democratic South Africa, belonging to all its people, black and white — a society in which all, and not just the select few, participated in deciding how the

country was to be run.

While I was a student in Swaziland, I met exiled members of the ANC and my views were confirmed. I observed the ever increasing unemployment amongst the Blacks in South Africa; the poverty and degradation in which they lived and the refusal of the Whites who ruled us, to allow Blacks a fair share in the wealth of the country. I saw how immigrants were welcomed and given jobs from which we as Blacks were excluded and I saw and witnessed the suffering of my people. And so it was that I decided to join the ANC, and offer it my services.

I did this not for the hope of personal gain or glory, or in a casual manner without thinking about the consequences. I was, and am, essentially a peaceful person — but I felt myself driven to this position, feeling that to counter the violence meted against us, we were forced to defend ourselves: there was no option.

Your lordship has heard much of the history of what followed my decision, and I do not intend to elaborate on that. However I do wish to correct certain false impressions which may have been created by some witnesses.

It is true that I was trained in the use of weapons and explosives. The basis of my training was in sabotage, which was to be aimed at institutions and not people. I did not wish to add unnecessarily to the grievous loss of human life that had already been incurred. In addition, it was necessary for us to be trained in order that we could defend ourselves if attacked. And finally, we wished to build up a core of trained men who would be able to lead others should guerrilla warfare commence.

It has been suggested that our aim was to annihilate the white people of this country. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is, I believe, precisely this sort of racial thinking that has led our country into its present disastrous position of racial disharmony and hatred. It is precisely this kind of racial thinking that I wished to fight. The ANC — in association with the alliance it has formed with people from all walks of life and representing all sections of the population — is a national liberation movement committed to the liberation

of all the people of South Africa, black and white, from racial fear, hatred and oppression. The Freedom Charter, which after more than 20 years is still the fundamental policy document of the ANC, puts forward the ideal of a democratic South Africa, for all its people. We believe, and I believe, that the black people cannot be passive onlookers in their own country. We want to be active participants in shaping the face and course of direction in South Africa.

My lord, these are the reasons why I find myself in the dock today. When I joined the ANC I realised that the struggle for freedom would be difficult and would involve sacrifices. I was and am willing to make those sacrifices. I am married and have one child, and would like nothing more than to have more children, and to live with my wife and children with all the people in this country. One day that may be possible, if not for me, then at least for my brothers.

I appreciate the seriousness of my actions and accept whatever sentence may be imposed on me. That is the sacrifice which I must make and am willing to make for my ideals. There is no doubt in my mind, that these ideals will triumph.

TSIKI

I also want to explain why I am in the position in which I find myself today. I am 22 years old, having been born in Johannesburg on the 11th December 1955.

I lived with my parents until I was about six years old when I left for Lesotho, where I lived with my grandparents. My grandparents were basically peasants. They relied mainly on the food they produced from the fields. My father would also send us money when he was able to do so. Poverty was a permanent part of my childhood. I would spend my school holidays with my parents in Soweto.

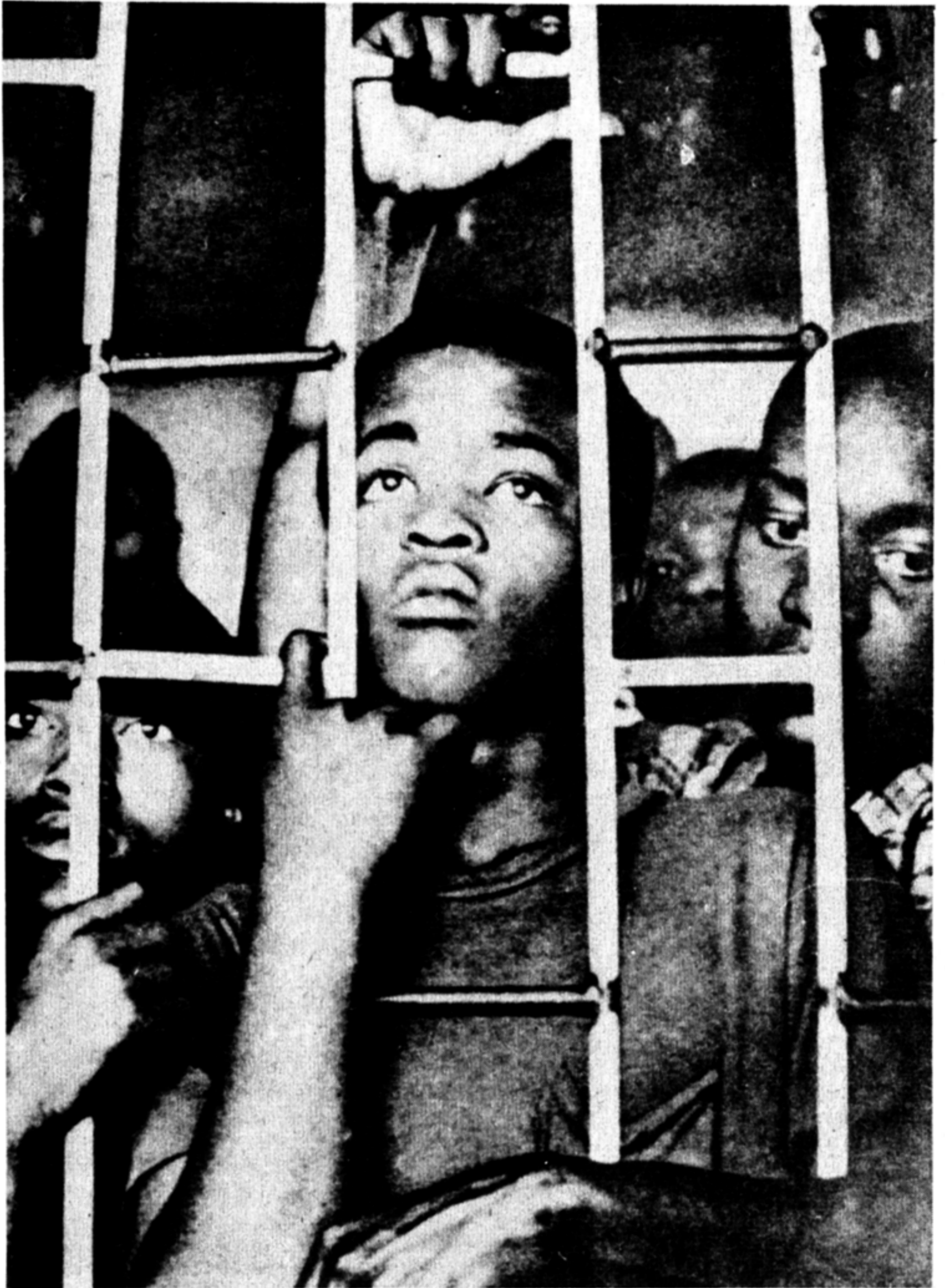
From 1971 to 1973 I did my junior secondary schooling at St Agnes High

School in Lesotho. I had previously just known that my life as a black person in South Africa was far from comfortable, but it was during this period that my political outlook really developed. I had contact with various groups of people, some of whom were white. They did not have the same attitude towards me as the white people I came across in South Africa.

It was during that stage that I read more about the struggle our people had waged against oppression in South Africa. I read about the activities of the ANC from its formation in 1912 up to the time it was banned in 1961. I read and heard about the activities of one of the outstanding leaders of the ANC, Chief Albert Luthuli. I also read the book he had written, "Let my People Go".

Without enumerating all the material which I had read, I simply want to tell the Court that from the information I got: the African National Congress for years fought for the freedom for the black people, without the use of any type of violence. Deputations, delegations, and peaceful demonstrations were the order of the day. That is to say, my lord, our people used "passive resistance" to release themselves from the yoke of oppression. But most unfortunately my lord, this meekness was met in most cases with overwhelming shows of strength and violence by the powers that be. Despite these factors, our people led by the ANC kept on waging a non-violent struggle. Indeed, the ANC spent most of its lifetime engaged in the strategy of non-violence, until it was forcibly sent underground by those who have the power to do so.

It was with this history in mind that in 1974 I went to attend school at Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto. The school like other schools for blacks in South Africa, had very poor facilities. The dilapidated building hardly had any doors or window panes, not to speak of the inadequate classrooms. In a school as big as that, there were absolutely no laboratories for science students, of whom I was one, and neither was there what could be called a library in the true sense of the word. That made it very difficult for most students to study and pass their exams, coupled



Young fighters against Apartheid

with the fact that we had to buy our own textbooks which most could hardly afford.

My lord, one needs only to travel to the nearest white school from Soweto to see the adequate studying facilities, not to mention the almost luxurious recreational facilities which are but a mere dream to a black student.

As a young man, I would have liked to advance myself so that I could secure myself a desirable future. But the question I had to ask myself was what were the prospects? This is the question that brings about frustration bordering on desperation to a great majority of young Blacks. That was so in my case because I knew that I could not be what I really wanted to be if in the opinion of the powers that be, such an occupation was unfit for Blacks. That is to say if I wanted to be a pilot, having the necessary intelligence and ability, I still needed a further feature before I could qualify. That is, my lord, that in order to be a pilot I would have to be a white man. I could not be a manager of a firm which employed Whites, and neither could I be in charge of a hospital regardless of my qualifications. Like Sgt Khoza, who told the Court that he had to take instructions from Const Brits, my colour imposed a ceiling on my progress. And, my lord, without wishing to be offensive to the Court, I should frankly say that I know of no black judge in South Africa. I could not hold any of these positions, for the sole reason of the colour of my skin.

To put it in a nutshell, there were hardly any meaningful opportunities for a young black man in this country, although the chances are there or could be created.

My lord, I should also let the Court know that economic and social condition of the Blacks in this country are such that no normal person or right thinking person could tolerate them. In Soweto where I lived, I have seen suffering caused by hunger and starvation. I have seen children die because of malnutrition. I have seen my people slaughter one another so as to get bread in order to survive. In my own family I have seen my brothers and uncles going endlessly to town in a fruitless search for work. I have seen my own father struggle to bring us up. In as far as housing is con-

cerned, one need only look at Alexandra Township, crime ridden, foul smelling with the long forgotten walks being used for sanitary purposes. It hardly compares with the posh white suburb, Kew, just 300 metres away. These things have not passed unabsorbed in my mind.

My lord, it is a well known fact that South Africa is a very wealthy country. I came to realise that the Blacks were to produce the wealth of this country, not for their own benefit, but primarily for the benefit of the white people. The vast plantations of fruit in this country are planted and tended by the black people and yet it is the white people who enjoy it while Blacks cannot afford to buy it. The gold that has made this country is mined by us, and yet it is the white people who pocket the cash. The towering buildings that make the beautiful cities have been built by our hands, yet we may not live in them. We Blacks have been reduced to hewers of wood and drawers of water. All the luxuries are destined for the Whites. This situation has directly affected me as a black man.

Eventually, my lord, I came to believe that the hardships we suffered were caused by the system of apartheid. I found it to be a system which ensures the security of the white people by oppressing the black people. A system which makes an inferior being and a servant of one man, and a master of another man, simply because one is black and the other is white. A system which makes it punishable by law for two people of different skin pigments to be lovers, lest the inferior defiles the superior.

I found it vital as a young black man to relieve my people of apartheid.

The question that became prime in my mind was how to bring about change such as would ensure the social, economic and political security of both Blacks and Whites in this country. That is, how could genuine democracy be achieved in South Africa.

During my school days I knew that there were organisations like SASO, SASM, BPC, and others. I knew that they were doing what the ANC had done before it was banned. They would one day suffer the same fate of banning, which indeed did happen. It also became clear to me that whoever stood and publicly opposed



the government policies from a position not created by the government itself, would be detained, banned jailed, or forced into exile. This was certainly not going to change the situation in this country.

It was after a great deal of personal

experience, observation, reading, and thought that it seemed to me that one could not work for meaningful change in this country through legal non-violent means.

At this stage I knew what I wanted. 29

I had read the wording of the Freedom Charter of the ANC. I found that the sentiments expressed therein were in complete harmony with my own feelings. The type of violence the ANC had decided to embark on seemed to me the only way out of the political impasse.

I subsequently joined the ANC in December 1975 when I left the country. I should also mention that at the time I left, there was a great need for a sense of discipline and responsibility so as to control the bursting anger of the black youth and to avoid terrorism in the true sense of the word.

I was therefore trained to be in a position to defend the unarmed should the need arise, and to train others to be in a position to defend themselves. I was taught methods of sabotage against installations, and I was trained to be competent in waging warfare should the need to fight arise. One thing was paramount in what I was taught: that the lives of innocent civilians, of whatever colour, should not be placed in jeopardy.

At this stage my lord, I would like to explain the incident which occurred at Dikgale. The incident was firstly intended to show specifically the police and the army how far we could penetrate if we were forced to do so and what our capabilities were. The Court has already heard of how the railway was damaged and how trains passed over the damage. To a person who lacks the technical know-how this may seem to have been the result of a miscalculation, but this is not so. In the two instances in which explosives occurred, the charges were placed in such a way that no substantial damage should result. What determines the effectiveness of the charge is not just the quantity and quality of the charge itself, but also the manner in which the charge is placed in relation to the target. I should tell the Court that 400 gms of TNT explosive charge are enough to cut the rail and cause derailment if the charge is placed on the rail itself, i.e. on the side of the rail. But if the same charge is placed directly under the rail it would hardly have any effect on the rail itself, but would just dig a crater. In this case the charge used was stronger than ordinary TNT, but it was not only placed under the rail but was in

fact dug into the ground, hardly touching the rail itself. In the other instance, the sleeper was damaged, but as your Lordship has heard, this created no problems for passing trains.

The other charge did not explode because the contact switch was deliberately insulated. In addition, it was deliberately not placed on the rail. It did not fall off the rail by chance and was not knocked off the rail by chance as the Colonel speculated might have been the case.

Despite what has been done to my people at Sharpeville, Soweto and several other places, my reaction has not been that of emotionalism. It would be unacceptable to me to go out and shoot children and their unsuspecting parents simply because they are white. That would be sheer terrorism, to which both I and the organisations to which I belong are opposed.

The question of armed struggle seemed to me to be unavoidable and the only way out as far as I was concerned. This was so because of the uncompromising attitude of the people who governed us.

In conclusion, my lord, I should like to emphasise that I would have loved to live with my people and my family. I now leave my young wife, my ailing mother, my struggling father and my beloved brothers and sisters. This is not because I so chose, but because I had a duty towards my people.

Last, but not least, I wish to make clear to the Court that what I did, I did with my eyes open. By so doing, I was merely trying to make my contribution towards a free and democratic South Africa, free of racism, humiliation and exploitation, a South Africa belonging to all who live in it, regardless of race, colour or creed. To this ideal I have given myself and whatever the consequences I accept them.

YANKEE IMPERIALISM

"South Africa and US Multinational Corporations"; Ann and Neva Seidman. Lawrence Hill and Co., US, 1978.

Although the authors are aware and informed about the overt and covert manoeuvres of the US Government in the events in Southern Africa, their principal aim and success has been to explore the underlying and contradictory reality of the Southern African political economy and its growing ties with US-based multinational corporations. "These constitute the foundation of the 'tangible US interests' which the US Government has seemed so reluctant to abandon in shaping its politics for dealing with the emergent liberation movements of Southern Africa."

The study explains, with a "model of underdevelopment", as its basis, the way development in South Africa has fostered and shaped underdevelopment throughout Southern Africa. At the same time they explore the relationships between South Africa and the more developed nations of the west. South Africa's advanced industrial sector, is closely linked and directly meshed into the western commercial system. The foundation of South Africa's development has been and continues to be the valuable mineral resources combined with the vast reservoir of low-cost labour provided by the systematic underdevelopment and impoverishment of the African populations, not only within its borders but also throughout the entire region — South Africa's agricultural and mineral wealth was a necessary but not sufficient condition for South Africa's industrial growth. The additional essential ingredient was the reservoir of low cost African labour. The African workers built the farms, the mines, the factories. The white settlers and foreign based multinational firms, through which the regional economy was meshed into the world capitalist system, creamed off the surpluses.

The book's aim is to "explain three phenomena which are critical to understanding what is happening in Southern Africa today and the implications of US involvement there."

The first part seeks to examine the underlying characteristics of South Africa's political economy. These arise from and reflect the way the white ruling class has over time alienated the masses of the African population from the land and forced them to provide the necessary labour force, first for the farms and the mines, and, more recently, for the manufacturing sectors. From the outset, the racist ideology of white supremacy, backed by repression and military force, was employed to justify the systematic imposition of this process of the 'development of underdevelopment'.

The distorted form of South African 'development' has, on the one hand, led to the emergence of an increasing struggle by Africans for liberation. The government has met African resistance by creating the myth of 'independent' Bantustans. At the same time, it has introduced still more repressive measures and built up its military strength.

On the other hand, South Africa's industrial growth has increasingly become characterised by an inherent paradox. This underlying paradox of manufacturing growth in the midst of mass poverty has created an internal pressure, a source of internal instability, inexorably forcing the South African regime to seek to expand beyond its national borders.

Part 2 of the book is concerned with analysing the historical roots and characteristics of this fundamental paradox.

The third part of the book examines the phenomenon of rapidly growing US-based multinational corporate investment in South Africa, especially in the last decade. This rapid increase is shown as a reflection of the changing relationships among the major western powers which dominate the

world commercial system into which South Africa's 'developed economy' is intertwined. US-based multinational corporations and financial interests found it increasingly possible to enter new spheres of interest in Africa, from which they had previously been excluded by colonial policies. They found white-ruled South Africa a very attractive base for their expanded activities on the continent. US-based firms and financial interests, seeking new sources of mineral raw materials and areas of profitable investments, as well as markets for their expanded output of manufactured goods, began to multiply their investments and financial linkages there. This is well illustrated, US-based firms have entered joint ventures with British concerns in South Africa — in other cases, they have made their own arrangements directly with the South African government and private mining and manufacturing interests.

It is rightly pointed out by the authors that for the South African regime, US-based multinational corporate involvement provides more than valuable capital and technological know-how. It also adds to the material base for expanding official US support for South African policies in the African and world political arena.

Part 3 exposes the extent of this material base, the economic 'interests' which apparently lie behind what appears to be growing US Government support of the apartheid regime.

The book discusses in detail the effects of South African development on the neighbouring countries. It shows how this development has warped their economies into a relationship of external dependency on the South African state capitalist structure and through it into the western commercial system dominated by multinational corporate interests. The drain of profits, interests, and high salaries to South African and multinational firms has been a major feature in the persistent pattern of underdevelopment characteristic of the region. Further, the sale of manufactured South African goods in the neighbouring countries has hindered the construction of domestic industries which might have increased productive employment opportunities for the populations there.



There is a chapter on the development of the Zambian economy since independence.

The fourth part of the book attempts to outline the implications of the contradictory tendencies that have continued to perpetuate the underdevelopment of the political economies throughout the Southern African region.

One of the many merits of this book is the host of details, tables etc which are used to explore and back up every statement.

The authors have provided excellent factual background needed to understand the mounting crisis in Southern Africa and have shown why the US has failed to take decisive steps against the system of Apartheid. The book, as the authors state is not "to imply that all is hopeless, that the super power of the multinationals assures permanent hegemony of white rule in Southern Africa. On the contrary... it is to facilitate formulation of effective strategies to defeat it."

T.S.

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HOUARI BOUMEDIENNE



The African National Congress of South Africa mourns the death of a great man and friend of the oppressed black masses of our country: Colonel Houari Boumedienne. He was not only a great African-statesman but a leading figure in the politics of the non-aligned movement, ranking in stature with Tito, Nehru and Castro. The 1973 Non-Aligned Conference which was held in Algiers testifies to this.

The oppressed people of our country join the world progressive forces in saying: Hambe Kahle Boumedienne!