

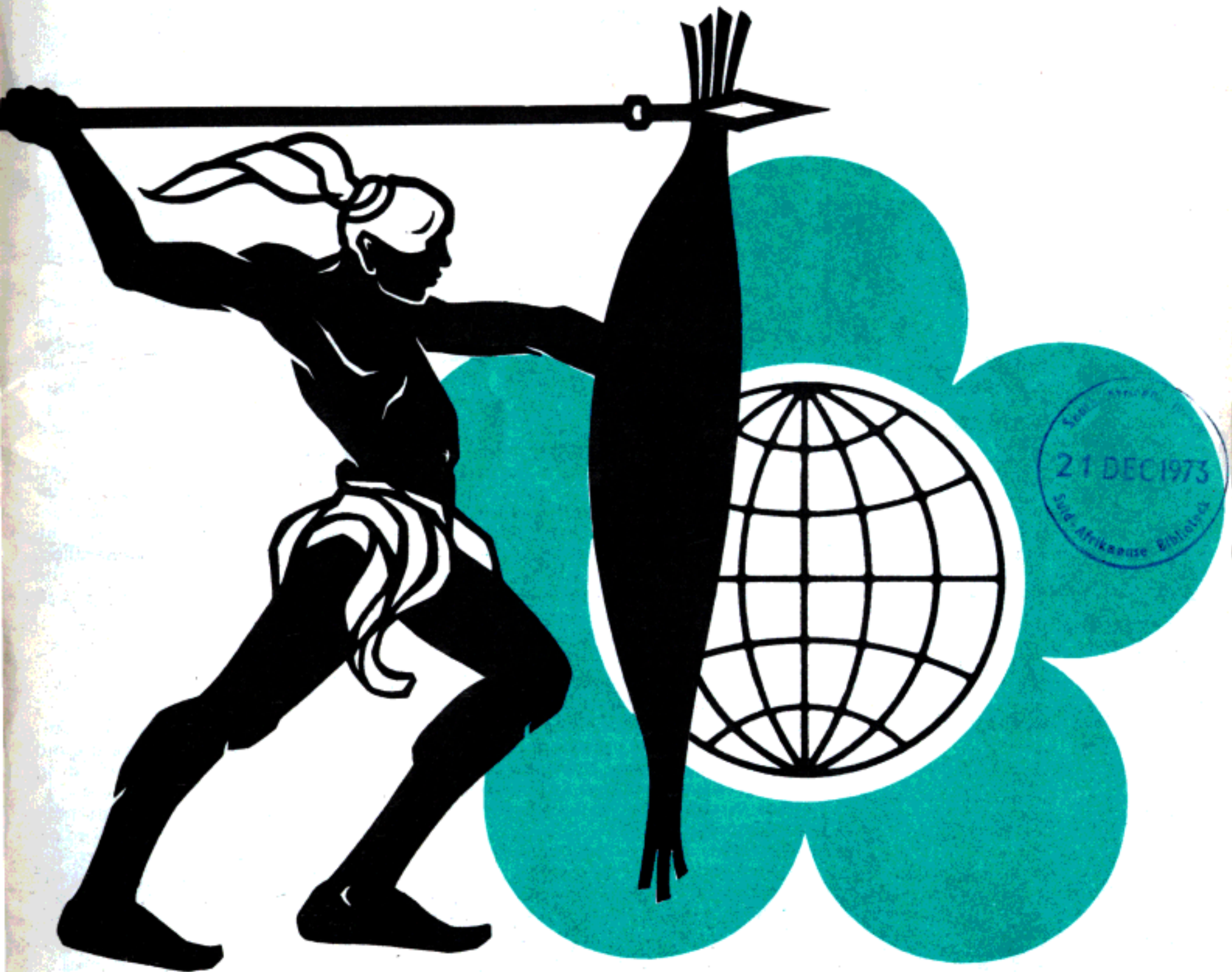
SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

VOL 7

NO 7

JULY 1973



The African National Congress greets the youth and students of the world on the occasion of the 1st. Pan-African Youth Festival, in Tunis, Republic of Tunisia and the 10th. World Festival of Youth and Students in Berlin, GDR, both of which are being held this month.

**Forward with the Pan-African Youth Movement for:
INDEPENDENCE, UNITY AND SOLIDARITY!**

**Forward with the World Festival of Youth for:
ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY, PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!**

49 Rathbone Street
LONDON W1A-4NL
Telegrams & Cables:
SECHABA LONDON W 1
Telephone: 580-53 03

CONTENTS

	Page
THE TUNIS AND BERLIN FESTIVALS	2
INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA: Leaders Banned	4
INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA Leader Murdered?	6
INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA Strikes Continue	8
STUDENTS AND THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE	10
TWO DECADES OF BANTU EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA By W. S. Sigxashe	13
1. SEARCHLIGHT STRIKE! Victory Will Be Ours!	18
2. YOUTH CHALLENGE	20
MORALE AND MEDICINE	22
WE SHALL WIN	23
EVERYONE CAN FIGHT APARTHEID	24

SECHABA

Annual Subscription Rates
£ 1.50/Europe, Africa and Asia.
6 dollars U.S.A. and Canada
Includes postage

Air Mail Copies
£ 2/0/0 Africa and Asia
12 dollars U.S.A. and Canada
Includes postage
33¹/₃% commission for 12 copies
or more

Youth of Africa and the World meet at ...

THE TUNIS AND BERLIN FESTIVALS

During this month two major international functions concerning the youth and students of the world will be taking place.

From 15 to 22 July, the Pan-African Youth Movement will be organising its first Pan-African Youth Festival in Tunis, in the Republic of Tunisia, while the 10th World Festival of Youth and Students will be held in Berlin, German Democratic Republic from July 28 to August 5.

The Tunis Festival

The theme for the Tunis Festival will be: INDEPENDENCE, UNITY AND SOLIDARITY and its objectives are to:

- tighten and develop existing links in every field between young Africans;
- work with a view to mobilising African youth to gain the Continent's independence;
- work to consolidate African Unity and concretize the objectives set in Statutes and Charter of the OAU;
- show the huge artistic and cultural wealth of Africa and point out all their purely African and deeply human qualities in order to enrich positively world civilisation;
- express Africa's solidarity with all those fighting against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and zionism and to demand the end of war and aggression throughout the world;
- inject a new life into the Pan-African Youth Movement, spearhead of the African revolution.

The Berlin Festival

In keeping with previous festivals, the 10th. World Festival of Youth and Students will be closely connected with the political events of the present period. Its slogan will be: FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY, PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

According to Guenther Jahn, First Secretary of the Free German Youth Organisation and Vice-President of the National Festival Committee, the Festival, will respond "to the will and demands of millions of young people from all continents for peace in Indochina . . . (we shall) give the necessary attention and active support to the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression, to the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the anti-imperialist struggle of youth and students in the capitalist countries . . . We shall take sides with those fighting for the safeguarding of peace, for friendship, co-operation and national independence of the people, for the basic rights of the young generation, against exploitation, oppression and war, against racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

Events

It is expected that over 4000 will participate in the Tunis Festival and around 10,000 will take part in the Festival in Berlin.

Among the events organised at both festivals great stress is being placed on political discussions and seminars. Art and culture also feature prominently on both programmes and so does sport.

The ANC Youth and Students

The National Executive of the ANC Youth and Students Section has been busy preparing for both the Tunis and Berlin Festivals. It will be represented by strong delegations at both events and will participate in all the activities that are organised. The Festivals will afford our youth an opportunity to espouse our cause and to learn from the experiences of youth and students from other parts of the world.



The African National Congress and indeed the whole National Liberation Movement in South Africa has always held progressive international youth organisations in high esteem.

Our youth have participated in the activities of the World Federation of Democratic Youth soon after its inception in 1945. In 1953, our delegation to the Third World Youth Festival of Youth and Students held in Berlin was led by Ahmed Kathrada, at present serving a life sentence in South Africa. He subsequently worked on the secretariat of this body. At present our representative on WFDY is G. (Connie) Dlingea and our representative on the Pan-African Youth Movement is Hintsa Tshume.

The main political theme of the ANC Youth and Students who will be participating in these festivals will be around the slogan: **RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOUTH AFRICA!**

This slogan is opportune as many of our leaders – Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki and others arrested at Rivonia – have this year, served ten years of their life imprisonment. In Tunis and Berlin our youth will endeavour to mobilise the widest possible international support for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa.

Vorster says they shall never be free whilst he is still alive. This is a challenge the world youth must take up.

Forward to the 1st. Pan-African Youth Festival!

Forward to the 10th Festival of Youth and Students!

Forward to Independence, Unity and Solidarity!

Forward to Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship!

Amandla NgaWethu! Maatla keArona!
Power to the People!



Youth in their thousands from all continents gathered together at previous festivals organised by WFDY. This year would be no exception



Leaders of the Black South African Students Organisation (SASO), the Black People's Convention (BPC) and the White National Union of South African Students were all banned in terms of the so-called Suppression of Communism Act.

The ban on eight White leaders of NUSAS followed a report by a Parliamentary Commission which included members of the ruling Nationalist Party and the weak-kneed opposition party of Sir De Villiers Graaf - the United Party.

The eight Black leaders were banned by government edict and according to the Minister of Justice they were banned and not brought to court to answer any charges "because court proceedings will give them a platform."

The Bans

NUSAS leaders, banned for a period of five years are restricted to their magisterial areas.

The orders prevent them from attending gatherings, entering educational institutions, teaching. They are further prevented from entering factory premises and may not further their studies or belong to any organisation. The further effect of the orders is that none of them may be quoted in the press.

The restrictions placed on the banned SASO and BPC leaders is even more stringent. Over and above the restric-

tions placed on the NUSAS leaders, SASO and BPC men banned will be confined to their homes daily from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. and on Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays from 2 p.m. to 6 a.m.

They will be allowed no visitors except parents, parents-in-law and a medical practitioner who is not a listed person. They must report to the police every Monday.

The Banned

The SASO men banned are:

STEVE BIKO, ex-medical student at Natal University Medical Faculty and president SRC (Black Section). First SASO president. Married with one child. Spro-cas research officer working on Black community programmes. Restricted to Kingwilliamstown.

JERRY MODISANE, (24), SASO president. Formerly attended Fort Hare College, studying law. Restricted to Kimberley.

STRINI MOODLEY, (26), Director of Publications of SASO. President of the South African Black Theatre Union (SABTU) and director of a Theatre group - Tecon - which is noted for producing Black protest plays. Associate editor of Black Gold Publications. Married. Wife expecting child. Restricted to Durban.

RANWEDZI NENGWEKHULU, (26), Permanent Organiser of SASO. Final year LL.B. Restricted to Sibasa.

NYAMEKO PITZYANA, (26), General Se-

cretary of SASO and ex-president. Married with one child. Restricted to Port Elizabeth.

BPC Leaders Banned Are:

DRAKE KOKA, founder member of the BPC and first General Secretary. Organising Secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union. A lay-preacher. Married with five children. Restricted to Johannesburg.

SATHS COOPER, (22), Public Relations Officer of BPC. Director of the S.A. Black Theatre Union. Associate editor of Black Gold Publications. Organiser of Black Arts Studio. Member of SASO.

BOKWE MAFUNA, Former journalist on the Rand Daily Mail and trade unionist. Organiser with late Mtuli Shezi (see report following) of Black Workers Project. Married with one child. Restricted to Mafeking.

NUSAS leaders banned

PAUL PRETORIUS, NUSAS President
MISS PAULA ENSOR, vice President of NUSAS and Secretary General of NUSWEL (Welfare).

PHILLIPE LE ROUX, Vice President and Secretary General of Aquarius (Cultural). Former editor of the Cape Town student newspaper, Varsity.

NEVILLE CURTIS, past NUSAS president.

MRS. SHEILA LAPINSKY, permanent General Secretary of NUSAS.

BANNED



NYAMEKO PITZYANA

BANNED



RANWEDZI NENGWEKHULU

BANNED



STRINI MOODLEY

DR. RICHARD TURNER, Natal University political science lecturer and NUSAS advisor.

CLIVE KEEGAN, former NUSAS executive member.

CHRIS WOOD, Editor of Cape Town University's student newspaper, *Varsity*.

We Will Struggle On

Leading members of both SASO and NUSAS, whose leadership was shattered by the bannings met within a week and elected new office bearers.

In a statement issued after the meeting, SASO said:

"This was done without calculation of what effects the move would have on the morale and timbre of the Black people. When the frontline is crippled there is always a new front line coming on to fill the gap and continue the struggle.

"Nothing is going to change. Our projects are going on as planned and we are intensifying our efforts."

Stating that the Government has silenced people but has not killed the basic principles of the movement, the statement adds: "This is the irony of this whole action: Instead of being a deterrent it acts as a catalyst spurring people on to new heights."

The NUSAS national council also decided to press ahead with the campaign on the rights of Black workers, and to channel the anger of students at the banning of eight of their leaders into this campaign.

The New Leaders

The hot seat of President of SASO, which was held by the banned Jerry Modisane, has been filled by Henry Isaacs, the Vice-President of SASO, one of the two members of SASO's executive who was not banned. Mr. Isaacs is also president of the Students Representative Council of the Coloured University of Western Cape. At the time of writing he is making an extensive tour of all the Black campuses.

The secretariat of SASO will fall into the hands of Ben Langa, the second member of the executive who was not banned and Miss Soma Reddy who was previously senior assistant at SASO's head office in Durban. Mr. Langa in addition will continue as publications officer and will be editor of all SASO publications.

Jeff D. M. Baqwa will be in charge of SASO's literacy programme.

O. A. Tiro, whose expulsion from the University of the North at Turfloop last year resulted in country-wide Black student strikes is one of the new members of the interim cabinet.

Student leaders from all the Black campuses attended the meeting at which the new cabinet was appointed.

Meanwhile the NUSAS National Council, consisting of various SRC presidents and NUSAS officers who are not banned, decided to establish a management committee to run the affairs of the organisation.



SATHS COOPER

Geoff Budlender, a 23-year-old law student at the University of Cape Town, has been chosen to take on the bulk of the responsibilities carried by the banned president of NUSAS.

Other members of the Management Committee are: Brian Draper, Tim Dunne, Steve Joosta, Mike King, Adam Klein, Rob McCann, Charles Nupen and Roy Ainslie.

* * * * *

BANNED



PAUL PRETORIUS

BANNED



PAULA ENSOR

BANNED



NEVILLE CURTIS

BLACK LEADER'S DEATH

Was He Murdered?

MTULI SHEZI, 25-year-old vice-president of the newly-formed Black People's Convention and past president of the Students' Council at the University of Zululand, died on December 17, last year, five days after being run over by a train at Germiston station.

According to a report received by SECHABA, Mr. Shezi was taken, bleeding from his wounds, first to the police station, questioned and then sent to a hospital, where he underwent emergency operations and treatment for multiple injuries and also for a ruptured bladder and a broken pelvis.

His mother, Mrs. Susan Shezi, in a report published in a Johannesburg newspaper, claimed that her dying son told her he had been pushed off the platform by a White railway official with whom he had had an argument a few weeks earlier.

His mother said her son, in hospital after the incident, told her that earlier in December he saw a White man throwing dirty water on African women who were waiting for their train on the platform.

Whenever Black SA's protest - police swarm on to them brutally



An heated argument ensued and heated words were exchanged. He is reported to have told the official: "Don't do this to people. They have blood and feelings like you."

On December 12, he saw the same man again. The man, Mr. Shezi told his mother, had grabbed him and thrown him in front of a moving train.

Mr. Shezi was buried on Christmas eve. His funeral was attended by over 2000 mourners, including members of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention.

A senior police officer is reported as having said that the matter is being investigated. As in so many such cases we wonder if this is the last we shall hear of this case?

SECHABA appeals to all anti-apartheid groups and to the thousands all over the world who are sympathetic to the struggle of the oppressed Black peoples in our country to agitate in whatever way possible to get the South African government to investigate and report on the circumstance which led to, and the manner in which, Shezi died.

* * * * *

STUDENTS ON TRIAL

Two of the banned leaders of SASO, Strini Moodley and Saths Cooper are out on bail following their arrest for allegedly inciting workers to strike during the height of the strike wave in Durban. The charge arises out of the distribution of leaflets which urged workers to strike for higher wages and better working conditions.

Five members of SASO - Mr. Thabo Sesane, chairman of the SRC of the University of Natal (Black Section), Dr. Vuyi Mashabalala, wife of the banned secretary general of the now disbanded University Christian Movement, Mrs. Sambo Moodley, wife of the banned Director of Publicity of SASO, Mr. Justice Moloto, a medical student and Miss Soma Reddy, acting administrative secretary of SASO - are among a number of people arrested following an alleged assault on two policemen.

The alleged assault took place at a meeting of students, held to commemorate the Sharpeville massacre, when two plain-clothed Security policemen were forcibly evicted from the meeting. An African sergeant was taken to hospital with his jaw broken in several places and with multiple body injuries. The White officer who was with him was less severely injured and was allowed to go home after treatment.

* * * * *

ATTEMPT TO BOMB CONGRESSMAN

Mr. Mewa Ramgobin, who was responsible for the revival of the Natal Indian Congress, and also founded the Committee for Clemency for Political Prisoners, was almost killed when he opened a parcel containing a bomb which was sent to him from Hong Kong.

Mr. Ramgobin, presently serving a second term of banning orders which will expire in September, 1976, was most certainly saved by the quick-

wittedness of his African colleague, Mr. Harold Nxasana.

The parcel containing the bomb, addressed to Mr. Ramgobin, was found on the fourth floor of the office building where Mr. Ramgobin works as a financial consultant.

The wrapper bore the name of G. F. Naidoo, of the Faculty of Medicine, Hong Kong, as being the sender of the parcel.

Mr. Nxasana, who found the parcel asked Mr. Ramgobin if he knew a Mr. G. F. Naidoo and when he replied that he did not, Mr. Nxasana warned Mr. Ramgobin to be careful.

Mr. Ramgobin who was at the office at the time with his three children sent them to the far end of the office and carefully opened the parcel. He found it contained a book, hollowed out and containing a bomb. As he threw it away from him it exploded shattering the glass on his desk. The explosion threw the children as well as Mr. Nxasana and another colleague Mr. Vusi to the floor.

Mrs. Eli Ramgobin, grand daughter of Mahatma Gandhi, in an angry statement to the press challenged the South African Police to "use the same proficiency in uncovering the sender of the mail bomb as they did in the Harris case." (John Harris was arrested, tried and executed within a few months of a bomb explosion on the Johannesburg railway platform in the early sixties).

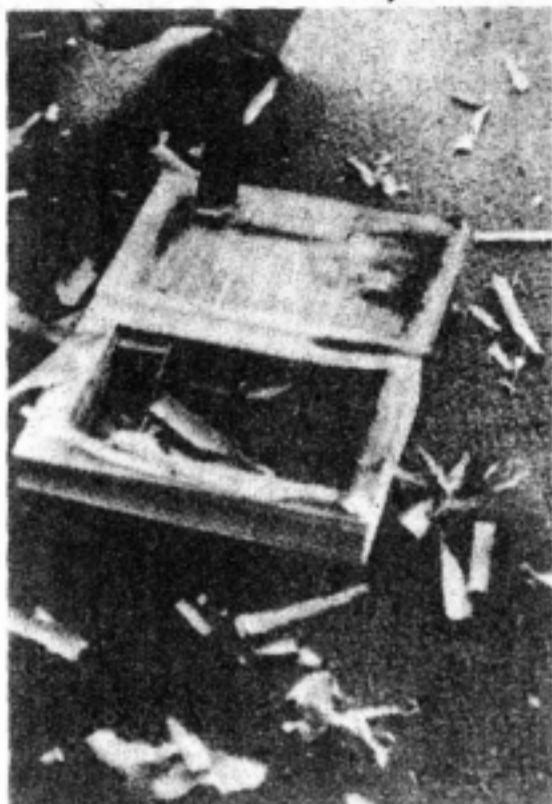
She added: "It was apparent, undoubtedly, that in view of the opinions we hold and the type of life we lead that the sender of the bomb is a right-wing fanatic.

"While I view this incident with a tremendous amount of anxiety I would like to send a message to the people to say that this event should serve as an impetus for the oppressed people to go ahead with even more determination in their fight against oppression and injustice," she said. Referring to the sender of the bomb, Mrs Ramgobin said: "You are a coward, and your thinking is so warped that I can only have sympathy for you. Come out and confront my husband, face to face, if you are a man."

* * * * *

WAR BUDGET

South Africa will spend a record sum of more than R607-million on the Defence Force, the South African Police and the Bureau of State Security



The scene of the office after the explosion (left). Mr. Ramgobin and his three children narrowly escaped death



(BOSS) during the next financial year. This is a massive slice of the Finance Minister, Dr. Diederichs's 1973-74 Budget which provides for a total expenditure of R4,707-million.

Defence is the biggest single item on the Budget involving an expenditure of R447-million, which is R80-million more than was spent last year. A breakdown of the defence expenditure discloses:

- **Procurement of arms:**
R177-million an increase of R58-million on last year;
- **"Landward Defence":**
R136.4-million - an increase of R47-million;
- **Air Defence:**
R43.5-million - an increase of R9-million on last year;

- **Maritime Defence:**

R28.1-million - about the same as last year;

The remainder of the Defence expenditure will be spent on command and control and on logistical support.

A breakdown of internal "security" expenditure sows:

- **BOSS:**
R9-million, a massive 63 percent rise compared against last year's expenditure of R5.5-million;
- **Police:**
R-119-million, up by R7-million;
- **Prisons:**
R40.6-million, up by R2.5-million;
- **Interior:**
R23.3-million, up by R2.1-million.



SA police confiscate posters and placards at a protest demonstration

Despite arrests, imprisonment, dismissals and increasing police harassment, strikes which have dominated the industrial scene in South Africa since the beginning of the year continue. While the initial strike movement began almost exclusively in Durban and its industrial environs, it has now spread to a very wide area around the country.

The present wave covers such wide areas and such diverse industries as women weavers in Umtata, capital of the Transkei in the Eastern Cape and fertilizer workers in Empangeni, Zululand; road repairers and dustmen in Stanger in the Natal North Coast and steel workers in Germiston in the Transvaal; drivers and vendors employed by a Johannesburg publishing Company and Black crewmen employed on a South African ship when it docked in Gothenborg in Sweden.

Casualties and Victories

The government, Police, employers and sections of white workers have combined to break the strikes in several areas.

Prime Minister Vorster in a recent statement warned South African employers not to yield to pressure to increase wages of their workers "simply because they are black".

"People should be paid in accordance with their productivity," he said. He referred to the "dangerous game" which some people were playing, in and out of Parliament, by trying to break down the "free economic system" of the country. He feared these elements "were propagating socialism in a disguised form by advocating a reallocation of assets." Vorster's statement made in Parliament was clearly an attempt to clamp down on the widespread campaign to give black workers higher wages.

His insistence that wages should be related to productivity is ludicrous in view of the fact that black workers are prevented by the strict application of the colour bar from acquiring skills for securing promotions to higher posts that are needed to make them more productive. In other words, what Vorster is saying is: no more increases for black workers.

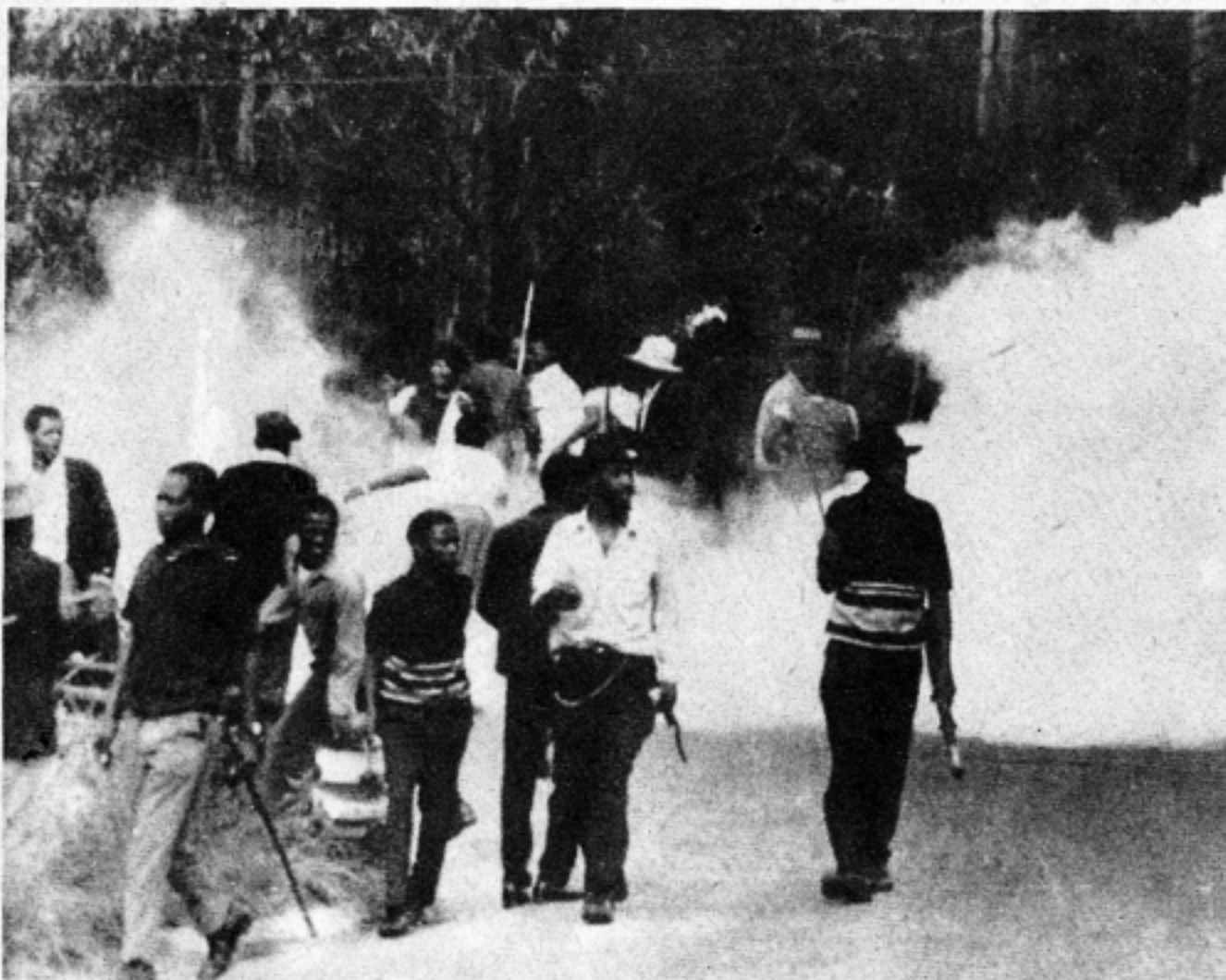
Inevitably, white employers throughout

the country, especially South African employers who are not under direct pressure as their British and American counterparts are, will welcome this official support from the government to continue paying starvation wages to their black employees. However, if the reaction of employers is now going to be to refuse increases to their starving workers, they are in for many shocks. The black workers have seen the power they wield, and they have shown that they are prepared to face any hardships in order to win a fair share in the country's wealth and no one is going to stop them.

Meanwhile, almost all the 250,000 odd workers who had come out on strike in the recent period and several thousands of others have received higher wages as a result of their militancy.

Although these increases have not, in most cases, been what the workers had demanded, this first step in a long time must have taught the workers many lessons and they will not take the super-exploitation that had been their lot for so long to continue. Meanwhile, the police and the employers have not been idle. Lead-

Teargas billows behind strikers in Hammarsdale near Durban



ing workers in several industries where strikes had taken place have been summararily dismissed and or charged for participating in "illegal strikes".

At Charlestown where African clothing workers at two clothing factories had struck the police imposed a curfew on the nearby African township and meetings of more than five people were prohibited. In Zululand a virtual state of emergency has been declared and the police have been given wide powers to arrest and keep in confinement without trial, and incommunicado, any one they suspect of "breaking the law."

Fifty two of the 20,000 municipal workers who came out on strike in Durban have been dismissed and are facing charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act. So also are 56 employees of a Pretoria Bus Company. Fourteen workers employed by a Ladysmith Construction Company were paid off and later all were arrested by the police.

In several instances white workers have voluntarily taken over black jobs while the black workers were on strike. For, instance, at the Publishing firm where African drivers struck (reported earlier) white employees in the company took over the manning of trucks.

Despite all these disadvantages workers are continuing to strike in many areas.



Victory is ours – say these smiling ladies

We rather quit than submit say the workers



STUDENTS AND THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE

loyalty to the cause of liberation that continue the struggle despite victimisation and persecutions of all kinds. Generally intellectuals that continue the struggle are those drawn from the poorer and more militant sections of the working class and peasantry. Of course when we compare Fort Hare with 'white universities', it was a University of the poor.

ANC Youth League

The main campaigns and protests waged on the campus were against injustices and disabilities suffered by the Black peoples in the educational system. We cannot here enumerate all the militant campaigns – both academic and political – but we shall briefly deal with the role of the African National Congress Youth League. The Youth League Branch at Fort Hare generally formed about a third of the student population. It admitted all the racial groups. It set the political tone for the whole student body. During times of ANC appeals, campaigns and protests it galvanised and pulled in the whole student body into action. We remember the 1959 Potato boycott when a decision was adopted at a general student meeting to join the boycott. The boycott was launched by the ANC to expose the slave conditions of farm and convict labourers on Boer farms in the Transvaal. The meeting declared that if our mothers and sisters had decided to boycott the potato then we too have to demonstrate our solidarity with them. That was a majority decision. The elements going against the call were forced not to eat the potatoes until the boycott was lifted.

The Role of the University College of Fort Hare in the National Liberation Struggle

by Chris and Simon

The University College of Fort Hare, situated in the small country town of Alice in the Cape Province was a famous and popular education centre for the Black peoples of South Africa. It was opened during the last century by missionaries with the purpose of spreading so-called "western civilisation" and christianity among the Black peoples of South Africa. For a very long period, this was the only place where Africans could acquire university education. Those who studied in the so-called 'white universities' were but a drop in the ocean.

explanation why Fort Hare has a long history and tradition of resistance to and struggle against racial injustices and inequalities. When we look at the intellectuals (Black) that are involved in the national liberation movement today, practically all of them are former students of the University College of Fort Hare.

It is true that a majority of students on the completion of their studies, lose their militancy and withdraw into their occupational shells for fear of losing jobs and victimisation by the government. But some students never lose their fighting spirit. It is those with deeper political convictions and

Unity in Diversity

The greatest role played by Fort Hare was the bringing together of various peoples drawn from different racial and tribal groups – including peoples from across the borders of the Republic of South Africa (Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda). Practically all the racial and tribal groups of South Africa were represented there. We had Blacks, Indians, Coloureds, Whites (lecturers). All these peoples had a strong feeling of belonging together – to one human family – sharing the same sleeping quarters, dining halls, classrooms, sportsfields, bathrooms and aspirations. Contrary to the theories propounded by racist South African theoreticians, this small mixed community practically demonstrated that peoples of different racial, national, tribal, and cultural backgrounds can live together in harmony and peace. This perhaps is one

Nelson Mandela (life imprisonment) and O. R. Tambo – early stalwarts of the student movement at Fort Hare





From l. to r. George Singh, banned founder of the non-racial Soccer Federation of SA and one of the pioneers of the student

movement at Fort Hare, Govan Mbeki (life imprisonment - see article) and Alfred Hutchinson, ANC Youth League leader at

Fort Hare in the 50s and former Treason Trialist (now deceased)

Our Youth League branch also took part in ANC conferences. Some of the members were office-bearers in provincial and national executives of the ANC Youth League. Special Youth League organisers were sent out into the neighbouring schools, hospitals, villages and towns to distribute ANC propaganda, address meetings and open branches. The Youth Leaguers helped a lot in raising funds for the movement through collections and dances. This was prominent during the treason trial in 1956 when 156 national leaders and activists were arrested. There was a string of these shows organised solely for raising funds for the leaders charged for high treason. The ANC was then a legal body and the Youth League organisers went around openly raising these funds.

Leaders and Militants

Fort Hare University has produced some of the best militants of our educated stratum. These products of the University College of Fort Hare have shown and still show their ability and readiness to join the ranks of the National Liberation Movement. From the very founding of the ANC Youth League, the Fort Hare Youth League Branch never saw itself as an elite group trotting out slogans from rooftops and preaching to the masses. On the contrary, it realised that its contribution to the struggle against the tyranny of the white fascist state would be more meaningful and effective by its fusion with the National Liberation Movement. This is why Fort Hare became one of the best organised centres of the African National Congress Youth League. What brought

the ANC Youth League Branch at Fort Hare closer to the ANC was the realisation and recognition of the fact that the struggle was not merely for academic freedom but for the freedom of the oppressed Black people and for the transformation of the South African society into a genuine democracy guaranteeing freedom for all.

The senselessness of the dream of academic freedom amidst the gloom of enslavement enshrouding the Black people infused the minds and the hearts of the Youth Leaguers with militancy and dedication. The Youth League at Fort Hare rejected the priggish talk from certain members of the intelligentsia about the education of the masses which sort of implied something schoolmasterly and pedantic and which obviously had the effect of diverting and confusing the masses. Instead the Fort Youth League realised that the education of the masses can never be separated from the political and revolutionary struggle of the masses. It quickly learned that only the struggle educates the oppressed and exploited people.

Prominent Youth Leaguers

Prominent in the ranks of those who founded the Youth League were Fort Hare students. The formation of the Youth League brought about a qualitative change in the political development and growth of the African National Congress. These were militant and angry young men who were impatient with the then moderate and reformist leadership. They were calling for positive and militant action against the forces of oppression. Some of the early founders of the ANC Youth

League who were at the same time students at Fort Hare rose to become leaders of the national movement. Among these were Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and many others. Five years later after the founding of the ANC Youth League saw the adoption of the Programme of Action in 1949. The present ruling fascist clique had just come into power and was committed to a policy of naked 'baaskap' or unadulterated white domination.

Thus, in the 1949 Programme of Action in whose adoption the Youth League played a prominent part was an answer to fascist repression. It contained a programme of militant confrontation which embraced civil disobedience, boycotts, strikes and non-collaboration. The apex of the Programme of Action was the 1952 Defiance Campaign. Some prominent Youth Leaguers from Fort Hare took part in the campaign. In fact, Nelson Mandela led 8,000 volunteers in his capacity as volunteer in-chief. Others like Duma Nokwe and Alfred Hutchinson lost their jobs as a result of their participation in the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws.

Subsequently, Duma Nokwe rose to become Secretary General of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo at different times was Secretary General and Deputy President General, Arthur Letele was until his untimely death, Treasurer General of the ANC; Govan Mbeki, a leading progressive journalist and conference chairman of the ANC and others were members of the Youth League at Fort Hare who subsequently served the ANC in various leading positions. Among the ranks of those arraigned in

the infamous Treason Trial of 1956 were former Fort Hare Youth Leaguers.

Apartheid in Education

Apart from the national struggle, the Youth League at Fort Hare played an active role in student affairs. It was in the forefront in the struggle against apartheid in education; it never reconciled itself to the colour bar in education. The move to boycott the visit of Jansen in 1955 in his capacity as the Minister of Native Affairs was primarily initiated by the Youth League. As a result of this successful demonstration against a man who symbolised the academic strangulation of the Blacks, a number of the students, both members and non-members of the Youth League, were victimised and expelled. Among them were Xola Makiwane, Gatsha Buthelezi, Sydney Dunn and others.

The influence of the African National Congress Youth League in neighbouring African secondary schools was partly due to its organisational strength. It was part of the programme of the ANC Youth League at Fort Hare to send political workers to schools and to address students.

The struggle against the fascist octopus sharpened when the regime of terror flagrantly introduced legislation to extend more control over the universities. Fort Hare university became the main target of the 'White Dictatorship'. The fascists had always been piqued by the political activities at Fort Hare and were disturbed by the type of intellectual Fort Hare produced, an intellectual who played a role in the struggle. When the Extension of Education and Fort Hare Transfer Bills were placed before the white parliament, the Youth League at Fort Hare immediately launched a campaign of opposition to these nefarious bills. It was clear that these bills were aimed at neo-nazi control over universities; that they aimed at Broederbond control of African education. The fascists were knocking the last nail on the coffin of African education. They had already seized control of African secondary and primary schools and the control of Fort Hare was to be the apex of their struggle to smother African education.

Under the leadership of well-known youth leaguers like Zola Nqini, Billy Modise, Ambrose Makiwane, Anderson Ganyile, Stanley Mabizela, Seretse Choabi and others, the Youth League mobilised the students to oppose vigorously the fascist control of Fort Hare. The Youth League convened its

own meetings to discuss tactics and strategy to be followed to counter the move of the fascists. Slogans were painted and protest meetings held. The climax of the campaign was a massive demonstration which coincided with the visit of the designate Rector and registrar in the name of Ross and Du Preez respectively. The reception of these fascist lackeys was so hostile that they had to leave the campus in undignified haste: Despite these spirited protests by the students, the white parliament passed the acts.

The Broederbond moved into action by victimising student leaders like A. K. Ganyile, Thami Mhlambiso, Siphosiso Mankana, Aubrey Nkomo, Babenia and others. It was significant that all these expelled students were leading members of the Youth League. But these desperate measures by the Broederbond failed to snuff out resistance at Fort Hare. The youth section of the ANC which was operating underground led the struggle against the fascist occupation of Fort Hare. Leaflets were distributed, slogans were painted and enemy agents were exposed and a campaign of non-collaboration with the fascist authorities was stepped up.

Under Government Control

The Organisational prowess of the ANC at Fort Hare in fascist conditions was to be amply demonstrated during the 1961 Stay-at-Home protests and strikes. Despite special branch intimidation and terror, Fort Hare registered 100 per cent success. The strike extended to the neighbouring institutions and villages thanks to the energetic activities of the Youth section of the ANC at Fort Hare.

The development of the struggle in South Africa and the adoption of various forms of struggle saw the active participation of present and past members of the ANC Youth League at Fort Hare. It is inconceivable to refer to the revolts of the peasants in Pondoland against Bantu Authorities and rehabilitation schemes without mentioning one of the leaders Anderson Khumani Ganyile, himself a Fort Harean. Because of his participation in the peasant revolts, he was banished to Frenchdale from where he made his daring escape to Lesotho. The fascists found it hard to accept this defeat and kidnapped him from Lesotho. Due to vigorous protests mounted by the ANC and the progressive newspaper NEW AGE, the fascists were forced to return Ganyile to Lesotho.

When Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) was formed as the military wing of the liberation movement in South Africa, Fort Hareans past and present were among the first volun-

teers to join. These were men like Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki (both serving life imprisonment on Robben Island), Andrew Masondo, who is serving twelve years for M.K. activities, Chris Makgothi, Mzwandile Mdingi, and Rex Lupondwansa (since finished their sentences).

The guerrilla clashes in Zimbabwe in 1967 and 1968 were another instance where a few members of the Youth League at Fort Hare were involved. Benson Ntsele died a hero's death in clashes with fascist troops. Lawrence Phokanoka (known as Peter Tladi) was a leading member of the Lutuli Detachment which was the first to clash with enemy soldiers in the western part of Zimbabwe. He is presently serving an eighteen year sentence on Robben Island. Former members of the Youth League at Fort Hare continue to play a role in the mobilisation of our people in preparation for an armed assault on the citadel of oppression.

Our brief survey of the role of the University College of Fort Hare in the National Liberation Movement brings us to the conclusions that students and intellectuals have a positive role and contribution to make to the liberation cause if they throw in their lot with the broad masses that make the revolution. Students, however active and militant, will achieve very little if they organise above or outside the people's struggles. This lesson has become more important than even before when students revolts and organisations are springing up throughout the country. Bodies like SASO (South African Students' Organisation) and others need to draw lessons from the history and activities of the African National Congress Youth League; we in no way try to dismiss and undermine the militancy, verve and vigour of these student movements. But we must underline that nowhere in history has a stratum of students and intellectuals brought about a revolution; revolutions are brought about by the toiling masses — embracing revolutionary intellectuals. Students need to learn from the masses and the National Liberation Movement because they have a long history of struggle and have accumulated a lot of experience in the use of all methods and tactics of struggle.

Any revolution, if it is going to succeed, must be guided by a revolutionary theory and a well set out programme. In our given situation and historical development, sectarianism, racism, and exclusiveness can only bring harm to our revolution. Unity of all revolutionary forces — irrespective of race, colour, religious beliefs — is the key to the success of the South African Revolution.

TWO DECADES OF BANTU EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By W. S. Sigxashe

The educational system in the Republic of South Africa reflects a combination of all the features of education as it obtains in advanced capitalist countries and in colonial regimes. It exhibits the characteristics of what South Africa is: "A colonialism of a special type" where the oppressing White nation occupies the same territory as the oppressed people themselves and lives side by side with them. On the one hand, that of the metropolitan or colonialist "White South Africa", there are all the features of an advanced capitalist state in its highest stage of imperialism. On the other hand, that of "Black South Africa", there are all the features of a colony. It is this combination of the worst features both of imperialism and colonialism, which is the foundation stone of all the South African social relations including its educational system.

In one and the same country co-exists metropolitan education for the White race and colonial education for the Black population – Black education virtually serving the interests of the White race. This colonial education in the context or concrete prevailing conditions in South Africa is christened: "Non-White", "Kaffir", "Native", "Black", "Bantu" "Sotho", "Zulu", "Xhosa", "Indian" education. The educational system of the metropolis is termed "White", "Christian", "Open", etc.

It is the racial form in which colonial education in South Africa manifests itself since 1953 that we have decided to concern ourselves with.

Bantu Education

This year the racist fascist regime presently ruling South Africa will be celebrating twenty years of the implementation of its policy of Bantu Education. Let us briefly examine the positive and negative aspects of Bantu Education, and finally reveal what this educational system means for the African population of that country.

In 1945 three years before the ruling "Nationalist Party came to power, J.N. Le Roux, speaking in the House of Assembly said; "We should not give the natives an academic education. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country."

Later, Dr. H. Verwoerd, then Minister of Bantu Affairs drove the point home when he said: "There is no place for him (the African) in society beyond certain forms of menial labour." And about the teacher who had to become the pivot of this system, Verwoerd said: "People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers."

These then are the basic aims of Bantu Education best expressed by the very architects of that policy.

Whilst giving the Whites the best of academic education in the African continent at least, the main aim of Bantu Education is to provide the minimum of education to the African population so that they should become a source of cheap labour power and hence immense profits for the White rulers; to teach the African English and Afrikaans in such a way as only to equip him to take oral and written instructions when serving the interests of the White population and the economy which is in their hands – in industry, commerce, and white farms or as servants, washerwomen, "nanny", "kitchen girl", "garden boy" "messenger boy", etc. In other words, Bantu Education is supposed to equip the African child only to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa imposes on him.

Above all, the Bantu Education system is perhaps the most dangerous fascist weapon in the hands of the White enemy in that it is aimed at reviving and strengthening decaying tribalism, to force the African population now and the future generations to think and act along tribal lines and thus making it easy for the implementation of colonialism or apartheid, that is, the white supremacy policies of dividing, ruling and exploiting the Africans eternally.

Secondly and perhaps the most harmful nature of this sinister education policy is that it is aimed at the control of every-

thing (politically, socio-economically) in South Africa with the control of the African mind being the priority. It is a subjective experimental fallacy of the 20th century set to prove that an African mind indoctrinated from childhood, from day to day to accept and submit in theory and practice to colonialism, racial inferiority, tribalism, etc. is incapable (theoretically and practically) of being otherwise; is incapable of struggling for and attaining a new and better social system, is unable to think let alone to make a revolution.

Despite mass opposition by the African population, the Government enacted the Bantu Education Act in 1953. It withdrew control and administration of education for Africans from the Provincial Councils and placed it under a central government department – the Department of Bantu Affairs. It vested the control of African education at primary and secondary levels in the Minister of Bantu Education. It provided for complete segregation for African school children and the registration of such schools with the Department of Bantu Affairs. "Bantu" education was to be financed in the main from a fixed statutory amount of 13 million rand (approx, £6,500,000) augmented by four-fifths of the taxes paid by the Africans.

Consistent with the Government's policy of apartheid, the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963 and the Indian Education Act of 1964 handed over control and administration of education for the Coloured and Indian children from the provincial authorities to the Departments of Coloured and Indian Affairs respectively.

Enrolment

The largest drop-out among African children occurs in the first four-year period of a child's educational career, with secondary school intake being only about 2% of the total school-going population.

Of the 6,05 million African children who attended school between 1955 and 1968, three million or about 50% had not progressed as far as Standard 3.

Dr. W. G. McConkey's book, *FAILURE OF BANTU EDUCATION* shows that more than 50% of the pupils entering school in 1963 had dropped out by 1967. The main cause of these drop-outs are economic disabilities. Education is not free and compulsory for African children as it is for those who are white.

Figures supplied by the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. M. C. Botha, on 18th August, 1970 show that of 2,552,807 African children in June, 1969, 24.48% were in sub-standard A and only 0.11% in the matriculation standard.

Nearly 95 out of every 100 pupils drop out before they reach secondary school. In 1971 there were 2.5 million Africans at school, but only 750,000 had received more than 4 years' tuition. There were only 125,000 at secondary school. As a result, 62% of the 4 million economically active African population that year had had no schooling at all and only 8.7% had passed standard VI.

With government subsidy almost nil, even the double-fold increase in the enrolment of African pupils in the first 2-3 years of their primary school education has been made possible in the majority of cases through the introduction of the "Hot seat" system of double and even triple sessions by one teacher during the course of one single day for children in the first two years of schooling. In many cases the "hot seat" system is supplemented by the teaching of 50 to 60 children of various age groups and standards in a single classroom by a single teacher. (The maximum one white teacher is legally allowed to teach and does teach is 21 white pupils of one age group only). This notorious system was introduced as early as 1955.

The Racist Fiscal Policy

The racial nature of the South African government policy unfolds itself in state finances for African education. Of the 2.5 per cent of South Africa's Gross National Product spent

on education, only about 0.5 per cent goes for the education of the African – 70 per cent of the country's population.

A memorandum prepared by the Institute of Race Relations in South Africa points out that the percentage of net national income spent on Bantu Education since its implementation in 1955 has been declining steadily as follows:

1954	-	0.57 %
1957	-	0.49 %
1962	-	0.42 %
1964	-	0.39 %

In 1971, the total amount budgeted by the South African Central Government and Provincial Administration for spending on White education (20 per cent of the country's population) amounted to almost 238 million rand; on 70% of the population (Africans) they spent only 14.5 million rand.

There had been a steady decline in the per capita expenditure for African pupils since the implementation of the Bantu Education Act. Statistics supplied by the Secretary for Bantu Education indicate that the per capita expenditure on African pupils was 17.08 rand in 1953/54. In 1960/61 it declined to 12.46 rand. In 1968, the per capita expenditure on African children was one eighth the amount spent on white children. In 1971 it went further down to one tenth.

Africans are forced to either pay heavily for the education of their children or not to educate them at all. The super rich, the ones who pay themselves the highest wages and the least taxed, the whites, receive free and compulsory education for their children.

In addition to what Africans pay in taxation, they contribute large amounts of money towards the cost of providing and maintaining schools, paying teachers' salaries and sending their children to school. Thus the Minister of Bantu Education in 1969 informed the House of Assembly that about 2,000,000 rand was spent in 1968 by African parents towards the salaries of privately paid teachers and a further 535,000 rand towards the erection, maintenance and running of schools. The proportion of African teachers who are privately paid by parents is steadily increasing. In 1969 it was 6.4 per cent. By 1979 it is expected to treble this number.

Apart from these burdens, African parents also have to pay for school fees, textbooks, stationery, school uniforms, examination fees and boarding fees. It has been estimated that it costs African parents 17.25 rand a year to keep a child in lower primary, 28 rand in higher primary, 48 rand in secondary, 65 rand in high school.

These then are the serious contributory factors to the lack of adequately qualified African children. An almost three-fold increase in the number of these pupils has resulted in a less than two fold increase in the number of schools. Nor are these schools – small dark hovels with small or no windows, without enough chairs and desks, congested with hungry dosing pupils sitting on the floor throughout the intensive summer heat or cold winter, through leaking roofs on rainy days, sand and dust in autumns.

Far away in the countryside or Bantustans many "classrooms" are dark wattle-and daub collapsing huts. Here even large schools have no toilets whatsoever. This is the prevailing condition in an area of a country where gastroenteritis is a major cause of early deaths.

Bantu Education means that in the urban areas of the whole country where the majority (53.5%) of the African population stay, up to now only 20 schools offer education to matriculation level.

Whites, Coloureds and Asians use the same textbooks, and Africans different textbooks, some of them revised or condensed versions of textbooks used in white schools.

According to the creed of Christian National Education – the foundation on which apartheid and therefore its whole South African educational system rests, history must be taught "in the light of the Divine Right of predestination and racial purity. It must be seen as a fulfillment of God's plan. God willed separate nations and peoples giving each nation and people its special calling, tasks and gifts. The national history has a mission of cultivating love of one's nation, one's own people".



Children attending school squat on the floor for lack of desks and benches

In **THE POWER OF PREJUDICE IN SOUTH AFRICA**, F. E. Auerbach states that nearly all textbooks perpetuate errors which historians have corrected by diligent research. "Children in many schools", he says, "will regard the Xhosas (a section of the African population) as thieves and possibly murderers, and European farmers are blameless, since many of the books use emotional words calculated to arouse feelings of hostility against the Xhosas. Children are therefore likely to identify themselves virtuously with the blameless White farmers, and some if not all, present-day Africans with the Xhosa thieves".

As in all other spheres of employment, salaries of African teachers are not based on the principle of equal pay for equal work. African male teachers earn less than half of their white counterparts, while African female teachers earn a little over one third. In 1965 the ratio of African teachers' salaries to those of their white counterparts with the same qualifications were 41.9 per cent for men, and 37.9 per cent for women. In 1966 increments for white teachers further increased this ratio.

To the African teacher Bantu Education means surviving on a salary of R40 (male) of R24 (female), in a society where the bare subsistence salary for any person is double that amount.

In 1954, the first year of Bantu Education, the number of African teacher trainees was 6,863. Their numbers decreased to 6,281 by 1969. While pupil enrolment trebled, there has thus been a drop in the number entering the teaching profession.

Moverover, a large percentage of these teachers are unqua-

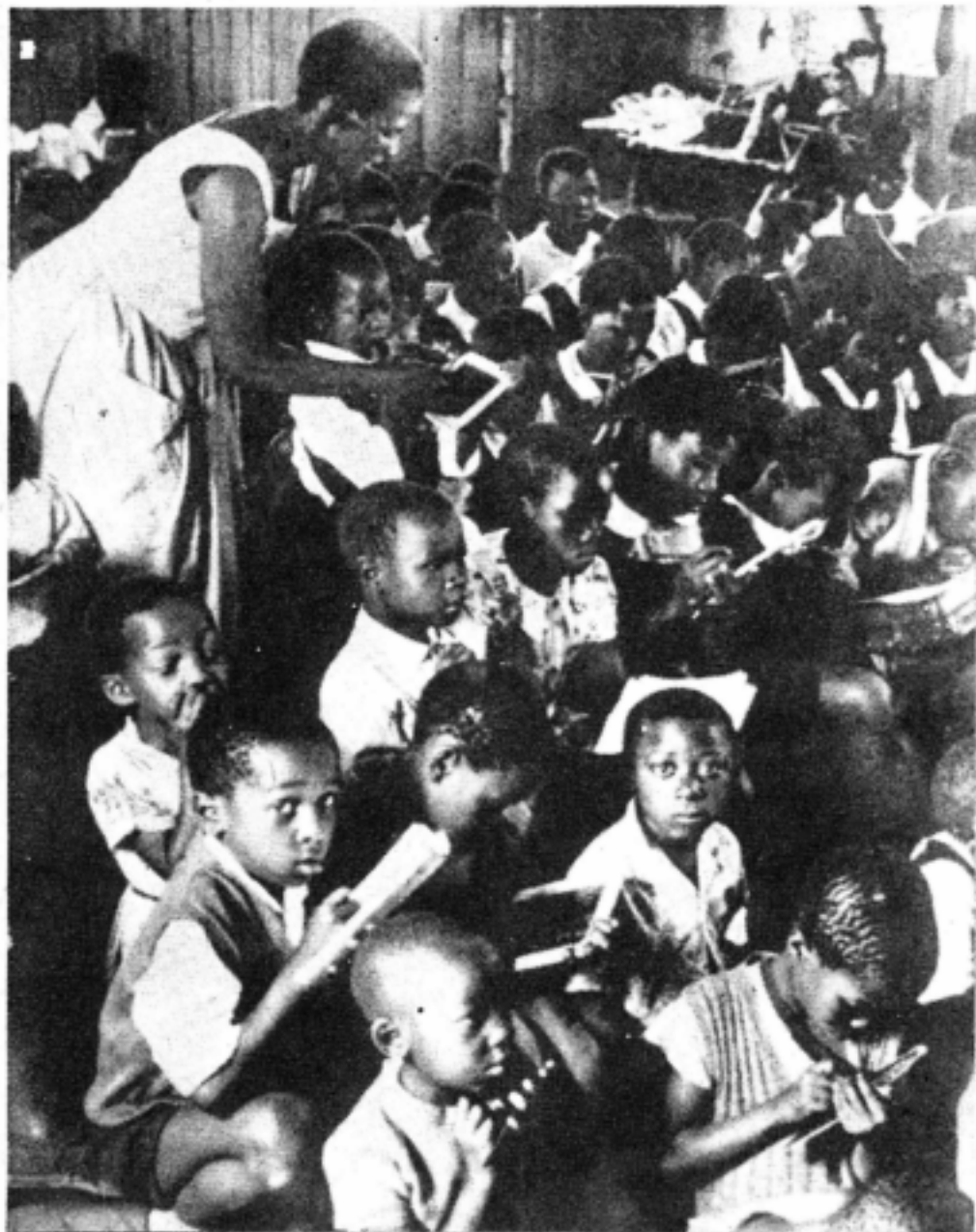
lified. In a departmental report for 1967 it was found that out of a total of 31,705 African teachers, 81.01 % possessed no professional qualification but had passes ranging only from standard VI to Form II (Standard VIII).

Effects of Bantu Education

The exact meaning and effects of colonial education in South Africa, like all social phenomena, cannot be well portrayed through dry figures or statistics only. Colonial education in South Africa means millions of African children thrown into the countryside, into the streets to join the ranks of the unemployed as a reservoir of cheap labour for White masters in imperialist "White South Africa", or to become lumpens – thugs, prostitutes and criminals in order to make a living.

Francis Mncube, chairman of Soweto's Urban Bantu Council, says: "There are thousands of children in Soweto who cannot get into school and simply hang around all day." There are only eight high schools to absorb pupils from 54 higher primary schools. Over 2,000 children cannot get places. And children unable to get into school often have no parental supervision either. The poverty datum line for a family of five in Soweto is R73 a month. But only 30 % of African workers are paid R60 or more a month. Wives and mothers have to work, so both parents are absent from home all day.

To those children who manage against all odds to get space in school and advance beyond Standard six, Bantu Educa-



White teachers would most certainly not work under conditions such as this

tion means the over-whelmingly difficult task of translating past knowledge into English or Afrikaans as well as absorbing new knowledge and concepts in English or Afrikaans. This is because all training up to that of standard six has been in the indigenous languages of the various ethnic groups as prescribed by the 1953 Act.

To those few children who advance through the secondary school, colonial education means the learning of science subjects demanding practical demonstrations without so much as seeing experiments conducted, since laboratory facilities are non-existent in African schools. Science and technology are hardly taught to Black students.

To the African teacher in general, Bantu Education means a passive acceptance of white supremacy, lest he loses his job or worse still, fall into the hands of the Special Branch, become jailed and tortured to death without trial in solitary confinement as has happened to many who refused to implement inequality in their schools and classrooms. Time and again they are threatened with expulsion for not towing the tribal line. Insecurity is a nightmare for them.

Colonial education in the name of Bantu Education means teaching a distorted history of one's own people to one's own people to one's own future generations.

University Education

In 1948 when the Nationalist Party came to power, of the eight universities in South Africa, only two – Cape Town and Witwatersrand – accepted Black students. They were christened "Open" universities. While these two universities followed the policy of academic non-segregation, social segregation was rigidly applied.

The four Afrikaans-medium universities – Stellenbosch, Pretoria, Potchefstroom and Orange Free State – have always restricted entry to white students only. Natal University, though accepting Black students, did so in segregated classes, except in certain post-graduate courses; and Rho-

des University accepted Black students for post-graduate studies only. This is the situation which obtained under the laws governing the universities of the metropolis – "White South Africa".

The University College of Fort Hare was opened in 1916 and catered mainly, but by no means exclusively, for African students. It was incorporated as an institution for higher education under the Education Act of 1923 and was affiliated to Rhodes University for examination and degree purposes in 1951. In terms of the University Act of 1955 it ranked as a university and by the end of 1958, 1,132 degrees and 771 diplomas and post-matriculation certificates had been awarded. The staff was inter-racial consisting in 1959 of 28 whites, 10 Africans and 1 Coloured person, whilst the Council then comprised 19 whites and 3 African members; and the Senate consisted of 21 whites and 4 Africans. It was an open university which holds a special place in the history of higher education for the African people in particular, as most of that country's African political leaders had received their academic training there and had themselves played a role in its development.

The passing of the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 and the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act marked the introduction of open racism in institutions of higher education.

In terms of the first Act, no Black student could register at any of the hitherto "Open" universities without the permission of the Minister of Education, Arts and Science.

In terms of the University of Fort Hare Transfer Act, the management, maintenance and control of the college was transferred from its Governing Council to the Minister of Bantu Education.

The purpose of these Acts was to segregate Black students into exclusively racial and ethnic tribal colleges. The University College of Fort Hare was converted into an exclusively Xhosa tribal college. At the end of 1959 three other tribal and racial colleges were established: the University College of Ngoya in Natal to serve the Zulu and Swazi 'tribes', the University College of the North (Turfloop) for the Sotho, Venda and Shangaan tribes.

The University College for Indians was established in Durban and the University of the Western Cape for the Coloureds. But, although the University College of Fort Hare is an ethnic college reserved for the Xhosa group of the African people, for instance, the Minister of Bantu Education may refuse admittance to any African who applies (although he is a member of the Xhosa group) without stating the reasons for the refusal and without giving such an applicant the right to be heard. Moreover, while by the permission of the Minister, a Black student might, through special permission of the Minister of Bantu Education still be enrolled at an "Open" university, it became a criminal offence for a white student to attend a Black university college.

In these tribal colleges there are two councils – one white, the other African, the latter being purely advisory. Students here are not allowed to elect their own representative councils, nor are they allowed to affiliate with any national organisation. The administration and maintenance of the college is completely under the direction of the Minister of Bantu Education who appoints college councils and designates the chairman, principals and other members of the senate and staff. He regulates all aspects of the staff working conditions, the function and constitutions of the boards of faculties, and the courses of instruction and training at each university college. He is empowered to refuse to admit students if he decided "that this was not in the interests of the university college concerned", and he can dismiss any employee for criticising any Government Department or personality.

Since many of the newly established tribal colleges provide a limited number of courses for degree purposes, a small number of Black students wishing to pursue other courses, are allowed to enrol at the "Open" universities with the Minister's consent.

In these tribal institutions, salaries, recreation facilities, toilets etc. differ according to race. According to information

supplied by the various Ministers in the House of Assembly on May 9, 1969 the starting salary scale for the various racial groups were as follows:

	Whites	Coloureds & Indians	Africans
Lecturers	R3,300	R2,790	R2,610
Professors	R5,280	R4,800	R4,200

Enrolments and Degrees:

In 1969 there were 77,412 enrolled university students in South Africa. But of this total, only 8,863 or 11.45 per cent, were Black. Africans accounted for 3,911 or 5.05 per cent – and their majority were, in fact, enrolled in correspondence courses.

In line with the Government's policy of segregated institutions of higher learning, the numbers of Black students at the previously "Open" universities has been steadily dwindling from 2,145 in 1959, for example, to 1,265 in 1969.

When we study the enrolment increase figures at some of these tribal colleges for the period of eight years (1960–1968) we see the following:

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE	INCREASE BY 1968	AVERAGE YEARLY INCREASE
ZULULAND	327	42
WESTERN CAPE	508	64
FORT HARE	91	12

At the white universities enrolment increase in the same eight year period was as follows:

UNIVERSITY	INCREASE BY 1968	AVERAGE YEARLY INCREASE
NATAL	2,008	252
WITWATERSRAND	3,081	385
CAPE TOWN	2,058	257
PRETORIA	4,103	512
STELLENBOSCH	2,735	342

It is clear from these figures that the South African government in the "metropolis" is doing all it can to improve the opportunities for their white students to get a university education while neglecting the Black students in colonial "Black South Africa".

Between 1960 and 1967, the following degrees were awarded to African students at the university tribal colleges:

Master's	= 3
Honours	= 67
Bachelor's	= 502

Two years later, in 1969 the following bachelor's degrees in the country as a whole were awarded:

Whites	= 6,245
Coloureds	= 85
Asians	= 208
Africans	= 172

In the field of medicine also, there is this glaring disparity. In the same country, in "White South Africa" we have over 100,000 white doctors for a population of 3,700,000, and in the colony – Black South Africa – about 130 African doctors who are expected to take care of over 15 million African lives.

Bantu Education means one medical school shared with Indian and Coloured students. In contrast, whites are served by four established medical schools and three more are under construction.

This disparity is unlikely to be corrected, as too few African doctors are being trained – seven graduated in 1966, 11 in 1967, 10 in 1968 – hardly enough to cope with a rapidly increasing population.

This then is the essence and background to the unrest of students in the deep south of our continent. As a result of colonial education, the Black student world in South Africa especially the most oppressed, the Africans, from secondary schools to tribal universities are in revolt; they want a change. They are against racialism in education. Some of them have now become convinced that real change in the field of education, as in all other spheres of social, political and economic life, will come only after change in political power. They have therefore committed themselves to the destruction of racialism in our country. This has led many of them to join the ranks of National Liberation Movement and to play their part in the national democratic revolution. Sooner than later the oppressed and struggling people of our country, together with their youth and students, will inevitably carry out their glorious task for the destruction of racialism and the seizure of political power.

IN MEMORY OF A WARRIOR

(Stanley Boetie Molefe)*

Son of Africa,
you have gone to the ages.
Carry the message of the times
– that we are still on the journey.
Move on the roaring thunder of our feet.
Tell the sounds of gallantry armed
with faith.

To this unknown future,
the journey is long.
And it warns of its agony
– yet the call beckons.
We will move (fury tells on our minds)
to this, the battle cry.

Warrior, not long
you were amongst the counted.
Today you lie,
cold in body but true to the spirit of
all our yearnings
– Freedom in our lifetime.
Brave son of Africa, faithful to the
spirit of the times
– Freedom in our lifetime –
you are still amongst the counted.
It will not be in vain.

Rest your bones, warrior,
with this message:
It will not be in vain.

Maxie Rodgers Lechuba

* Stanly was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, (The Spear of the Nation), the ANC's Military wing

**Two Publications Distributed Illegally
in South Africa**

1. SEARCHLIGHT

**Vol. 3, No. 1 – January March 1973.
Among other articles this issue contains
the following on the strikes in the country**

STRIKE!

VICTORY WILL BE OURS!

For some time now South African Government propaganda has been trying to give John Vorster's face a benign look. Over the image of the man who proudly gave the Nazi salute and supported Hitler's worse excesses, over the photograph of the Minister who presided over the demise of the last vestiges of Justice left in our country with his array of viciously oppressive laws, artists have been busy painting a picture of a "fatherly" Prime Minister who against tremendous opposition from his own party has been striving to give the Black people a fair deal and facilitating their development to freedom in their own areas.

In support of this false picture the propagandists point to the "freedom" of the Coloured Labour Party to make statements against apartheid (ignoring of course the packing of the Coloured Parliament by Government nominees); the "recognition" of Buthelezi though he states his opposition to apartheid (ignoring that he nonetheless works within the apartheid system). The machine quotes Helen Suzman and Rand Daily Mail editorials (omitting to point out that neither support democratic Black participation in decision making in South Africa) to show that freedom flourishes and Verligte Vorster allows opposition to his policies.

Even some of our own people have been carried away. Because the Natal Indian Congress has been "allowed" to have meetings; because it was possible to establish the Black People's Convention and SASO, and for the Coloured Labour Party to speak, some have believed that there was freedom for the Black people to organise and express their grievances in South Africa.

Now that the Government has begun to crack down, with police raids on offices and homes and with restrictions (bannings and house arrest so far) being placed on officials, the harsh reality is once again exposed for all to see: **WE HAVE NO FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

Iron Fist

It is true that we have been able to organise overtly and even speak out. Strikers were even able to force some concessions from employers. But none of this happened because South Africa is a free and democratic country. The Government have underestimated our opposition to apartheid through believing their lap-dog "spokesmen" such as the members of the Nationalist Indian Council and therefore tolerated some opposition as a necessary safety valve. The united and organised voice of the Black workers scared and intimidated them from immediate and direct action, but now they have decided to act.

Since it is an axiom of apartheid rule that the Black people are happy and contented, and that any opposition is organised and fomented by "outside agitators", it is now necessary for the government to point to, and take action against, these scapegoats. And so the iron fist of Vorster smashes down, silencing some and hoping to intimidate all others. Is there then no hope for a free South Africa? Since the government has so much power that it can ban individuals and organisations, place opponents under house arrest, and imprison anyone on mere suspicion, should we accept our fate and try and make the best of life under apartheid?

Some people will despair, and others will exploit their despair to defect to the ranks of the apartheid collaborators. Yet history has shown that for everyone who collaborates, for every ten who despair, hundreds more harden their resolve and intensify their determination to continue the struggle. And so it must be in South Africa. For it is not individuals, "outside agitators", who create resistance to oppressive policies; rather it is the very existence of oppression that brings into being a people's desire to be free and a determination to liberate themselves. So long then as the apartheid regime exists, so long will the struggle continue.

Whilst it is true that the government has legal and military power, the oppressed too have power. Though the government is hitting out now at individuals and perhaps even at organisations, the fact is that all their intimidatory machine was unable to stop Black workers in Natal from downing pens, brooms, lathes and tools. And just as they did when faced with similar united resistance among the Ovambo workers of Namibia, the government for all its power had to stand aside at the moment of confrontation.

Rather than despair then, there is hope in recent events. Rather than be intimidated into silence, we need to express still louder our grievances. Rather than refrain from organising we need to use skill so that whilst action is overt and seen, the heart of the organisation stays protected.

Powerful Weapon Toward Freedom

Over the past six weeks some 150,000 Black workers, predominantly the more hard hit Africans, have gone on strike in and around Durban. Their actions clearly show that the Black workers are boiling over with anger with their miserable, deplorable and depressing living conditions. Under some of the most difficult conditions and in the face of arrests, prosecution, intimidation and endorsement out to the reserves, the Durban workers have made a glorious con-

tribution to the struggle for national liberation. For let us be clear that in our country every strike (however small) and other militant actions, overt and covert, have political repercussions both for the revolutionary movement and for the oppressor.

The white English-speaking press and the bosses' organisations like the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, the United Party and the Progressive Party, pretend that it is the fault only of the Nationalist government and not of the whole system of apartheid in the context of a capitalist society. We must ask ourselves the question, who owns the means of production? It is the workers who own nothing but their labour and in our country it is the Black workers who suffer the consequences of the most inhuman migratory cheap labour system. Thus the struggle for national liberation is also a struggle for the control of the commanding heights of the economy.

We the Black people know only too well that the main factor precipitating the strikes is the starvation wages paid to the workers. It is because of these starvation wages and the consequent super-exploitation of the Black working class that the capitalists, foreign and domestic, are able to reap great financial rewards. That is why, the imperialist monopoly-capitalists invest in South Africa. Not, as they claim, to create jobs for us, but to extract 30% profits from their investments – one of the highest in the world – on the sweat and toil of the Black workers.

Over the past year the South African economy has suffered a serious recession and inflationary crisis. The cost of living has dramatically shot up by 12–15%, and, of course, the hardest hit are the most poorly paid. Inflation is a worldwide problem afflicting all capitalist countries and as South Africa is an integral part of the world capitalist system, it cannot escape the consequences. However, in our country the white working class is bought off with wages which are 15 to 20 times as high as those of the African workers and a higher standard of living, while the Black people shoulder the burden of the greed of the bosses for greater profits and a high return on investments.

At a time when 80% of the African workers and some 70% of the Indian workers live below the official poverty datum line (which only includes the barest essentials) the muted cry of the bosses' organisations for a minimal increase in our wage packets must be scornfully rejected.

One of the firms affected by the strikes was T. W. Beckett, a tea and coffee company whose pre-tax profits soared from £125,000 in 1969 to £800,000 last year. Whilst in the Frame group, one of whose companies is paying only R13.50 a month to Africans, the pre-tax profits of another of its companies jumped by 70% last year to R1,250,000.

Of course, the repressive machinery of the state will be fully utilised to intimidate and to crush the workers. We are not surprised that the police and military forces stand by fully armed to protect the interests of the employers. Nor is it surprising that in Hammarsdale the strikers were attacked with batons and tear-gas and over 200 militants were arrested.

Let Us Not Forget

The strikes, though illegal for African workers, spread like a veldt fire through Durban and scared white South Africa. But for us, it demonstrated the tremendous potential and actual power of an organised, disciplined Black working class. The white controlled TUCSA has claimed that it warned the authorities of possible strike action, if African workers remain non-unionised and are paid poverty wages. Although we welcome the concern shown by TUCSA we

have to treat with extreme caution their overtures to African workers. Because, even though TUCSA's membership is 50% white and 50% Indian and Coloured, it has consistently been primarily concerned with the living standards and working conditions of the white workers. So long as TUCSA is dependent on the white workers it cannot, nay, it WILL NOT speak and act in the best interests of the Black workers. Thus the Indian and Coloured workers in TUCSA must not allow – as commendably some of them in Durban did not – the activities of TUCSA to drive a wedge between them and the African workers. The solidarity and joint action of all the Black workers holds out far greater prospects for bringing about change in our country.

Thus we hail all those Indian workers who came out on strike with their fellow African workers. They were acting in the true spirit of working class solidarity and brotherhood. Nothing could be more damaging to the developing struggle than a split in the ranks of the Black working class. What we need is the revitalisation and reactivating of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) which for years carried the banner of the best traditions of the working class. Some of its members have been killed, arrested, tortured and imprisoned. We can never forget that great leader of the working class Vuyisile Mini who went to the gallows for his participation in the struggle.

Let us never forget that a united, disciplined and fearless Black working class is one of the most crucial elements in the struggle for a revolutionary transformation of South Africa.

Though some of the strikes have ended for now without all the demands of the workers being met, it would be wrong to say the action was futile. Whatever the outcome of the negotiations, the very act of striking in the conditions prevailing in South Africa is a victory. Every strike makes us more aware of the strength and power of our organised people.

Now in the months that follow we must be wary. The workers must not allow punitive action to be taken against a single striker. They should also refuse to be taken in by the employers' trick of productivity deals. Since the employers already make astronomical profits by paying starvation wages any wage increase tied to productivity will only serve to maintain the high rates of profits enjoyed by the bosses.

We know that the strike actions by themselves will not overthrow the government and the system. On the other hand, a continuation of political, economic and other actions over a period of time, undertaken by a united people led by a disciplined revolutionary movement, is capable not only of challenging white minority rule but of overthrowing it. Let us move forward from the gains made by the Durban strikes.

Organise factory committees everywhere to demand higher wages and better working conditions. Organise them with ingenuity and skill and in such a way that can defeat enemy victimisation and police harassment.

All the Black workers should close their ranks and the other sections of our people – intellectuals, professionals, students, small shop-keepers, peasants and agricultural labourers – should openly and uncompromisingly support the strikes of the workers.

A united working class in alliance with the agricultural workers, peasants, intellectuals and small shop-keepers is the basis for the overthrow of white minority rule and the instituting of a non-racial democratic South Africa free from the fetters of a system which depends on the exploitation of man by man.

**VICTORY TO THE WORKERS!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

THIS IS THE SECOND ISSUE OF ...



A clandestine publication distributed inside South Africa
The first issue was reproduced in the December 1972 of Sechaba

This second issue of our bulletin is devoted to the recent strike actions by workers. For working and student youth who are dedicated to the idea of the total liberation of the Black people these actions have a significance which goes beyond the immediate economic factors which triggered them off. Coming at a time when the white regime is intensifying its campaign against the growing student opposition by intimidation and bannings, the events are a pointer to the all-round resistance which is slowly but surely being generated amongst all classes and groups of the oppressed Black people of South Africa. Without linking our political fate with the organised Black working mass, we as youth will be isolated and ultimately dispersed. This is why our duty, in the first place, is to understand profoundly the true meaning of the upsurge and to play our role together with the working people in achieving liberation.

Lessons of the Strikes

The beginning of 1973 marks a further upsurge of the inevitable conflict between the white oppressors and the oppressed black majority in the form of militant strikes by over 100,000 Black workers, particularly in the Durban industrial complex.

The oppressor groups – white government and white employers – were thrown into a panic by the strike wave. The politico-economic fabric of the apartheid system was shaken. The various sections of the white establishment reacted in different ways but their aim was the same – to crush the militant actions by force, intimidation and hypocritical "concessions".

The South African government, in typical reaction, amassed a huge army (some were airlifted from Pretoria) to protect the interests of the "South African way of life" (racism), under the guise of "law and order" maintenance. Strikers were tear-gassed, baton charged, arrested and prosecuted. The employers made gestures to meet the workers' demands by token contemptuous and petty offers of wage increases. The white Trade Unions once again paid lip-service to the need for "decent wages" for blacks and mouthed pious statements about the extension of trade union rights. We all know that their new-found concern for our welfare is designed to gain control of the growing urge by the Black masses for action and organisation. In this way they hope to perpetuate the privileges of the white workers by other

means. They would like the African unions to come under their tutelage so as to misdirect their orientation in the struggle.

The recriminations between the government and the employers are a measure of the profound impact which the organised actions have had on the ruling circles. The government blames the employers for not having agreed to earlier suggested wage increases and the employers blame the government, claiming that they are guided and directed by government policy in their treatment of black workers. But nobody believes that the accusations and counter-accusations are anything more than a family squabble between groups which stand together on the vital issue of maintaining white privilege based on the super-exploitation of the oppressed black mass.

Smith on the Run

Before discussing the significance of the strikes, it is instructive to look into the content and character of the South African regime so that we may be able to draw the correct conclusions for future action. But whilst gross exploitation and oppression of the Black majority enhanced by the unadulterated use of force and terror remains the striking feature of the South African system, the oppressed are not taking their oppression passively. The situation in South Africa, and indeed in Southern Africa, is not static. Dramatic changes have taken place since the early 60's. The wars of liberation, or what Vorster & Co. call "terrorist campaigns", are raging in South Africa's northern borders, with her troops (Blacks included) involved and deservedly suffering casualties. Your brothers and sisters are making resounding successes in the north. Smith is on the run. The people's forces in Angola and Mozambique are growing in strength. Our Namibian brothers are hitting the enemy.

The threat to apartheid itself is real, hence its propaganda seeks to denigrate the liberation movements as "terrorists" and menaces to "law and order". The most recent examples of this propaganda are Vorster's New Year Message to South Africa, the President's speech in the official opening of Parliament, and the South African delegation's co-sponsorship of the international "anti-terrorist campaign" at the United Nations. But the world knows that the South African government's very existence is based on terror.

Who are the Terrorists?

Our history shows the continuous escalation by whites of force, for the purpose of conquest and its perpetration. Today, repression is an advanced art in South Africa and the forces of "law and order" (police and Special Branch) are free to practice it with no limitations. The government's reaction to the barest hint of unrest is massive outpouring and use of its military and police strength as was the case of the students' and workers' demonstrations and strikes.

Violence has become the *raison d'être* of the white state, which has a monopoly of power and of the means of violence. Only through this monopoly can it continue dominating the Black majority, temporarily at least. Violence is thus not only a means but an end in itself.

Its 'justification' is the doctrine of national security which is evoked to solicit complicity and support (which it readily gets from whites) and simultaneously to harass, hound and even murder political opponents. Almost the entire white population, by its action or inaction, has put its energy into the collective enterprise of inflicting violent injury on its

Black fellow-citizens, and, by so doing, places itself at the direct disposal of the white political leadership. Denial of trade union rights to ensure maximum exploitation; the militarisation of the country through astronomical defence budgets and the intermittent counter-insurgency military exercises; arbitrary arrests, detentions, and bannings; indiscriminate torture of political opponents and patriots – all these are manifestations of terror that pervades South Africa.

Government Terror

Governmental terror and torture have become the rule and not the exception, and are implanted as an institutionalised governmental system. They have become the norm of government. As a result of the wide discretionary powers and backing by the courts, judiciary and the government, it has become normal for the police to methodically apply the most barbarous methods of torture on political prisoners. BOSS and the Special Branch represent final authority, thus making judicial power a mockery of justice. The "law and order" that South Africa talks about is no more than the silence that it wants to impose by oppression. Its price has been the deterioration and destruction of freedom and justice. Law and order as understood by civilised persons is characterised by **freedom, justice and equality**, and not by institutionalised inequality. Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, succinctly states: "Political justice is manifested between persons who share a common way of life . . . as free and equal members of the society. Between persons who do not enjoy such freedom and equality, there can be no political justice but only a simulacrum of it".

Thus the reality that faces the oppressed people is this: while the present white dictatorship exists, tyranny and terror will exist as an integral part of the totalitarian South African political system. It is the combination of these injustices accompanied by the absence of remedies that has influenced men like Mandela, Sisulu, Tambo, Kathrada, etc. to take steps for the regaining of freedom and justice for the oppressed. To them the problem was whether to remain passive slaves, trodden underfoot by organised brute force or challenge and overthrow government terror. **For what can be done against force without force?**

Strikes and Future Perspectives

The strikes have once again exposed the unbridled exploitation of the Black workers, but their significance goes beyond this mere exposure. They have underscored the importance of **Black unity in action**. They have demonstrated that *united and organised we can move forward*. The Black workers have proved their power and will in the face of unparalleled adversity. Their actions exhibited impressive rudiments of coordination and organisation despite harassment and intimidation. The gains the workers have extracted will re-double their self-confidence. Above all, the workers' strikes point to critical historical roles they will play, under their vanguard organisation, in the inevitable overthrow of white supremacy.

However, we should not rest content with the gains which have been scored. Already the fascist government, to forestall and smash the growing revolutionary movement of Black students, has pounced on its leadership with severe banning orders. There is a need more than ever to define our long-range strategy and to create effective instruments

for the realisation of our goals. The struggle for the immediate economic and political interests of the masses must be content and starting point of the Black peoples' liberation. The advanced, articulate leadership of the oppressed must not confine itself only to bare appeals to struggle for economic improvement *per se*. Conquest of political power and its retention is paramount because it is only through this vehicle that the aspirations of the masses can be realised. Economically motivated strikes on their own will not bring about the downfall of apartheid. This does not mean that the strikes should not have been organised. But they will only provide long-term solutions if they are complemented by an all round mass legal and illegal struggle, including the use of force.

Clarion Call

Even under present conditions of terror, the masses must be tirelessly prepared for a rapid adjustment in forms and methods of struggle when there is a change in the situation. Such adjustments are more appropriate today than ever before. If the earlier massacres and deaths of African people at the hands of whites throughout history have not taught us the extent to which white South Africa relies on power and terror, then the Sharpeville massacre, deaths in detention etc. leave no doubt as to the willingness and intention of white South Africa to commit genocide upon Blacks. It is within this context that the liberation movement, in defence of the unalienable rights of the Black people, is mobilising them for an onslaught on the apartheid citadel. The Mandelas did not think that with the illegalisation of the ANC all was lost; that at any given moment the question was now or never; that the alternative was insurrection or doom. The liberation movement knew perfectly well that illegality would entail tremendous losses (Rivonia arrests), that it means *self-sacrifice and heroism* but also that we must work for the physical overthrow of the white minority government by the masses.

The struggle today requires skilful organisational and unconventional techniques and tactics that will not be easy for the enemy to detect. This is a trying exercise especially under fascist conditions. It demands absolute dedication and sacrifice, and the development of a contempt for death. The dictatorial terrorism can make use of the repressive police-military services and arms, but **it does not have the support of the Black peoples, the majority**. We as Blacks always enjoy the support of the masses. The defeatist conclusion that the military superiority of the enemy will overpower and smash resistance must be rejected in *no uncertain terms*. The experience of history teaches us that there is never a tyranny that has a lasting life.

Today the clarion call to the youth is: Organise, prepare! The Black youth have a legacy of untold suffering of their people who were robbed of their land, who suffered the horrors and bestiality of colonialism, and who have continuously fought valiantly for freedom and independence. This is a rich legacy of pain and triumph, and it is the duty of the present generation to carry the banner forward to a resolution of the problems posed as a result of Black experience. The young people have a responsibility to unfold this legacy in the tradition of the Mandelas. No matter what difficulties and hardships may lie ahead, the Black people will triumph.

**THIS GREAT HUMANITY HAS SAID:
ENOUGH! AND HAS STARTED TO MOVE FORWARD:**

In the preceding pages readers have been provided with ample evidence of the immorality of white South African rule. Despite the well-known fact that thousands of Black Children die each year from starvation, white South African doctors who have done little, if anything at all to alleviate the lot of the Black people, talk about . . .

MORALE AND MEDICINE

when discussing their attitude to our guerrilla struggle. In an editorial published in the South African Medical Journal dated March 11, 1972 under the above heading they state . . .

"Due to the activities of terrorists, people are being killed on our borders. At the moment their numbers are small and we sincerely hope that they will not increase, but the fact remains that terrorist infiltration is very real threat to our country and we as a profession must ensure that we can at any moment lend the support to those who so richly deserve it by risking their lives to guard our safety.

History has proved time and again that the morale of any fighting unit is greatest when it is defending its own territory and soldiers are inclined to become progressively disheartened and disinterested the further away from home they are supposed to fight. One hardly needs the proof of history for this self-evident observation, but in our case our country is so large that areas still within our borders could seem entirely strange to someone who is not basically convinced of the need to defend our soil. The education and training of our police and army we may safely leave in the able hands of the relevant authorities. We must, however, make sure that we can provide medical support when needed.

Experience in Mozambique has taught that first-aid stations and hospitals must be manned in such a way that combatants can receive immediate and correct treatment for wounds caused by landmines and similar devices. For any injured person to undergo a series of progressive amputations of his limbs after a blast injury, the experience will remain a nightmare which will colour his entire future. If, however, he can receive the correct surgical care at the very outset, his morale will certainly be improved.

On the non-physical level it is important that everyone should be aware of the need to safeguard our country, for unless such conviction is engendered we will also suffer the ravages of the psychological effects of war. There were only a few cases of shell-shock or similar psychiatric trauma during the Battle of Britain, whereas such problems seem to be fairly prevalent among the American soldiers in Vietnam. This can very probably be related to the distance from their homeland and the relative disinterest inevitably engendered by the fact that they are not defending their own. We can ensure that should the time come, we will be able to face



Very little is done to prevent Black children from dying of starvation (above) but millions are spent annually by the racists on the military budget to carry out scenes such as these (below)



our adversaries without any fear of psychological after-effects.

Not only must our colleagues in the armed forces carry the responsibility of caring for possible injuries among those on our borders – we should all ensure that we are ready and able to help whenever help is needed. Fortunately all that is needed at this stage is the firm determination to support the defence of our borders with every means at our disposal."

NOTICE TO READERS

- OWING to pressure on space we have been reluctantly compelled to leave out a report from the International Conference For Action Against Colonialism and Apartheid, held in Oslo under the sponsorship of the United Nations in co-operation with the Organisation of African Unity. This report together with other documents presented to the Conference will be published in our next issue.
- READERS attention is drawn to an announcement made in our last issue that we shall not be publishing the October issue of Sechaba due to extra pages that had been used in our May and June issues.

WE SHALL WIN

Speech by the delegate of the African National Congress to the 12th Executive meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), held in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

On behalf of the African National Congress and in the name of the oppressed and exploited masses of South Africa, I wish to thank the Permanent Secretariat for inviting us to participate in the 12th Executive Meeting of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO).

Engaged as we are in the process of preparation for armed liberation of our country, it is fitting that this meeting is held here in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, a country which won its independence through armed revolution and a country which today is one of the developing countries, building a truly democratic society. We are sure that in the few days we are here we shall go away richer from their experience.

The 12th Executive Meeting convenes at a momentous period in the history for our movement and indeed of the anti-imperialist movement. AAPSO has, since its inception, championed the struggle of the peoples of Africa and Asia for freedom and independence and supported peoples' endeavours elsewhere fighting against oppression and exploitation. This great tradition has been crowned with the great victory of the people of Indo-China and in particular the victory of the Vietnamese people against the most powerful imperialist country – the United States of America.

We hail the people of Indo-China and say Glory to the people of Vietnam! Their victory is our victory – the victory of the struggling peoples of Africa and Asia – the victory of the anti-imperialist forces the world over. Their victory opens wide possibilities for the national liberation movement especially under the umbrella of a united international anti-imperialist movement.

However, we must not be complacent. We must be vigilant. A wounded tiger is more dangerous. Imperialism is essentially aggressive. And by leaving Vietnam, United States imperialism has not abandoned its self-appointed position of world gendarme. Our duty is to hit harder every time it rears its ugly head. Thus at this session, our work must be geared to further consolidating our forces, to forge greater and better unity among our peoples, and, on the basis of this victory, to mobilise for more determined and dedicated struggles.

Our country, South Africa, usurped and ruled by a white racist minority, is an important part of this imperialist set-up. But our people under the leadership of the African National Congress have long become aware of this imperialist conspiracy and are waging relentless struggle under difficult conditions.

The peasants in our country, for long used as reservoirs of cheap labour for the white farms, factories and mines have become increasingly aware of the Government tactic to use them against the permanent working force in the cities. They are demanding land and have raised their united voice throughout South Africa.

The workers in the city and countryside have found new strength. Though not permitted to organise themselves into unions, the last two years have seen a series of strikes by

black workers. What is significant is that both government and employers were forced to negotiate. Last month, despite the coercive force of the army, Durban, one of the major cities in South Africa, was brought to a standstill. The strike spread to other towns like Port Elizabeth. Balthazar Vorster, the Nazi prime minister of South Africa, had to instruct the employers to regard African workers as human beings and not just as units of labour. The concessions by the employers were small but significant.

The youth, students and intellectuals have identified themselves with the struggle of the African people for emancipation. The ranks of the oppressed Black masses are closing despite state laws which are designed to keep the different ethnic and racial groups in the country permanently separated and antagonistic to one another.

In this atmosphere the Liberation Movement has strengthened its underground machinery and is able to give effective leadership to the people.

Our people have long been aware that the only way to end the violence and sadism of the white minority regime is by the use of revolutionary violence. We are sure that the cause of our people, freedom, independence and democracy, will triumph.

We express our support to and solidarity with all peoples fighting against colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism for peace, democracy and national integrity – our brothers in the African liberation movements, FRELIMO, M.P.L.A., PAIGC, SWAPO, ZAPU and MOLINACO.

We offer deep-felt condolences to the PAIGC for the savage assassination of their Secretary-General, Comrade Amilcar Cabral, a leader and patriot of the African revolution. Imperialism will have to learn that the assassination of leaders of the liberation movement cannot deter the will and zeal of our people for national liberation and freedom.

We wish our brothers of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Arab countries of the Middle East, speedy success over the United States-backed Zionist regime of Israel. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Zionist occupationist forces from Arab lands, and the just solution of the Palestinian problem.

We support the struggle of the people of Korea for the reunification of their country and demand the unconditional withdrawal of all American forces in South Korea.

We express our thanks to the socialist countries, the progressive forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America and in the Western countries for their militant support to the liberation movement.

We are fully confident that we, with your political, moral and material support, will destroy Apartheid and all its institutions and build a free, independent and nonracial democratic South Africa.

Long live friendship between the peoples of South Africa and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Long live AAPSO!!

Long live the unity and solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces!!

EVERYONE CAN FIGHT APARTHEID

Many people who feel a genuine detestation for the policies of the South African regime, nevertheless seem to feel that there's no way in which they personally can work to change things. 'But what can I do?' they ask, and when concrete suggestions are made, they sometimes add 'But will that really make any difference.'

The apparently monolithic structure of oppression in South Africa can lead to people feeling this type of despondency. But as so many recent events have shown – amongst workers, in the rural areas, and amongst students – action can rapidly bring about cracks in that stony facade. The ANC has always proclaimed that change in South Africa will come from within. Only the people themselves can accomplish the overthrow of their oppressors. But what people outside the country can do is exert pressure – in innumerable ways, some general, some specialized, which will assist and support the people in their efforts. These methods work – innumerable examples prove this.

Investments

Nothing makes white South Africa more fearful than the prospect of a decline in foreign investment; they are extremely dependent on the 'friendly powers' who maintain them. And these 'friendly' capitalist countries are eager to continue doing so; in few places, thanks to South Africa's starved near-slave labour, can they make such high profits. There are many ways in which individuals can act to discourage investment in South Africa. And we say **discourage**. The *Guardian* newspaper in Britain has recently run a very sustained campaign to try to persuade British companies to pay their Black workers better, and improve their living conditions. Whilst this campaign has performed a most valuable service in drawing the British public's attention to the shocking exploitation carried out by British firms – and may also ameliorate workers' conditions to some degree – it is essentially treating a cancer with aspirin. The only way in which apartheid can be fought with real effectiveness is for all foreign investors to disengage from the country.* Obviously however, that's the last thing these concerns want to do. The only way to persuade them is to persuade large shareholders to sell their shares in such companies.

From 1971 to 1973, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has achieved a remarkable amount of success in this field. Trade Unions, Universities, local Councils,

local Labour Parties, Churches have got rid of a large number of extensive holdings. Indeed, it might be suggested that the very success of these tactics has led to an Establishment counter-move: pleading for amelioration of workers' living standards, in order to distract attention from an active policy of disengagement.

Many individuals can play a useful part in persuading major shareholders to get rid of their shares in companies with interests in South Africa: ie, trade unionists, members of Churches, and people active in local affairs.

Another useful activity can be pursued by buying one share in a company involved in South Africa. This entitles the shareholder to attend the Annual General Meeting, and express his views. While he may be greeted with anger, insults and even eventual eviction, and may not influence the company's policy, nevertheless the Press if notified, will call attention to the situation.

Trade Unions

Members of trade unions can play a vital role within their unions in raising South African issues, and getting resolutions passed and policies adopted (such as those which have resulted in unions selling millions of pounds worth of shares). In addition, trade unions can discourage their members from emigrating to South Africa.

Professional bodies can also act. Architects are currently fighting a magnificent battle to disaffiliate South Africa (where there are no African architects). While the RIBA has so far refused to take action, the Architectural Association has passed a resolution demanding the severing of links. Young doctors are also fighting to get South Africa expelled from the World Medical Association – she has already been expelled from the Commonwealth Medical Association.

Another vigorous campaign is under way – this time to get South Africa expelled from the Association of Commonwealth Universities (it seems ludicrous that she should still be a member). Students are playing a very active part in this – as they do in so many of the battles against apartheid.

Students

By holding conferences, demonstrating, expressing their solidarity with South African students, students have expressed their condemnation of the South African regime with worthwhile persistence – as they have their rejection

of any sell-out in Rhodesia, and their hostility to Portugal's colonial rule in Angola, Mozambique and Guine. They have also taken part in many activities aimed at excluding South African apartheid teams from national and international sporting events. The successes achieved in this field – culminating in the New Zealand Prime Minister's ban on the entrance of a racially selected South African rugby team – are too well known to need detailed enumeration.

Culture

Achieving the cultural isolation of white South Africa is another important task. White South Africa must learn the hard way that if she rejects humanity, humanity will reject her. In both England and America, numerous playwrights and film writers have refused to allow their works to be performed before segregated audiences. While South Africa has passed a law to enable her to pirate productions, she as in fact used this law only three times, being uneasy at the thought of provoking the artists of the world still further.

Political Prisoners

The Rivonia heroes have now been in Prison for 10 years. We must not allow this sombre anniversary to pass unremembered. Many organizations – and individuals – can add their voices to the protests raised against the inhuman persecution suffered by South African political prisoners. An improvement has been reported in the conditions of white political prisoners – these improvements must be extended to Africans, Indians and Coloureds.

Can anyone really say that taking part in the type of activity briefly outlined here is not worthwhile. No, and especially for today's youth, determined to build a more humane tomorrow, the South African cause is one to which they can flock wholeheartedly and without reservation. In a world of manifold injustices, apartheid stands out as an unequalled crime. Through solidarity work, people everywhere can support the people of South Africa in their heroic struggle for freedom. And that way – we shall overcome.

* For a full discussion of this subject see *The South African Connection, Western Investment in Apartheid*, by Ruth First, Jonathan Steele and Christabel Gurney. London: Temple Smith, 1972.