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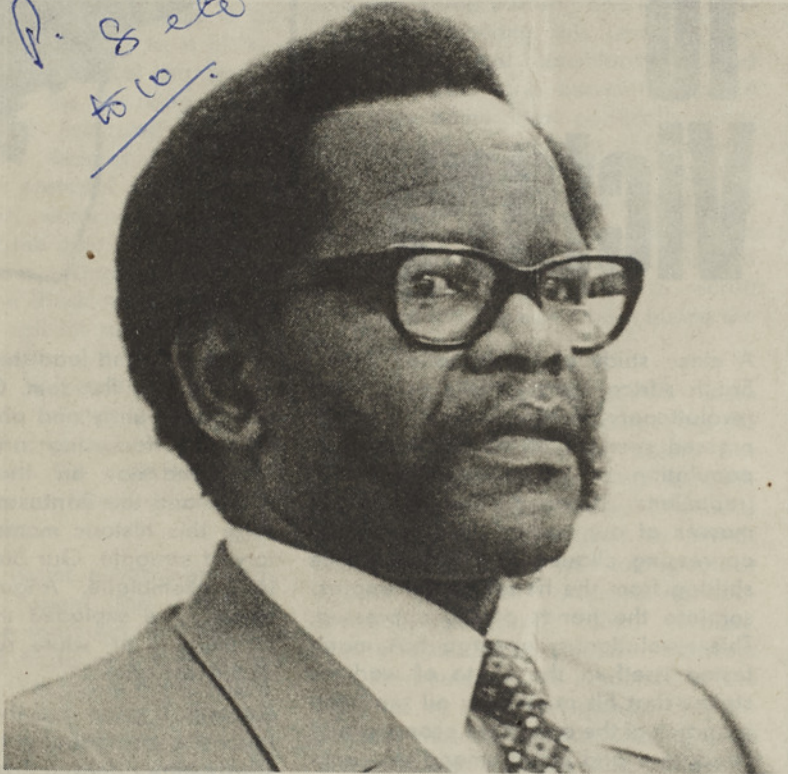
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# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
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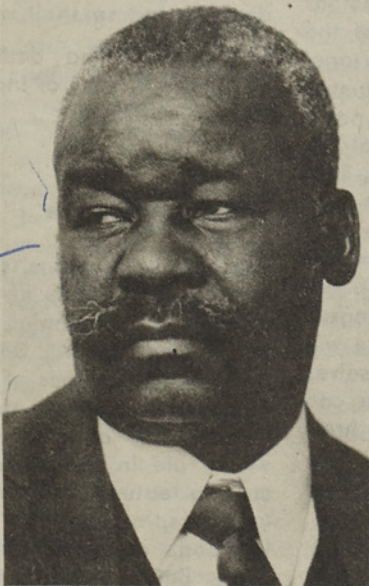


TAMBO — Acting President

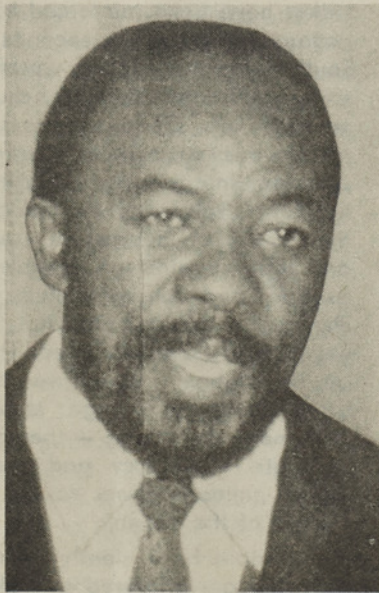
## SPECIAL ISSUE

Reports on  
Extra-Ordinary  
Meeting  
of the  
National Executive  
of the  
African National  
Congress

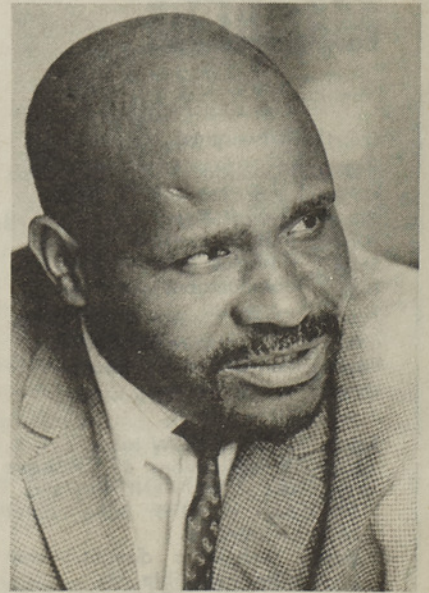
- Vorster's so-called detente
- Bantustans



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Revolutionary Council



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NKOBI — Treasurer-General



# SECHABA

Vol 9 No 5 May 1975

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## Fighting Talk ♦ Fighting Talk

# Forward To Victory



A close study of the situation inside South Africa today shows a growing revolutionary mood among all the oppressed sections of the South African population, a sharpening of the contradictions between the oppressed masses of our country and the white oppressing clique, with the initiative shifting from the hands of the oppressor into the hands of the oppressed. This revolutionary upsurge has manifested itself in the spate of worker's strikes that hit practically all the main branches of the apartheid economy and struck fear and panic among the ranks of the industrial bosses and the ruling circles of the country. These workers' strikes have been reinforced by similar actions among other sections of the South African population — professional men, youth and students, churchmen, sportmen, etc. Of course this is a natural response to increased national oppression, intensified exploitation, higher rents, prices, taxes, inflation and the threat of depression, repression and terror against our people, militarisation and fascist dictatorship. In short our conditions have not changed, but instead have worsened. There will be no change unless we ourselves bring about the change; change can only mean one thing — the overthrow of white supremacy and the transfer of political power to the rightful owners of the country.

Our people have clearly demonstrated that they are prepared to make sacrifices for their freedom. This indeed is a great challenge to the leadership and organisational capacity of the ANC — to galvanise all these new emerging democratic and revolution-

nary forces and lead them through the revolution to freedom. Our people inside the country and progressive mankind are focussing attention on the ANC and not on the racist-Vorster clique and the Bantustan chieftains to seize this historic moment in our history of struggle. Our brothers in arms, in Mozambique, Angola, and elsewhere have exploded the myth of the invincibility of white rule and white oppressor armies.

Caetano is gone and the Smith regime is on the verge of crumbling under the sturdy blows delivered by the National Liberation Movement of Zimbabwe. Our brothers across the borders have done it, and so shall we.

Our underground activity inside the country is directly or indirectly bearing fruit on all fronts.

## Workers Organise

The apartheid system is being challenged by all sections of the oppressed. As from the beginning of 1973 up to the present period, South Africa has been hit by a series of strikes by African workers shaking the very foundations of the apartheid economy and white rule in the country. The most striking feature of this strike movement was its spreading onto the mines, the backbone of the South African economy. Besides, the African mine workers have, for years now, been regarded as 'docile' and 'incapable' of militant action. Today these 'docile' mine-workers have risen from their political slumber and are joining the



mighty stream of the revolutionary tide.

The tremendous power of the Black working people in South Africa can be seen not only in the strike movement, the growth of the Black trade unions and the mushrooming of scores of other workers organisations, associations and groupings, but is also to be found in the trends which must objectively lead to fundamental changes in the character of the working class. This must not be confused with the condition of the African workers. In actual fact his material and spiritual conditions have worsened instead of improving over the past fifty years. The changes that are taking place in the character of the Black working people of our country call for an examination of our organisational tasks and methods of work. We believe that well organised and politically conscious workers' unions and organisations will undoubtedly form the basis and training ground for our future urban guerrilla detachments.

Last year the racist government was compelled to repeal the notorious Masters and Servants Act that tied the farm labourers hand and foot to the white masters. Yet these farm labourers still work under conditions that can only be paralleled by those of classical serfdom and feudalism. The isolation of the farm worker from his fellow-workers and the farming community in general, the long hours of back-breaking work, the violence of the white farmers against "their" farm workers, the low wages and high rate of illiteracy and ignorance, the absolute denial of all legal and political rights — all these are the conditions that contribute to the creation of a "worker" much more tied to 'tradition' and less organised. Yet this apparently dormant farm labourer will be mobilised and organised into a force upon which the movement can depend for the organisation and launching of both political and military actions in the countryside.

The mining industry, the second largest employer of Black workers, still depends, to a very large extent on migrant labour which is recruited outside the Republic of South Africa — from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Moccambique, Zimbabwe, and Swaziland. This labour force drawn from the neighbouring countries ac-

counts for about eighty percent of the African labour force on the mines. At the same time, most of the South African mines are operating on an average of 70 % of the labour force as a result of the great exodus of Malawian and other foreign African miners in protest against their inhuman and degrading working and living conditions. Underlying this revolt is the growing political consciousness and these workers are becoming aware that they come from politically Independent States and must defend their national pride and human dignity. In most cases these workers are leaving against the will of the mine bosses and their respective governments. Thus the mine bosses are compelled to recruit more and more workers from inside the Republic.

The acute shortage of skilled white workers on the mines is compelling the mine bosses to relax the colour bar and move the Africans into "semiskilled and skilled jobs that were formerly reserved and monopolised by whites only. Similar trends are taking place in other industries — engineering, construction, transport, Public services, Post offices, South African Railways and Harbours etc. In response to the demands of industrial growth and expansion and the proportional drop in white skilled workers, the industrial bosses are therefore forced to extend industrial skills to the Africans and work towards an urban-based and stabilised African work force. In the long run, a stable, skilled Black labour force will not only ensure higher profits for the bosses, but will also be easier to mobilise and will wield greater striking power. Already the Black miners are acquiring a new perception of themselves and their conditions. A new consciousness of the need to struggle and the possibility of victory is emerging. Things which the African miners appeared to have accepted as natural — white domination, oppression and exploitation, the absence of trade union and political rights, treatment as undifferentiated units of labour, the compound and migrant labour system — these are no longer acceptable. The old mentality of the impregnability and permanence of the White racist regimes in Southern Africa is steadily being replaced by a new consciousness of the vulnerability of the White racist regime and the inevitability of its downfall.

## Student Strikes

Today more than three years after the momentous May 1972 strikes, the ferment among the youth and students continues, causing deep concern among the university authorities and ruling circles. Recent students' strikes and demonstrations bear testimony to this fact and serve as a pointer to the evergrowing revolutionary upsurge that is existing in the country. This upsurge in the student movement is by no means a mere continuation of previous student confrontation with the university authorities, but also bears an ever deeper significance that speaks of increased militancy and consciousness in the student body as a whole. Indeed this militancy reaches far beyond the confines of campus activities.

Our students have not limited their activities to just the denunciation of apartheid education and the government's attacks on academic freedoms and rights, but have:

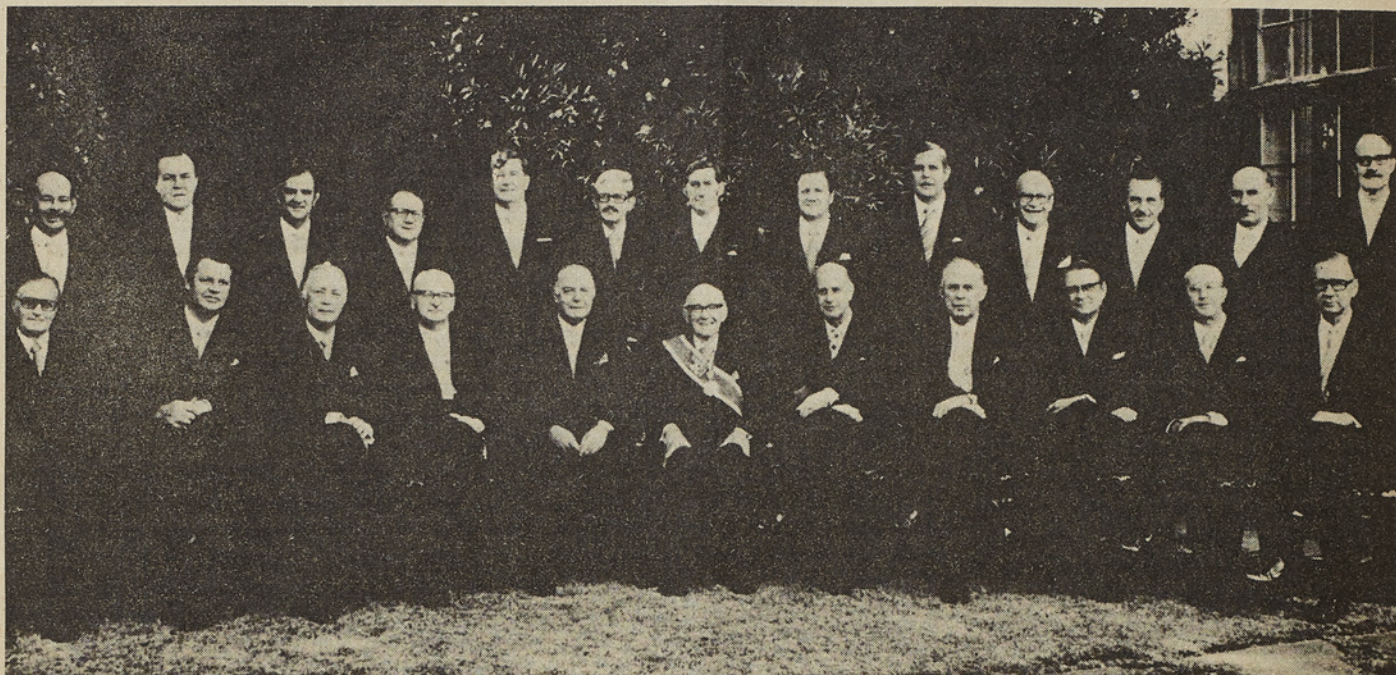
- Come out openly against the government's attempt to use South Africa's dual system of education to indoctrinate and enslave our youth mentally and perpetuate White domination.
- Come out more decisively in demand for a greater say in the running of the universities and drawing of the syllabuses.
- Rejected the government's interference in students' affairs, and the planting of police spies and informers on the campuses.
- Rejected the bullying attitudes of the university authorities whom they recognise as an extension of the policies of separate development and White supremacy.

The attacks launched by these students are gradually being directed at the root causes of the sufferings and disabilities of the African masses. They show a growing sense of political awareness as a result of the objective conditions obtaining in the country and the years and years of the political and agitational work carried out by the ANC and its allied bodies before and after the bans.

## Wrath of the Masses

The mounting revolutionary build-up and the wrath of the masses inside the country, and the growing international isolation of the racist White group,





The all – white South African Cabinet and Deputy Ministers with the State President after the recent cabinet reshuffle. Front row, from left: Mr J. J. Loots, Minister of Planning and the Environment and of Statistics; Dr C. P. Mulder, Minister of the Interior and of Information; Mr S. L. Muller, Minister of Transport; Mr M. Viljoen, Minister of Labour and of Posts and Telecommunications; Mr B. J. Vorster, the Prime Minister; Mr J. J. Fouché, the State President; Mr P. W. Botha, Minister of Defence; Mr M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education; Mr S. P. Botha, Minister of Water Affairs and of Forestry; Sen J. P. van der Spuy, Minister of National Education and of Social Welfare and Pensions, and Mr A. H. du Plessis, Minister of Public Works and of Community Development. Back row, from left: Mr. H. H. Smit, Deputy Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions and of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations; Mr T. N. H. Janson, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education; Mr A. J. Raubenheimer, Deputy Minister of Bantu Development; Mr J. T. Kruger, Minister of Justice, of Police and of Prisons; Sen. O. P. F. Horwood, Minister of Finance; Mr H. Schoeman, Minister of Agriculture; Dr P. G. J. Koornhof, Minister of Mines, of Immigration and of Sport and Recreation; Dr S. W. van der Merwe, Minister of Health and of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations; Mr J. C. Heunis, Minister of Economic Affairs; Mr S. J. M. Steyn, Minister of Indian Affairs and of Tourism; Mr J. W. Rall, Deputy Minister of Transport; Mr J. J. Malan, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, and Mr W. A. Cruywagen, Deputy Minister of the Interior. Dr H. Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was not present

have driven Vorster and his henchmen to extremes – reforms and repressions – in a desperate attempt to stem the tide of the revolution, defuse the explosive situation and maintain the economic system and white supremacy. The collapse of Portugal as one of the main pillars of the unholy alliance of Caetano, Smith and Vorster, the UN General Assembly decision to kick out the Vorster regime further compounded the situation. At the height of these events and confusion, Vorster issued a statement whose effect was a favourable response from some quarters of the African continent and culminated in the establishment of unprecedented friendship with Black Africa. Vorster broke out of international isolation and encirclement, made a tactical retreat to regroup and launch a fresh counter-offensive against our people and the continent. He has initiated "dialogue" and is exchanging diplomatic visits with African states – to the total exclusion of the National Libe-

ration Movement inside the country. Whilst these negotiations are taking place, repressions, persecutions, beatings, shootings and hangings are continuing in South Africa. No changes have been introduced and we expect no changes from the Vorster regime. New vicious laws are being passed and the Bantustan leaders are given more powers to suppress our people. Vorster has arrogantly and openly declared that he is not prepared to turn South Africa "upside down". The military budget has been increased by about 55 %. Out of this huge military budget a bigger portion is intended for internal suppression of the National Liberation Movement, and the rest for counter-revolutionary operations in neighbouring Africa. African, Indian and Coloured people are being drawn into the White oppressor army to make them active participants in the suppression of their own people. The Bureau for State Security (BOSS) has been given more powers and is

spreading its poisonous tentacles into neighbouring countries creating a network of underground espionage activities. It has already claimed the lives of Boy Mvemve (JD) and Abraham Tiro.

## Double Talk

Coupled with this the racist government is using bribery, blackmail and physical intimidation to force the African states to withdraw their support for the ANC. The recent 'negotiations' 'talks' or 'dialogue' that South Africa is engaged in are carried out from her position of economic and military strength.

It shall be noted too that the racist regime does not only rely on brute force for entrenching and perpetuating its positions, it is at the same time spreading reformist illusions at home and abroad for misleading and immobilising our forces. In this drive to



divide our people on tribal lines, to divert our people from the path of the revolution, the Bantustan schemes and chieftains are exploited to the full by the Vorster regime. More than that, the Bantustan leaders are trying their level best to whitewash the racist regime internationally, and canvass against the armed struggle in South Africa.

At home too, some of these Bantustan leaders are outdoing the government in immobilising and misleading the African people with their double-talk and double-dealing – today using “revolutionary” language and the following day preaching reformism and passiveness. This dangerous and treacherous trend by the Bantustan leaders must and will be exposed to the full. It would be incorrect to give the impression that the masses in the Bantustan areas are submissive to the Bantustan leaders. On the contrary, there is growing resistance and reports that reach us show that our people totally reject Vorster’s “detente” exercises with Africa.

All in all these developments once

more underline the pressing need for stepping up the struggle inside the country. A lasting solution to our suffering lies in the path of the revolution and the overthrow of the apartheid system inside the country.

To meet this challenge and fulfil its historic mission, the ANC held an extra-ordinary meeting of its National Executive Committee at which it invited representatives of all its units, international missions and members of its Revolutionary Council.

The meeting which was attended by 52 representatives met for four full days, including late night sittings, and adopted far reaching decisions.

Among these were . . .

- plans to intensify our work inside South Africa;
- decisions to increase political activity and propaganda internally and externally;
- Adoption of a plan to mobilise even further all democratic and anti-racist forces inside South Africa and throughout the world to further isolate the apartheid regime.

- to expose and totally reject Bantustans and other apartheid institutions foisted on the people by the Vorster regime;

- to make war on Vorster’s fraudulent policy of detente;

- to prepare our people for the armed struggle.

In the following pages we publish abridged and edited versions of some of the documents submitted to the meeting. Full reports on the documents and decisions could not be publicly stated for reasons of security and space. However, we urge our readers to study these documents and act in whichever area they may be to expose racism and colonialism which are the cornerstone of the Vorster regime’s policies and to make meaningful contributions to the struggle of our people, led by the African National Congress.

**Forward to national liberation and majority rule!**

**FORWARD TO VICTORY!**  
**AMANDLA!**

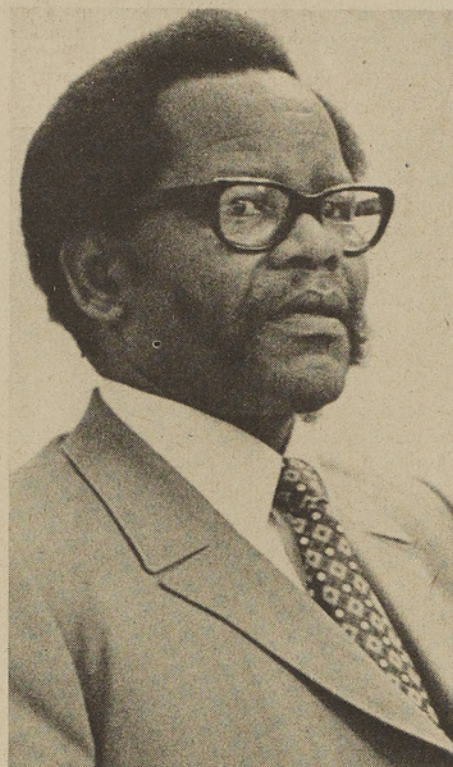
The African National Congress of South Africa, its Women’s and Youth & Students’ Sections and all its members greet the Women of the World on the occasion of . . .

## 1975: International Women’s Year

and calls upon the entire progressive forces, inside and outside South Africa, men, women, workers, personalities, professional people, youths and students and church people to make all efforts to contribute to the activities and programmes organised for this campaign and especially to work for the success of the World Congress for International Women’s Year to be held in Berlin, G.D.R., from 20–24 October this year.







O. R. Tambo

**Our Objective is . . .**

# THE SEIZURE OF POWER

**Presidential Address Submitted to the Extended Meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ANC (SA)**  
by Comrade O. R. Tambo, Acting President-General

Events across the globe in the past twelve months have moved at a new speed, in some instances, a dazzling pace. The period from the Lisbon coup to the installation of a transitional government in Mocambique, representing a rapid process of demolition of a colonial system, was characterised by a breathless succession of a historic transformation. The competition for time between the forces for progress, pressing hard for victory, and the forces of imperialism, seeking to gain time, for regrouping and for counter-offensive, raised the whole tempo of conflict, and set a new urgency in the speed for executing political programmes – it introduced a kind of jet-era in the world of struggles for social transformations.

**In relation to this new era of speed,** we, the ANC, have to identify our position. Do we not belong to the past? Are we properly marching with the times?

I am glad to say that the ANC certainly has the potential if this meeting is anything to go by.

For at no time have we at brief notice assembled such a representative meeting attended by delegates from such remote places.

This is a sign of vigour and vitality, if it is a sign of nothing else. It means we can rise in unison to respond to a challenge, to give answer to a clarion call to attack with massive might as

our people have done before, as our own MK has done in the recent past. It means that, at least politically, the ANC is yet a force – may be illmanaged, poorly directed and badly led – but still a force.

It is therefore with a feeling of strength and power that I wish, in the name of our beleaguered and fighting people, to congratulate you all for successfully solving all problems that stood in the way of your attending this meeting. Like an army of our people, you did not stop to reason why, you assembled as ordered.

I welcome you, comrades, to this meeting of the National Executive Committee. I look forward to being able, at the end of the meeting, to congratulate you, again in the name of the leaders of our movement who are not here – members of the NEC in jail or hospitals or elsewhere on duty, to congratulate you on successfully solving all the problems, that are before you, as broadly indicated by the agenda.

But while I am sure that we have the potential to keep in step with the tempo of our times, I am equally sure that we have not so far wholly tapped that potential.

To ask you to participate at this NEC meeting is part of the effort, on the one hand, to broaden the level of decision-taking in matters of policy, and on the other hand, to increase our ca-

capacity for the mobilisation of all our forces within the movement and internationally.

We must together assume responsibility for the leadership of our struggle and for the involvement of all our members and people. The ANC must be turned into an efficient and high-powered machine, able to lead a mighty and victorious struggle.

## The Organisation of African Unity

Having analysed the situation and decided on the action to be taken, **this meeting must address itself to the task of turning our movement into a power.** The Revolutionary Council of the A.N.C. met here last week. The Ministerial Council of the OAU meets in Dar next month. Both meetings focus exclusively on the struggle of our people in South Africa. The NEC must fortify and give political coverage to the former; it must give guidance to the latter.

This meeting, in its timing, has an element of inevitability: It proved impracticable to hold it earlier: it would have been irresponsible to delay it further. It had to take place this week, on the 17th day of this month, rather like the inevitability of an infinitely greater event on the 17th year of this century. **Let me invoke the revolutionary genius, discipline, determination, vision and sheer hard work which went into the Great October Socialist Revolution in calling upon you at this meeting to gear our movement for the accomplishment of the hardest task that has faced any people in the colonial history of Africa – a movement entrusted by history with a glorious and noble task – the conquest of power for the people from the high concentrate of racists, capitalists, colonialists and imperialists who have turned our country into a veritable bastion of reaction.**

A rapidly changing balance of world forces has shifted the revolutionary battleground in Africa to our country, and has confronted us with an immediate challenge – complex in its content and global in its dimensions.

- Within our country, the meaning of a liberation struggle under arms, and the inevitability of its success has been demonstrated afresh by FRELIMO and other liberation forces, in addition to the examples of Vietnam, Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, Angola and the 1973 Middle-East October war.
- The masses have seen the great possibilities of their own liberation movement and look to us for guidance and leadership into action.



- Our great workers are spearheading the offensive and increasingly harassing the exploiters as part of the struggle for the seizure of political power.
- A new generation of young revolutionaries, embracing all races is beginning to take to the political battlefield.
- The Bantustan policy is under challenge;
- Our gallant women are becoming restive, and those of them with us here have displayed a devotion to service which does great credit to the glorious record of our fighting women in South Africa.
- The demand for the release of the peoples leaders from imprisonment has taken firm root in the country.

On the other hand, the white liberal politicians, ever ready to diffuse the tides of revolution, are sparing no energies in pursuing their accustomed reformist campaign – now given surprising encouragement from surprising centres in Africa.

## Detente

An intensive, concentrated propaganda campaign with echoes in Africa, America and Western Europe, has been unleashed on our people, designed to make them relax to false hopes of "change" within the general context of a spirit of so-called detente, whereby, fascism, with all its unchanging nature is expected by some miracle to make a voluntary and even unsolicited surrender of its power and domination in peaceful response to demands by some spokesmen. But the fascist enemy, under the

The SA Prime Minister, Vorster, and the Liberian President, Mr. William Tolbert, during recent talks in Monrovia, capital of Liberia



smoke screen of precisely this peaceful-solution talks – this talk of "development", "cooperation" "financial aid" and 'detente', to mention but a few of its newly found slogans, is feverishly and rapidly strengthening its defences of the status quo in our country, recruiting allies from among our own anti-imperialist ranks, and moving out in a determined bid to break up, or sow confusion in, the international solidarity front which has contributed so massively towards the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and which has helped bring radical progressive transformations in other parts of the world.

In the situation which we thus find ourselves today – in the interval of time since the Lisbon Coup, it can be said our struggle stands at a temporary cross-roads between, on the one hand, mounting an all-out and all-round offensive to carry forward and lead the struggle against the fascist regime: the mighty front of anti-imperialist forces which swept in our favour during last year, and on the other hand, yielding ground to the imperialist pressures symbolised in John Vorster, sponsored by the imperialists and now eulogised by his new admirers as a "peace maker", "the greatest diplomat in Africa". Is it within our present capacity to shift from the crossroads and embark on a level of struggle in our country worthy of this time in history, in the history of Southern Africa?

This is not a theoretical, or rhetorical question. It is a practical question to which this meeting must seek the most objective answer. It is a question about:

- The objective facts of the situation in South Africa;
- Our tactics in relation to the main areas of conflict in that situation;
- How we build support for the struggle among our people and among progressive forces in different parts of the world;

### It is a question about:

- How, as a revolutionary movement we are organised for this great task.

Nothing has happened to justify change in our strategy of armed struggle. Much has happened to necessitate a review of our total effort in pursuit of the strategic objectives.

Much is happening in Africa to require of us to re-state the objectives of our struggle. In this connection, let me emphasize that in its essence, the forthcoming meeting of the OAU Ministerial Council is not a meeting about "detente". It is a meeting about the goals and future of our struggle, the future of a people colonised, oppressed, exploited and subjected to

racial indignities. It is a meeting about the future of Africa.

From our point of view it is a meeting to initiate the onslaught on the stronghold of white minority rule in Africa. It is a meeting whose results will test anew Kwame Nkrumah's declaration since adopted by all African states, that the independence of any one African country is meaningless – repeat meaningless, except in the context of the total liberation of Africa. This meeting of the NEC appropriately takes place before the OAU meeting, to let the voice of our people be heard on what we are fighting for, what support we need, and who we consider to be our comrades-in-arms and allies in that struggle.

We pay tribute to all our friends, supporters, brothers and comrades-in-arms, to the countries on the frontline of struggle who have sustained us and other liberation movements. We salute the great FRELIMO, President Samora Machel and the Mocambican people.

Our Brothers in Tanzania, President Nyerere, TANU, the Government and people of this country no less than President Kaunda, UNIP and the Government of Zambia continue to enjoy our confidence, based on our experience of them in the past 15 years.

To say that our people are genuinely disturbed by current developments in which the South African regime features with such dangerous prominence is precisely to express this confidence and to appeal to them to leave the world and our own people, in no doubt as to their known commitment to the total liberation, complete Uhuru and majority rule in South Africa.

Having said this let me say once again, that we have the inescapable responsibility to make the sacrifices necessary to bring us the Uhuru we demand for ourselves. It is sacrifices which constitute the best definition of what we want, the most persuasive and irresistible appeal for support, and the highest inducement to our brothers and friends to supplement our sacrifices with their own.

Therefore, to you, remembering our leaders in prison, recalling our women's struggle, mindful of our youth, knowing the militant struggle of our workers; to you, sitting here over our destiny – in this year of destiny – when revolutionary Mocambique becomes independent across our borders, when we observe the 20 Anniversary of the Freedom Charter and the 25th Anniversary of June 26, to you I commend the business of this meeting.



Before the recent South African election the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Mulder, used a significant metaphor to explain the policy of setting up tribal Bantustans for SA's 20 million Africans. He said: "I would prefer to live in a paddock next to a fenced bull than walk around with a black mamba in my bosom."

(Times, London, 29/3/74)

This is exactly what the Bantustans are all about. All other explanations by government spokesmen are just so much nonsense, and to put it mildly, no more than blatant lies to confuse the African people of South Africa and the peoples of the world, at large. As we explain in this article...

# BANTUSTANS ARE A FRAUD

Ever since the first Bantustan was set up in the Transkei in 1963 by that evil genius, Verwoerd, the ANC has rejected the concept of Bantustans as a deceitful manoeuvre to direct the attention of the people of the world from the real problems in South Africa.

We would not waste any more time with them except that latterly the white minority regime has been projecting the Bantustan leaders as real representatives of the people. Furthermore, the imperialists with major stakes in South Africa, especially the United States, have begun dealing with Bantustan leaders as spokesmen of the oppressed Black majority. Most dangerous and confusing of all: some of the Bantustan leaders have been welcomed in certain African countries also as leaders of the oppressed Black majority.

We have no doubt the Vorster regime is in the process of elaborating a strategy of minor reforms in the apartheid system in order to distract attention from the real needs and demands of the Black people of South Africa. This is what we understand when he talks of great changes in six months time. And we are certain the Bantustans figure highly in this strategy of reforms. The white minority regime talks of solving the problem of racial confrontation in South Africa by giving each ethnic group a slice of the country which will gradually acquire independence. The racist regime regards this as majority rule for each in its own area.

Even by the twisted and warped logic of the racist, the Bantustans are nonsense. They talk of freedom for each ethnic group in its own area. But they put ethnic groups only amongst

the African majority. Are there no ethnic groups among the whites? And what about the Coloured who number close to two million, or the Asians who number close to a million? They certainly don't intend having separate areas for the different white ethnic groups or for the Coloureds and Asian people. Bantustans are only for the African majority, to split and divide, to disrupt the process of nation-building. Even so, the Bantustans are not single geographical entities but comprise scattered islands of land surrounded by so-called white areas. What kind of independent states are expected to arise out of scattered bits of land? Obviously, even the white minority regime does not take its own arguments very seriously.

## Cheap Labour

But let us for the moment ignore the scattered nature of the Bantustans and take the population figures in re-

lation to the percentage of land intended for the Bantustans.

Africans	20,000,000
Whites	3,000,000
Coloureds	2,000,000
Asians	1,000,000

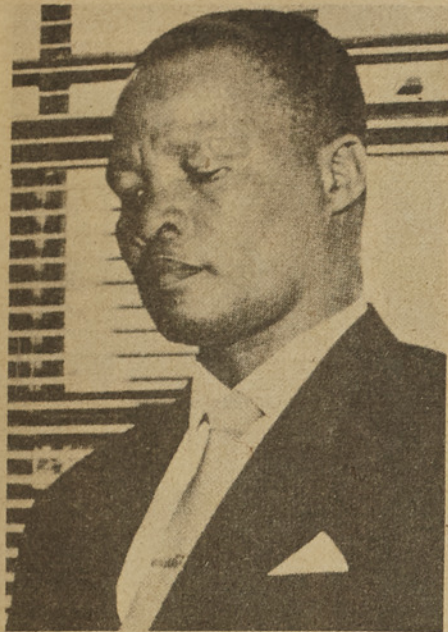
Yet the Bantustans, which are intended to be the independent homelands of twenty million Africans, comprise less than 13% of the land area of South Africa. The whites reserve for themselves over 85% of the land allowing only small, ghetto areas for Coloureds and Asians. On what scales of justice can such gross maldistribution of the land be weighed and defended?

Even if the African people, in a moment of aberration, accepted Bantustans, how could they possibly be expected to connive at such a horrid injustice to themselves? It must surely be clear that the racists are aware that the African people reject Bantustans. So the purpose of Bantustans must be, as we stated earlier, to delude the outside world.

The facts do not, however, stop there. What are now described as Bantustans were formerly called reserves — yes, reserves. They were areas which were set aside by the white man a hundred years ago to hold the African people in reserve for the white man's economy — they were reservoirs of cheap labour. In terms of the Pass Laws, all Africans have to stay in those reserves and only those needed in the white man's economy are permitted to leave them to seek employment, and then only under stringent conditions laid down under the Pass Laws. Thus, for decades, these reserves have been overcrowded and the land has become infertile, eroded because of over-usage. The Bantustans, therefore, don't only have 13% of the land, but this 13% is largely infertile, over-crowded land. Again, it must be clear that the racists are aware that the African people will not accept those barren overcrowded areas of South Africa as their independent states and hand over the rest of the land to the whites. When the Bantustans were launched in the early sixties, the theoreticians of the ruling Afrikaner Nationalist Party made great play of the fact that Africans living in white areas at that time would over a period of time be absorbed into the homelands until eventually there would be a lily-white South Africa, except for the Bantustans. The late, unlamented Verwoerd set up the Tomlinson Commission which produced a big tome full of figures about the millions of rand investment required to make the homelands viable, the percentage reduction in the urban African population per annum, etc, etc. The Tomlinson Commission report began to gather dust as soon as it was produced and is now totally buried under it. Not even a small fraction of the projected investment in the homelands has been undertaken. And the African population in the so-called







Kaiser Matanzima (Transkei) . . . ardent supporter of Bantustan policy

white areas now number nine million (official figures) as opposed to about seven million ten years ago. In addition to this, year after year when the Economic Growth Rate is projected for the following year, the planners take cognisance of and plan for an African work force in the economy, and year after year the planners project a higher figure. Thus, the African population in the so-called white areas is not only increasing, but the racist regime itself projects this increase. It recognises Africans are a part, and a necessary part, of the South African economy.

We may well ask if the African population in the so-called white areas numbers 9 million (almost 50% of the total), and if it is expected to increase annually, where and how do these "sojourners in white areas" exercise their rights of independence, freedom and sovereignty? What about freedom of speech, of assembly, of movement, of security, for them? And who has



heard of an independent sovereign state with half its population in a "neighbouring" country?

## Scattered

The Vorster regime says the Bantustans are on the road to independence and in fact, it will not be long before the Transkei achieves independence. But the Bantustans are scattered bits of land with no geographical coherence. They are overcrowded, barren. They have few basic industries, no fuel or power, poor means of communication, no ports of their own (they are land-locked). How on earth can they survive as viable entities? How can their economies even begin to take off the ground? It is clear the Vorster regime does not expect them to survive or grow economically. They are expected to be what they have always been: reservoirs of cheap labour.

## So-called Election

Even the elections are conducted on a fraudulent basis. The people in the Bantustans do not have the right to elect whomsoever they prefer. The voting rights are loaded in favour of the chiefs as the following details of how elections are to be conducted in the different areas show . . .

**Kwa Zulu:** A new Assembly will come as from a date to be determined by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development after a request for its establishment is made by the present Executive Council which is in interim control of the "homeland".

The members would be:

- The personal representative of the Paramount Chief;
  - Three Chiefs (or Chairmen of Community Authorities) appointed from amongst its members by every Regional Authority (There being 22 Regional Authorities to date these would thus appoint 66 representatives);
  - The Chief of each Tribal Authority or Chairman of each Community Authority which had been deemed to be a Regional Authority;
  - 55 elected members;
  - The Executive Council will consist of a Chief Executive **who must be a Chief** and five other members of the Assembly of which **at least 2 must be Chiefs**;
  - The Chief Executive Councillor would be elected first. He would then submit a list of 10 candidates nominated by him for election to the other seats, of whom **half must be Chiefs**. The names will be read out by the Assembly's secretary, no debate being allowed, and voting will follow.
- No date has been set for the elections as yet.

**Transkei:** The Assembly comprises of



Gatsha Buthelezi (KwaZulu) . . . paving the way for Vorster's African detente?

64 Chiefs of whom 5 are Paramount Chiefs and 45 elected members making a total of 109 members.

**Ciskei:** The Assembly comprises of 50 members made up as follows:

- The Paramount Chief or his representative;
- 29 Chiefs of tribes in respect of which Tribal Authorities had been established;
- 20 elected members.

**Bophuthatswana:** The Assembly consists of:

- 48 members **designated** by Regional and Tribal Authorities. All those designated **must be Chiefs or headmen** "unless there are inadequate numbers of these dignitaries for the purpose", in which case the **balance** may be members of the Authorities concerned;
  - 24 elected members.
- Lebowa:** A total of 100 members make up the Assembly as follows:
- 59 Chiefs designated by the Chiefs in the district or area concerned;
  - One representative of the Chieftainness of the Balobedi tribe;
  - 40 elected members.

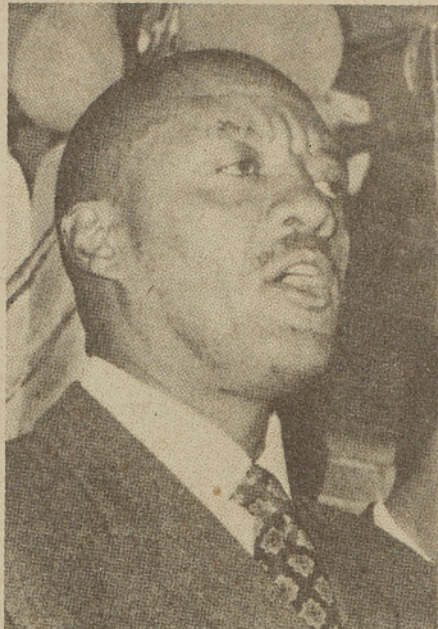
● The cabinet, four members of which must be Chiefs, would consist of the Chief Minister and five others.

**Venda:** The Assembly consists of 60 members of whom 25 are Chiefs, 2 are headmen of Community Authorities, 15 members designated by Chiefs acting with their councillors, and 18 elected members.

The Assembly elects a Chief Minister who must be a Chief. He appoints five other ministers to his Cabinet, three of whom must be Chiefs.

**Gazankulu:** The Assembly consists of 68 members made up as follows:





Lucas Mangope (Bophutatswana) .... 'invest in my 'homeland'. Labour is very cheap and profits astronomic"

- 42 Chiefs of all the tribes in the "Homeland" and the headmen or other members of Regional, Tribal or Community Authorities, designated by the Regional Authorities;

- 26 elected members.

- The Chief Minister is elected by the Assembly and he appoints five other Cabinet Ministers of whom not less than 2 or more than 3 must be Chiefs.

**Basotho Qwaqwa:** The Legislative Assembly, according to latest information available, has merely the limited powers of a territorial authority. The Swazi group has three regional authorities but no central body. Amongst the South Ndebele there are merely four tribal authorities.

## Wrath of the People

We must therefore look at the Matanzimas, the Buthelezis, and the other so-called Chief Ministers of the various homelands, in the light of this fraudulent nature of Bantustans. We do not regard them merely as stupid or ignorant. They are fully acquainted with the facts and must surely be aware that the homelands policy is intended to delude and deceive; they must surely be aware that the Bantustans cannot survive as independent states. Yet they go through the sham of becoming Chief Ministers, apportioning Cabinet posts, holding so-called elections, forming so-called governments. Like children, they play with toy parliaments; but unlike children theirs is a dangerous game. By their attitude and actions, they are conniving at the continued oppression of their people. By going around the world and parading as leaders of the Black people

they are aiding and abetting the racist regime in deceiving the people of the world. They are acting as agents of the white minority regime and, in doing so, they have put themselves beyond the pale — they are enemies of the people and we can have no truck with them.

Gatsha Buthelezi in particular, deserves the wrath of all the freedom-loving people of South Africa. He goes round proclaiming that he wants Black majority rule in South Africa, but since this is not possible he is using the Bantustans for limited gains. He mouths radical phrases while castigating leaders of liberation organisations. In a situation where the strategy of the racist regime is to confuse the masses and to delude the world Buthelezi acts as a great confuser.

We are extremely perturbed that certain African states receive Buthelezi with such honour. The oppressed Black people of South Africa have great respect and affection for independent African countries. They look to them with pride and with hopes of moral encouragement in their own struggle. They are puzzled and confused when a Buthelezi is received as a leader in independent Africa.

For our part, we have always recognised Bantustans for the fraud they are. The only problem in South Africa is the white racist, exploitative system. The only racial confrontation is that imposed by the whites. The only just solution to these twin problems of exploitation and racism is the seizure of power by the oppressed Black majority.



Bantustan policy is a deliberate attempt to imprison the black people of SA



Farm Labourer  
... the lot  
of the majority  
of Africans —  
either farm  
or industrial  
labourers



# Black Businessmen Hamstrung

Half the money which Africans in South Africa spend on goods and services goes into the cash-registers of white shops — despite the fact that their living 'locations' are rigidly segregated from the whites and separated by a buffer zone. Research by the University of South Africa's Bureau of Market Research showed in some fields, like furniture and clothing, white traders have four-fifths of the African market. This is because of the official policy that 'trading by Bantu in white areas is not an inherent primary opportunity for them, but should be allowed only where necessary' (Bantu Administration Department Minute A 12/1A8/1, 1963).

Therefore a great many legal restrictions are placed on black-owned businesses outside the Homelands — where half the black population lives. These restrictions include:

- African traders may not have more than one business interest, or one site. Their profits cannot be reinvested in expansion or diversification.
- Africans may not conduct any business 'for any purpose other than that of providing for the daily essential domestic requirements of the Bantu residents'. Thus grocer shops are allowed, but garages, dry cleaners, etc., are not considered 'essentials', and the services they give must be obtained by Africans outside the black 'locations'.
- Africans may not form a trading company, partnership, financial institution or wholesale concern. Thus African businesses must remain small.
- African would-be traders must qualify for permanent residence in the 'townships' of their business by having had 15 years' unbroken residence there and 10 years unbroken employment with one employer.
- All trading permits expire automatically at the end of each year; they are renewable if the applicant is 'a fit and proper person'. Politically unsuitable people are weeded out under this provision.
- It is virtually impossible for Africans to get loans because they



A party of 17 members of Parliament, headed by Mr. A. J. Raubenheimer, Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, and Advocate Pio Meyer, deputy chairman of Parliament, recently toured the Xhosa homelands of the Transkei and the Ciskei to study the many economic development programmes currently being implemented by the Xhosa Development Corporation. Talking to Mr. L. L. Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei, are, from left, Messrs. J. S. Pansegrouw, A. van Breda, R. de Villiers and W. Malan

cannot own land and therefore get mortgages. Thus, for example, an African businessman who lives in a £50,000 house, and was president of the Johannesburg African Chamber of Commerce, was refused an overdraft because he could offer no security.

The African shopper is the most obvious victim of the system. All prices are higher in the 'locations' because shops are small and traders may not engage in the practices which businessmen adopt to increase efficiency

and reduce prices through bulk buying.

Restrictions on African traders are based on the South African government's view that the 9 million Africans outside the Homelands are 'temporary sojourners', and must not be allowed to put down roots in 'white South Africa'. Therefore Africans are expected to build their businesses only in the Homelands; but if an African trader opens a business in a Homeland he has to close down his business in an urban 'location'.



A congregation of African businessmen at a congress in the Transkei



# DECLARATION

## Of The African National Congress (S. A.) Executive Committee - Morogoro, 17-20 March '75

Once again the eyes of the world are focussed on South Africa. The issue of the destruction of the criminal regime of apartheid is once again being discussed throughout the world. The issue remains cardinal in the world-wide struggle against racism, colonialism and fascism. It remains cardinal to the work and the very survival of the OAU.

Our people have always been convinced that the concerted onslaught of our brother liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome & Principe, supported by the OAU and the rest of progressive humanity, would finally result in the destruction of Portuguese colonialism.

The ANC is convinced that the moment has now come to mobilize all forces in Africa and the world over to crown the victories of the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies with a massive and concentrated onslaught on the Pretoria regime.

1. A new situation has come into being in Southern Africa. Portuguese colonialism has collapsed, thanks to the heroic battles waged in fraternal solidarity by our brothers in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau and the democratic forces in Portugal, supported by the whole of freedom loving mankind especially the neighbouring frontline independent African countries. In Namibia and Zimbabwe the struggle for liberation has reached new heights. In South Africa itself, the level of confrontation between the oppressed and their oppressors is at its sharpest in a decade.

2. The new situation that obtains in Southern Africa is characterised therefore by the emergence of conditions that not only favour the passage of the initiative into our hands, but demand also that the African National Congress, the whole liberation movement and all the oppressed people of our country, should seize the initiative into their hands for the capture of power.

3. World imperialism, led by the U.S.A., together with its South African outpost, has studied and prepared for this situation with great care. They have decided that unless they recapture the initiative, White minority domination faces immediate doom. On this basis the enemy has already undertaken actions to enable him to maintain the sole right and power to determine the content, direction and pace of change in Southern Africa.

4. The speed of advance of the African revolution is threatened by this counter-revolutionary manoeuvre. The very gains of that revolution, as represented by the reality of independent Africa, are themselves threatened with compromise. This situation demands that all the forces fighting for the destruction of apartheid, both inside South Africa and throughout the world, must strengthen their unity and together double and treble the offensive against the South African white minority regime.

## II

5. The South African racist regime is engaged in a major campaign to improve its image and prestige internationally. It is seeking to project itself as a vehicle of progressive change in South and Southern Africa. It seeks to hoodwink the world into believing that it is a genuine friend of the peoples of the African continent.

6. Yet the change in the balance of forces in Southern Africa does not signify a change in the nature of the South African regime. The regime remains fascist, racist and colonialist. It continues to pursue a policy of:

- extreme national oppression of the black people;
- the super-exploitation of the black working people and the concentration of the country's wealth in the hands of the white minority;
- the suppression at all costs of the movement for national liberation; and,
- the domination of independent Africa by resorting to neocolonialist means and methods.

7. The change in the balance of forces in Southern Africa has compelled the Vorster regime to tighten its iron hold on the struggling people of our country. In the current financial year, racist South Africa has doubled its military budget. At the same time it continues to strengthen its squad of terrorists, murderers and saboteurs, organised in the Bureau for State Security (BOSS). Already in the recent past BOSS has directed operations which have resulted in the murder of workers inside the country and activists of the liberation movement both inside and outside South Africa. Black militants are today held in the South African jails solely for expressing solidarity with the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of FRELIMO.



8. The change in the balance of forces has also forced the fascist regime to intensify its Bantustan programme of so-called separate development. It is seeking to cloak this balkanisation of our country into racial and tribal kraals with the noble concepts of national self-determination and independence. By this means it is seeking to legitimise the continued colonial domination of the black people of South Africa. Increasingly, the representatives of this counter-revolutionary programme are being used to breach the wall of isolation that has so effectively contributed to the weakening of the racist regime.

9. Equally, the enemy has further reactivated a programme that it adopted in the years when Africa was gaining independence. That was a programme for the recolonisation of Africa, based simultaneously on the threat to use, and the actual use of force against independent Africa and the offer of economic bribes to the independent African States, drawing on huge funds accumulated from the sweated labour of the black people of South Africa.

10. To succumb to this many-sided counter-revolutionary offensive of the South African colonialist regime and its imperialist allies; to admit into the midst of anti-colonial Africa the colonialist regime of South Africa; to substitute the authentic leadership of the Black people of South Africa with the Bantustan placemen of the racist regime, would signal active collaboration with counter-revolution, against the interests of the peoples of Africa at large.

### III

11. Yet, in the current period, we find some independent African States taking a leading position in championing the cause of what amounts to collaboration with the counter-revolution.

12. Acting contrary to their moral and political obligations, these Member States of the OAU have joined in a veritable scramble to establish and consolidate diplomatic, political and economic links with the colonial regime of South Africa.

13. Acting contrary both to their own specific decisions and to the lessons drawn from African continental experience, these Member States of the OAU have joined the racist regime in a programme to dismember the African people of South Africa into tribal groups. Continuing contact between these governments of independent Africa and the Bantustan leaders serves this purpose.

14. Acting contrary also to their own specific decisions, these Member States of the OAU are substituting themselves for the authentic leaders of our people, Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Tambo and others, in the solution of the South African problem.

Consciously or unconsciously, they are co-operating

in a manoeuvre to render irrelevant and destroy the organisation which these patriots lead, namely, the African National Congress, an organisation which has always defended and continues to defend the Charter of the OAU, an organisation which participated in the very formation of the OAU, when the latter pledged to struggle against racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

15. These activities have strengthened the hand of the world imperialist forces which have for so long sought to defeat the isolation of apartheid South Africa. They served to open the doors for the forces of international reaction to pursue with increased vigour their strategic aim of building up South Africa as a springboard for the recolonisation of Africa.

16. The future of the whole African continent, as a continent fighting for its own total liberation, as a continent fighting to consolidate its independence and to ensure the upliftment of the masses of the people, is at stake. South African and world imperialism are engaged in a gigantic manoeuvre to roll back the march of freedom in Africa. This situation demands immediate, decisive and principled action by the African National Congress, the OAU, the UN and the world-wide movement of solidarity with our struggling people, unequivocally to beat back the enemy's counter-offensive.

We call on the OAU and the international community to:—

- Re-affirm the correct stand of the OAU and the United Nations of recognising the African National Congress of South Africa as an authentic representative of the struggling people of our country; and spokesman of the South African people as a whole;

- Re-affirm the OAU condemnation and rejection of the Bantustan policy designed to dismember our Motherland, break the OAU, isolate and destroy the Liberation Movement and legitimize the Pretoria regime.

- Re-affirm its adherence to total diplomatic, political, economic, cultural and military isolation of the Pretoria regime and call on all member States to refrain from establishing any such contact.

- Re-affirm the recognition of the legitimacy of the armed struggle and call on all Member States to spare no effort to help increase the striking power of our Liberation Movement in pursuit of the struggle for the seizure of power in South Africa.

Declare the Pretoria regime a product of colonial conquest whose independence, sovereignty and United Nations membership constitutes a violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and call on all Member States to intensify their efforts towards its immediate expulsion from the United Nations.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS DECLARES ITS FIRM RESOLVE TO PERSUE THE ARMED STRUGGLE UNTIL FINAL VICTORY.



# THE ANC FIGHTS BACK

Abridged And Edited Version  
Of The Secretariat Report Submitted  
To The Special Extra-Ordinary Meeting  
Of The National Executive Committee  
Of The African National Congress  
By Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General



Alfred Nzo

The most striking event recently in Southern Africa was the Lisbon coup which overthrew fifty years of fascist rule in Portugal, followed by the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and ultimately the crumbling of Portugal as one of the pillars of the unholy alliance of Vorster, Smith and Caetano. Transitional governments have been installed in Mocambique and Angola with the transference of full political power to the indigenous people due to take place in June and November this year, respectively. Vorster's main concern and preoccupation is whether these new African states will support his regime or the ANC.

Indeed this is the preoccupation of the imperialist bloc as a whole. Mocambique and Angola have just gone through the furnace of armed revolutionary struggle and their hatred for exploitation and oppression is a nightmare for Vorster and Smith. A sense of defeat is clearly discernible in the enemy ranks. New strategies and tactics are in process to diffuse the explosive situation, to save the last and strongest bastion of racist and colonial domination in Africa and to launch a fresh counter offensive on the continent. Uppermost in these strategic plans of the Vorster regime is the concerted effort to destroy the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, with the help of unsuspecting and gullible African states. "Peace", "dialogue", "detente" are the songs of the day in Southern Africa. In all this nomenclature is made of the oppressed masses of our country; no mention is made of the ANC, let alone opening dialogue with the genuine representatives of our people.

In the case of South Africa "dialogue"

or "detente" is being held with foreign African states and not with the leaders of the National Liberation Movement, whilst in Zimbabwe these negotiations involve the leaders of the National Liberation Movement. This explains the growth and influence of the armed guerilla struggle waged by ZAPU and ZANU. It is becoming clear to every one that armed struggle is spreading and taking root among the local population there. One can only express hope that the unity of the various Liberation Movements in Zimbabwe under the African National Council is a step forward in the consolidation of the anti-racist and anti-colonial forces in that country. We are also inspired by the revolutionary stand taken by the leaders of Zimbabwe in refusing to disband their guerilla units and to lay down their arms as demanded by Vorster and Smith. This would have been tantamount to abandoning the cause of the revolution especially when Smith has shown clear signs that he is not prepared to dismantle the colonial-racist structure in Zimbabwe and is prepared to go to any lengths to maintain the status quo.

Whilst Vorster is pressing for a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian problems, his forces are still stationed in Zimbabwe, and he continues with his colonial domination of the people of Namibia. He still pursues his policies of suppression, intimidation and exploitation of the black peoples inside South Africa. Yet he wants the world to believe that he is introducing changes in the system. To us it is clear that any meaningful change will be brought about by the efforts and sacrifices of the masses of Namibia and South Africa themselves.

## Vorster Expelled

Outside South Africa, years and years of patient and persistent campaigning for the all round isolation of South Africa culminated in the convening of the World Trade Union Conference against apartheid, in Geneva, June 1973. This most representative international trade union conference unanimously agreed to take positive action towards the overthrow of the Vorster regime. Of equal importance was the drive to exclude South Africa from the United Nations General Assembly Session last year. This stand by the UN signifies a great triumph for the National Liberation Movement. Whether we shall be able to maintain the momentum of support will depend on many factors. At the height of all these events, Vorster made wild promises to change South Africa within six months if given a chance. The effect of this speech was a favourable response from many quarters of our continent. In fact South Africa has struck unprecedented friendships with a number of African states. Today S. Africa is having talks and dialogues with a number of African states and is exchanging diplomatic visits with them.

This move is intended to destroy the OAU. Already, there are signs of cracks in the unity of the OAU. According to Radio RSA "this is only natural because the OAU has outlived its usefulness". When the OAU was formed ten years ago it was intended to coordinate the efforts of the former colonial African states against colonialism and imperialism. According to South Africa that stage is gone. What remains now is need for regional consultations and cooperation. As we are



meeting here Vorster is on the threshold of establishing diplomatic relations with a number of African states. This conspiracy of Vorster's, initiated, aided and abetted by international imperialism must be exposed. A united OAU has been a constant threat to imperialism's neo-colonialist policies in Africa and the rest of the underdeveloped countries and the maintenance of unity within the organisation is of paramount importance to all revolutionary and peace-loving forces the world over.

Whilst Vorster is having dialogue with free Africa, at home he continues suppressing the National Liberation Movement and all opponents of apartheid rule. In fact he has arrogantly and boldly declared that he is not going to introduce any radical democratic and economic changes — the socio-economic structure in S. Africa shall remain. That is why the so-called general elections were held eighteen months ahead of schedule. That is why Vorster has increased his military budget by about 50%, approximately from \$500m to \$700m, a record increase for all times.

Out of this a bigger portion goes to internal suppression of the National Liberation Movement and the rest is intended for the export of counter-revolution in neighbouring African states. African, Indian and Coloured people are being drawn into the white oppressor army in increasing numbers to help in the grand plan of keeping our people under white racist bondage. But all these desperate counter-offensive measures are indications of the fear that has gripped the enemy and the growth of the resistance movement.

### Reformist Illusions

Whilst employing violence and repression, the racist government continues spreading illusions at home and abroad with the aim of misleading and immobilising our revolutionary forces. The Bantustan schemes and Bantustan leaders are fully exploited in this respect. They are:

- dividing our people and driving them into tribal kraals.
- weakening political and organisational solidarity and consciousness among the African people;
- diverting our people from the real issues in S. Africa;
- creating black Bantustan puppet administrations.
- attempting to break out of international isolation;
- splitting the OAU;
- dismantling international solidarity and support for the ANC

South Africa has launched an unprecedented diplomatic offensive into Africa, buying and blackmailing Afri-

can states to help disband our forces. In this diplomatic drive the Bantustan leaders are playing a prominent part in whitewashing the apartheid regime and canvassing against our armed struggle.

Gradually the regime hopes that the Bantustan leaders will be recognised as the leaders and spokes-men of the African people in South Africa.

All these counter-offensive measures and the revolutionary mood among our people underline the pressing need for directing all our efforts towards home. Lasting solutions will only be found in the overthrow of White domination inside the country.

### Proposals

- Increase our propaganda against Vorster's policy of detente and the Bantustan fraud inside and outside South Africa.
- Intensify the international campaign for the all-round isolation of the racist regime.
- Visit African and other States to explain what is involved in the detente offensive and our policy stand.
- Convince friendly countries of the need to intensify their propaganda against apartheid and expose the South African manoeuvres.
- Keep closest contact and continue consultations with fraternal organisations such as FRELIMO, MPLA, SWAPO, ZAPU, etc.
- Step up the political and military mobilisation of our people inside . . .
- Maintain the closest links with all democratic and anti-apartheid organisations at home. Make full use of all legal and illegal platforms.

### Fraternal Links

One of our primary tasks in the Liberation Movement is to strengthen the ties between ourselves and other fraternal liberation movements. This has been vital for us in the early days of our struggle; it is more vital now with the political situation being what it is.

### Frelimo

In the ensuing period increased efforts have been made to strengthen the existing bonds of friendship with FRELIMO. There have been frequent contacts more so since the April coup in Portugal. More than one visit has been paid to one of their training areas. The first included 3 of our MK cadres and the Acting President General (APG). The second one was on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of armed struggle in which the APG was invited to participate. At both these invitations FRELIMO comrades

expressed their deep feeling of comradeship towards the people of South Africa as led by the African National Congress. It is gratifying that this friendship seems to be growing in spite of the present political uncertainty in Southern Africa.

### MPLA

The MPLA has gone through hard times in the past year. They earned the wrath of certain independent African countries. We have not been of much assistance to them in their plight during this period, but very close links have been maintained.

Like Mocambique, when the change took place in Portugal, they were recognised as one of the leading political organisations in the country. This has been of great value to us. Resulting from our fraternal bonds, the MPLA invited our organisation during the investiture of the transitional government. Our delegation which went there was received with great enthusiasm. The delegation then took the opportunity to discuss matters of mutual interest.

(A report on this visit appears elsewhere in this issue — Ed.)

### ZAPU

Certain changes have taken place in the political structure in Zimbabwe. We are not certain whether this is for the good. We sincerely hope so. Resulting from these changes the liberation movements are united under the flag of the African National Council. Our comrades in Zimbabwe have kept us abreast of these new developments. This of course is a result of our past and present close ties. We have been assured by them that in spite of these structural changes, our fraternal links will be maintained; and that prominent leaders in Zimbabwe have made it clear that the struggle of Zimbabwe is directly linked with the struggle of our people. To this end they have undertaken that in the event of a settlement in Zimbabwe they would make certain that our people who were arrested in Zimbabwe during the 1967-68 guerilla campaigns will not be sent to South Africa, and that they will insist that this will be one of the points in the settlement of the Rhodesian question.

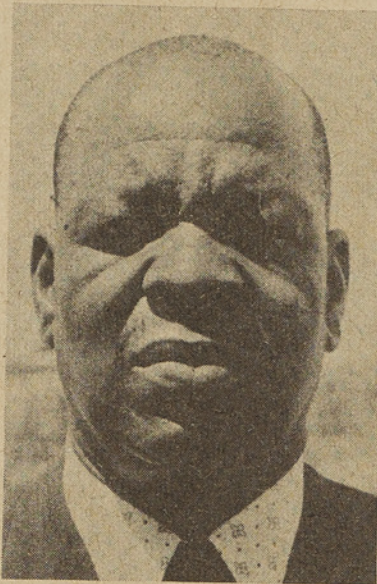
In other fields we have continued to exchange information on different aspects of our struggle.

We have for long been of mutual assistance to each other and this comradesly bond of friendship continues.

### Detente

The most dangerous and carefully planned diversionary strategy and tactic ever conceived by racist circles in





Captain J. D. M. Mphahlele, one of five Black SA policemen who hold this rank. Until recently Blacks could only reach the rank of Staff Sergeant. Now the highest they can reach is Captain but with seniority over their fellow Black policemen only.

South Africa supported by international imperialism is the present talk of 'detente' whose main participants are the racist hangmen on the one side and certain independent African states on the other. This development has been referred to earlier in this report. What is the background to these developments? In order to get the present picture in its proper focus it will be necessary to remind ourselves of the manoeuvres which American imperialism hatched long before the events sparked off by Vorster's statement in parliament in October 1974 in which he emphasised his readiness to participate in the peaceful solution of the problems of Southern Africa. As we know this statement was characterised as the 'voice of reason for which Africa and the whole world was waiting for'.

A careful study of these developments will, however, show that as long ago as 1969 the American State department adopted a secret strategy for Southern Africa which has been revealed in what has been called 'Memorandum 39' of the security council of the State Department. The essential element of this memorandum was the oft repeated assertion that change in Southern Africa would be brought about not by the revolutionary forces but by the white minority regimes which up to the time the memorandum was written are supposed to have demonstrated their ability to contain and

control the political developments in South Africa.

The fact that this region is important to American imperialism because of the vast and growing economic and military interests it has in the area is not camouflaged but made perfectly clear that America would at no time support 'violent' change in the area. In other words the unhidden meaning was that the United States would unswervingly support the racist-colonial regimes which at the time were being confronted by the oppressed people through armed struggle.

It is clear that the events of April 25, 1974 which toppled the Caetano fascist dictatorship in Portugal came as an unexpected development or, if the eventual defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Africa was accommodated within their plans, it came much sooner than was expected.

Confronted with this totally new situation of the collapse of Portuguese colonialism which international imperialism and the racist regime in our country proved helpless to prevent, and the escalating revolutionary upsurge inside South Africa, which had seemed impossible in the past, it became necessary to approach the situation from the angle of seeking the cooperation of independent African States against the revolutionary movement of the oppressed people in Southern Africa.

Steps taken in this direction were that:

South Africa had to publicly declare its acceptance of the provisions of the 'Lusaka Manifesto' adopted in 1969.

South Africa had to show some willingness not only to disengage from Rhodesia, but also to use its enormous influence on the Smith regime to bring about changes in Rhodesia. In all these, however, it had never been the intention to radically change the status quo.

The apartheid regime had to show readiness to effect some changes in South Africa without jeopardising the apartheid structure of white domination, hence the emphasis on the Bantustan solution.

In the mean time South African and imperialist news-media were prepared to sink to the lowest depths in an effort to confuse world public opinion and the oppressed masses of our people into accepting the success of the 'detente' manoeuvre. How else can we explain the blatant lies that Nelson Mandela and the other leaders of the ANC have accepted 'detente'? These disgraceful lies are intended to isolate the ANC and its leadership from the masses of the people who from their own experience of continuing and deepening repression will never accept Vorster's bloodstained hand of 'friendship'.

Imperialist activity in support of the present development has also been intensified in the past few months. Some of these developments are:

The unprecedented tripple veto cast by the US, Britain and France in the Security Council during the course of the last session of the UN General Assembly did not only successfully defend the fascist RSA from total expulsion from the UN but it served a warning that international imperialism was prepared to go to any lengths to protect not only its imperialist bastion in Africa but also its vast economic interests in the Southern African region.

There is not the slightest shadow of doubt that the visit of the former US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Donald Easum, to several African states and South Africa during October last year was for strengthening the detente process which apparently was already in the offing.

Similarly the visit by the British Foreign Secretary to several African states and South Africa further contributed to the efforts of imperialism in the present developments of "detente".

The French President recently visited the Central African Republic where he met several leaders from french-speaking African states ostensibly to discuss further economic cooperation between France and her former colonies. It will however be recalled that prior to this meeting a high level delegation from the Central African Republic had just concluded a "good-will" visit to S. Africa where they not only met Vorster but had the opportunity of touring the Transkei Bantustan. There have been negative developments in certain African countries such as those we witnessed recently in Malagasy where the head of state was assassinated. The calculated aim of this development was to reinstall the former regime of Philibert Tsiranana, which is well-known for its sympathies with the apartheid regime and international imperialism. There is no doubt that international imperialism had a hand in this attempted counter-revolutionary coup in Malagasy which was defeated thanks to the vigilance of the people and their progressive political organisations, especially the AFKM.

The appointment of Davies as the new US Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Africa at this particular time is by no means an accident. Davies' history as US Ambassador in several Latin American countries is particularly instructive. In some countries of Latin America where he operated as US Ambassador progressive regimes were violently toppled. This happened in Venezuela and later in Chile, resulting in the assassination of the progressive and popularly elected Chilean President, Salvador Allende.

It might well be that the recent events in the Malagasy Republic signal a future pattern of events to come, a process which will undoubtedly engulf



the Liberation Movements, such as our own.

Such in brief is the composite picture of imperialist involvement in the present "detente" situation.

## Justification

How is the present "detente" situation justified by its protagonists in Africa? The main argument advanced in favour of the growing African contact with the fascist regime in South Africa is that the chieftains of apartheid are supposed to have now accepted the "Lusaka Manifesto" which they had earlier rejected. This acceptance of the Manifesto is supposed to have created the proper atmosphere for the opening of dialogue with the fascist regime.

It would appear that representatives of the fascist regime have convinced some of our African brothers of their goodwill and determination to assist in the solution of the Rhodesian problems. In other words Vorster is being accepted in his new role as "liberator" of the people of Zimbabwe.

Emphasis has been made time and again that the contacts with the Vorster regime are only directed at solving the Rhodesian situation. The Namibian situation is merely touched upon as the next target. As for the internal situation in South Africa, it is not supposed to be featuring in the present discussions.

## What are the obvious weaknesses of this approach?

As in the past during the time of the discussion of the Lusaka Manifesto, the revolutionary organisation of our people the ANC, was not consulted at any stage even though the African states recognised it as the authentic spokesman of the oppressed people of South Africa.

It has become obvious that the contacts with the racist regime have assumed a far wider scope than mere discussions on the Rhodesian situation. How else can we account for the fact that economic delegations from several African countries have already visited S. Africa within this brief period since October last year. Representatives of the South African information media, including those of Radio RSA, have also been welcome in some independent African states. In addition, hints have been dropped that certain African states are ready to sponsor the membership of the fascist RSA in the OAU.

Need we emphasise again that these events fully justify our own understanding of the manoeuvres of the Vorster regime which, as we have stated over and over again seeks:

- to break the ring of international isolation of South Africa and to create conditions for the aggressive neo-co-

lonial penetration of independent Africa;

- to destroy the influence of the ANC and its military wing, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, both internationally and internally, especially on the African continent.

Within three weeks of the publication of the present "detente" policy the National Working Committee of our organisation met to review the situation. A similar discussion was later held with leading cadres of our units. These meetings, after a thorough discussion of the developing situation and the dangers it poses for our revolutionary struggle came to the conclusion that, far from relaxing our efforts and interrupting the revolutionary struggle of our people, it was necessary instead:

- to exert all-out efforts for the intensification of the revolutionary struggle of our people inside our country.

- to work for the intensification of our campaign to isolate the fascist regime in the international sphere coupled with the defence of the revolutionary positions of our organisation and the struggle of our people. The Revolutionary Council of our organisation has already met to consider certain vital aspects of our internal work. Efforts have continued to be exerted towards the international isolation of S. Africa.

## 1. The 29th Session of the UN General Assembly:

A delegation of the ANC participated through-out the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly whose results are too well-known to be recounted here. The fascist S. African regime has never found itself as isolated as during this session of the UN. The impact of the events are still continuously felt by the regime as it found it difficult to attend any of the subsequent

conferences organised by various UN agencies. They fear that the humiliating position in which they found themselves would be repeated over and over again.

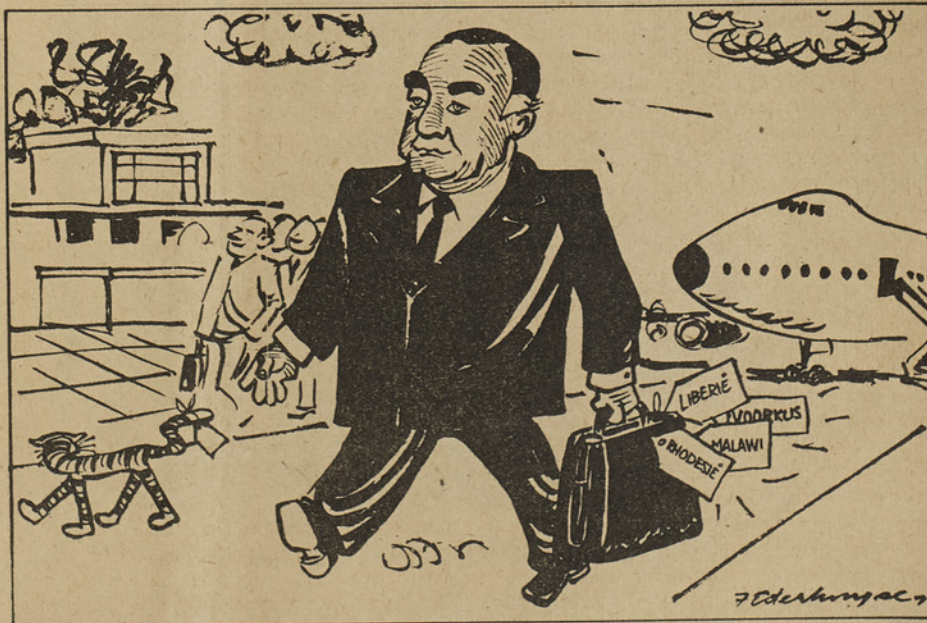
It must be emphasised that the activities of our delegation at the UN General Assembly took place under a very favourable political atmosphere. The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Algeria was the current President of the UN General Assembly and his outstanding contribution in that capacity greatly facilitated the adoption of various important resolutions against South Africa. The outstanding contribution of the OAU as a united block, the socialist countries and other peace-loving states and organisations in various parts of the world also deserve special mention and appreciation for their stand against white S. Africa.

## 2. The 24th Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers

It became clear from the very beginning of this meeting that the imperialist supporters of the apartheid regime were determined to direct the attention of the Foreign Ministers to the initial "successes" of the new "detente" policy so as to create an atmosphere of uncertainty and confusion among those African states that had hitherto stood firm against any contact with the fascist regime in our country.

Reports were literally pouring in of the contacts Vorster had made with countries such as Liberia and the Central African Republic amongst others. Radio RSA's representatives were watching the proceedings of the meeting very closely.

Radio "Voice of the Gospel" and "Agence France Press" gave exaggerated reports of divisions amongst the foreign ministers on the effects of contacts with the racist regime on the





Rhodesian question. The imperialist press released "information" that twenty African countries were supposed to pilot S. Africa's admission into the OAU.

In this atmosphere our delegation decided to intervene through a public address from the rostrum on the first day of the meeting, and two days later through an open letter, addressed to the chairman of the OAU Council of Ministers. This document was distributed to all the delegates attending the meeting including the representatives of the local and foreign press agencies. Our message in both instances was intended to emphasise the danger to the unity of the OAU inherent in the development of "dialogue" and "detente". We pointed out that this is a tactical ploy of our enemy desinged:

- to weaken the opposition of independent African countries to the policies of the apartheid regime;
- to impose the Bantustan policy as the acceptable solution to the problems confronting South Africa and its peoples and above all,

- to achieve the isolation of the revolutionary forces of change headed by the ANC.

In our open letter to the chairman of the Council of Ministers (a full text of which was published in our last issue – Ed.) we underlined that:

"it is therefore, the view of the African National Congress of South Africa that a critical appraisal of the current negative developments is vitally necessary and this should be done urgently in the interests of consolidating African solidarity and unity".

At the end of the session two main resolutions were unanimously adopted by the council of Ministers on the question of S. Africa:

1. to convene an extra-ordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers on the question of South Africa.

As we now know this extra-ordinary session on the "situation in South Africa" was held in Dar-se-Salaam from the 7–10 April 1975.

(A full report on this session will be published in our next issue – Ed.)

2. A general "Resolution on South Africa" which in its preamble expressed great concern "over the crafty manoeuvres of the apartheid regime to confuse and divide African states with a view to gaining acceptance of its policies."

The resolution while reaffirming solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid, called on "all OAU member states to re-affirm their condemnation and rejection of the obnoxious philosophy of apartheid and the Bantustan policies of the Vorster regime."

## Our Friends and Enemies

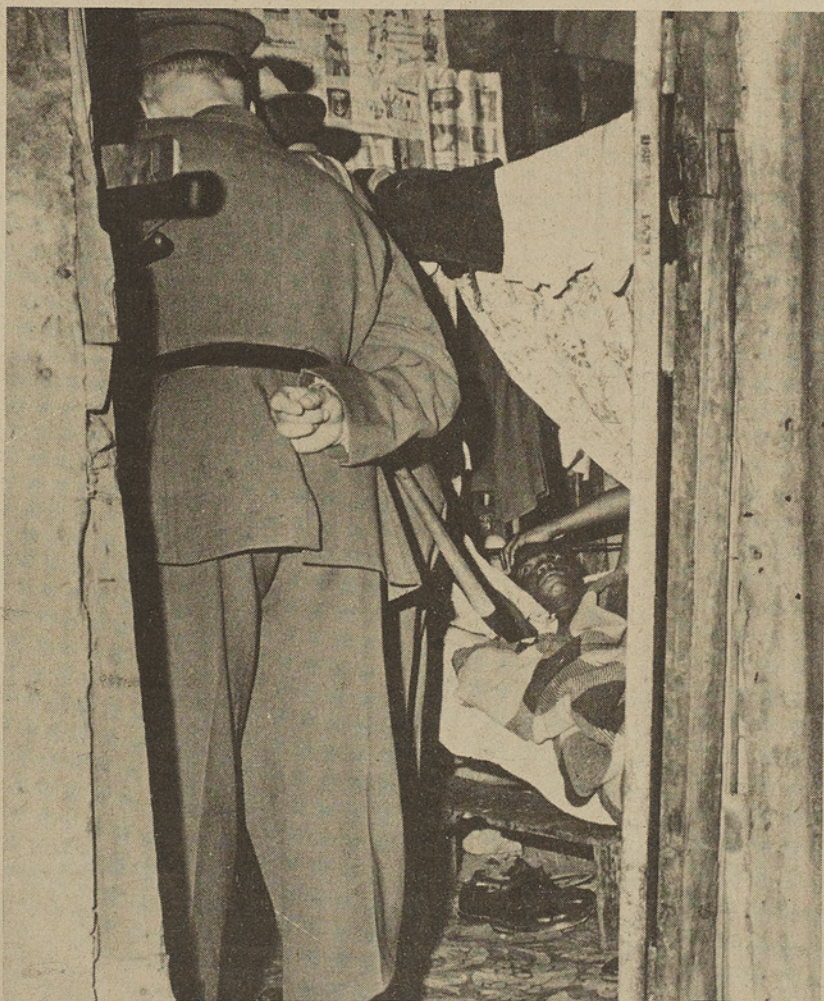
It must be constantly borne in mind that almost all the countries that are reportedly involved in the contacts that are going on with the fascist regime have, since the early days of political independence, stood unswervingly on the side of the oppressed African people, for the complete overthrow of the colonial and racial oppressive systems in Africa. Some of them may perhaps have made hesitant beginnings at the start but our own experience has shown that it has been possible, with patience and complete and sympathetic understanding of the immediate problems confronting us, to eventually win them over. For instance none of us today can doubt the commitment of the government and people of Botswana to the struggle of our people. When some of the comrades of UMKHONTO WE SIZWE were languishing in prison in 1967–68 in Botswana most of us would have thought that today's position in our mutual relations would never be reached.

Who of us does not know that the early beginnings of our international solidarity campaigns, which have today reached tremendous proportions, were launched from the then Tanganyika, the present-day Tanzania. Tanzania is shortly to host the first ever OAU meeting convened to discuss the situation in South Africa which we hope will reconsolidate the entire continent behind the heroic and just struggle of our people.

We must, on this situation, be able to clearly identify the implacable enemies of our struggle and people and these are unmistakably the ruling circles of the imperialist countries and the racist-fascist regimes of Johannes Vorster and Ian Smith. Against these forces our struggle must be unrelenting.

We surely cannot place FRELIMO-led Mocambique, whose leaders are reportedly involved in the "detente" exercise, on the same side as Vorster, Smith and international imperialism.

Our task therefore, is clear. We must make tireless efforts to expose the real enemy – international imperia-



Vorster's dialogue inside South Africa – A pass raid in the deep of night.



lism. In doing so, of course, we would have no right to compromise in any way our principled position on this issue because we are being proved right by events. For instance, the situation in Rhodesia is not moving exactly according to the calculations of those who had hoped that Vorster would be able to influence events. Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole is in prison and the charges against him have been framed in such a way that no one can be sure none of the other recently released leaders would not follow him in due course. Comrade Herbert Chitepo has been murdered. The Ian Smith regime while talking about a change is reported to be strengthening its army, especially its air-force.

At the same time it has been demonstrated that even during this "detente" situation we are still capable of winning more friends in spite of the Vorster regime's strenuous efforts against us. Several countries in Africa, whom we could not name at present have expressed their support for our struggle. Hitherto, these countries had adopted a lukewarm attitude towards us.

The position of our traditional friends and supporters in Africa, including the governments of Algeria, Guinea and many others, remains firm. Even those who were temporarily confused are re-affirming their commitment to the final liquidation of the apartheid system in South Africa.

The progressive forces in the Malagasy Republic are looking to the African National Congress to strengthen its brotherly solidarity with the people of Madagascar in their present period of political turbulence. We have been invited to participate in an international seminar planned later, in the first half of this year, in Malagasy. We shall certainly participate . . .

The African National Congress, the indisputable leader of the entire oppressed people in our country, organiser and vanguard of our revolutionary struggle, is a strong and virile organisation which continues to enjoy the support of our entire people, the Organisation of African Unity and all democratic forces on our Continent, Asia and Latin America.

Our organisation enjoys the unqualified support of the World Socialist system, the progressive countries - to whom we are linked by indissoluble bonds of common commitment, to the world-wide anti-imperialist forces of peace-loving and democratic peoples. We therefore have everything necessary to ensure them inevitable victory of our revolutionary struggle. Our task is to gear our efforts and resources towards the realisation of this goal.

**Forward to Victory!**  
**Amandla! Maatla!!**  
**Power to the People!!!**

# AFRICAN TAXATION

In South Africa Africans have a separate tax structure to that of the other racial groups, including a new type of income tax introduced in 1969.

This structure should be considered in the light of figures published by the Institute of Planning Research of the University of Port Elizabeth of the minimum monthly income required to keep a family of five alive. It does not include education, doctor's or chemist's bills, household furniture or entertainment. The figures for the major urban centres of South Africa are:

Cape Town	R81.80
Port Elizabeth	R78.58
East London	R76.68
Kimberley	R78.48
Durban	R77.13
Pretoria	R75.44
Johannesburg	R75.68
Bloemfontein	R74.55
Ladysmith	R74.66
Kingwilliamstown	R68.96
Uitenhage	R76.44

Regardless of their income all Africans are obliged to pay the following taxes:

- All African men, 18 years old and above, pay an annual tax of R2.50, proof of payment of which must be written into the reference book. In the year 1970-71, there were 105,576 prosecutions for infringements of this law.
- Then there is Homeland Tax; for occupation of land under communal tenure, R1 for each wife's group of huts up to a maximum of R4.00. This tax is also applied to widows holding allotments in the name of deceased spouse. Quitrent is paid for land held under individual title.
- If a tribe or community so decides, with the approval of the authorities, who must be satisfied that a majority of taxpayers are in favour, a further amount varying between R1 and R2 may be levied.
- Urban education taxation may be imposed by the local authorities as a school levy to build primary and lower secondary schools. This levy is generally 20 cents per head of

family per month. In the Johannesburg township of Soweto, at the request of the citizens, the levy stands at 38 cents per head of family per month.

- Indirect taxation is subject to the usual excise and sales taxes as paid by all citizens of the country. The value of the African contribution cannot be established. It is a function of population size and purchasing power.

All Africans start paying income tax if their incomes are over R360 a year. R30 a month is less than half and often not much more than one-third of the secondary poverty datum line. Incomes for husband and wife are taxed separately.

The only deductions allowed from the gross income are the compulsory contributions to the Unemployment Fund and contributions to pension or provident funds if membership of such funds is a condition for employment.

No abatements are allowed: for dependent children; for dependent relatives for medical contributions or for medical expenses; for age; for expenses incurred in earning income.

## Taxation Levels

per annum	Rate
R360 to R480	R1.20
R480 to R600	R2.76
R600.01 to R749.99	R4.32
R750 to R779.99	R4.92
R780 to R809.99	R5.52

and so on as remuneration increases.

If an African fails to pay his tax by the due date, he may be sentenced to a fine of R100 or three months' imprisonment by criminal law.

If other race groups fail to pay, civil action is taken, i.e. the amount owing is taken by declaring the person bankrupt, removal of assets, (poverty), etc. Whites, Coloureds and Asians begin to pay income tax at R676 for an unmarried person, R1,151 for a married person, R1,601 for a couple with one child and R2,601 for a couple with three children, with various deductions such as other dependents, dental and medical expenses etc.



**Like the Bantustans the**

# INDIAN COUNCIL IS A FRAUD

There has been much talk recently about a so-called "new dispensation" for South Africans of Indian descent. Some "leaders" and "spokesmen" of this minority oppressed community have become so ecstatic after a meeting with Premier Vorster that they appear to have lost all sense of proportion; the meeting itself is considered a great revolutionary breakthrough in South African race relations. Had it not been for a deliberate attempt by Vorster and his Indian puppets to create a false sense of security amongst Indian South Africans; delude them, the people of South Africa and the world that basic and fundamental changes in the apartheid structure are about to take place the entire exercise could be dismissed as inconsequential. However, the underlying purpose of the discussions in the present context of South and Southern African developments cannot be under-estimated and must be viewed as a last-ditch stand by South Africa to white-wash and sell its obnoxious policies to the world in general and to Africa in particular.

An official communique issued after the February 16 talks between Vorster and the South African Indian Council Executive in Cape Town states that:

- a) The Council would become a fully elected body;

- b) Vorster had agreed in principle to the appointment of full-time executive members, the subsequent raising of status of the Executive Committee to that of a Cabinet and the increase in the number of Council members to 46.

Vorster is quoted as having told the meeting: "The objective of the Government is that the Indian community should run their own affairs and it is Government policy to create the machinery for this purpose." He also agreed in principle that Indians would be appointed to most and possibly all, statutory boards and commissions dealing with matters affecting the Indian community in exactly the same way as the Coloured people will be appointed to these boards as full-fledged members. He said that in this way it **should be clear to all in South Africa and in the world** that the Indian and Coloured communities, apart from administering their own affairs, had a direct say and participation in matters of mutual concern. However, as in the case of the Coloured and African communities, the Prime Minister of White South Africa **refused to entertain the idea of Indian representation in Parliament by reiterating that this was not the policy of his ruling National Party.**

This in short is the new deal offered to South Africans of Indian origin. The Council (until now a Government nominated body) would now become an elected body and its Executive members given cabinet status. We will now have a Minister of Indian Affairs; Ministers of Indian Education, Welfare, Labour, etc. to administer to the needs of the 750,000 Indians. We might, presumably even have an Indian "Prime Minister" or a "Chief Minister" who, together with his cabinet colleagues, will have periodic consultations with Vorster and his colleagues to decide what is in the best interests

of the minority community. But, under no circumstances should any Indian "Cabinet" Minister ever entertain the "preposterous idea" that he is equal to the Whites, that he could exercise the franchise and represent his people as a truly elected spokesman in the power structure of South African society. His job simply would be to ensure that legislation enacted by the all-White Parliament in which he had no say, in the first place, is implemented and defended. In other words, the Indian "Education" Minister, for instance, will be duty bound to see that education for Indian children, whether it is inadequate or of an inferior standard, must be imparted in accordance with the general policy laid down by the White Government. And the general policy in respect of Black education is to indoctrinate the child that he could never rise to the status of his White counterpart; that being born Black he is "naturally endowed with inferior qualities, etc.", and therefore he should serve the White man in an inferior position. This attitude was blatantly spelt out by a former assassinated Prime Minister, H. F. Verwoerd who, as Minister of Native Affairs introduced his Bantu Education Act with the observation that the **"native must be taught his place in society which is that of a hewer of wood and drawer of water"**.

## Mercilessly Exploited

It is necessary at this stage to briefly mention that ever since 1860 when Indians first set foot on South African soil as indentured labourers they had been mercilessly exploited, oppressed, degraded and humiliated by successive White South African governments. Like their African and Coloured counterparts they have been consistently denied elementary human rights, herded into ghettos, given inferior and an inadequate education; hounded and persecuted for their opposition to racial tyranny and generally made to suffer the humiliation and indignities of second-class citizens. At no time during the past century or so were they allowed to exercise the franchise; laws were made regulating their daily activities in which they had no say (and this process is still continuing) and their movement within and out of the country was and is strictly restricted: to this day no Indian dare travel from one province to another without obtaining a **special permit** (a law which led Mahatma Gandhi to launch a passive resistance campaign earlier this century) and not a single Indian is permitted to live in the Orange



Free State – one of the four provinces. It has taken the Government of South Africa nearly a hundred years to decide whether Indians were eligible to citizenship or not; and when citizenship was granted it was to be of a second-class nature notwithstanding the fact that approximately 98 % of Indians were born in the country and are fourth and fifth generation South Africans who have contributed to the general development of the land in no small measure.

The Indian, like the African and Coloured, is grossly underpaid at work, denied most of the skilled work considered the exclusive preserve of Whites under the Job Reservation Act; in short the Indian continues to be treated as an inferior being by his White overlords and is part and parcel of the oppressed Black majority whose salvation lies not in accepting crumbs from the White man's table but in totally throwing in his lot with the African and Coloured people fighting for their just share in South African society. The South African Indian Council is such a crumb.



Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress being carried off shoulder-high after delivering a fiery attack on the fascist government just prior to his banning

## Landmarks

It was but natural for a people so debased, exploited and oppressed that they would form organisations to oppose tyranny, defend their meagre privileges and rights, form alliances and make common cause with other oppressed sections and generally participate in a struggle for human dignity and freedom. Thus it was that Mahatma Gandhi formed the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 (fore-runner of the SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS which has thrown in its lot with the African National Congress) and which campaigned against human enslavement in our country. Gandhi's passive resistance campaigns during the early part of this century and in later years, the joint and united struggles conducted by the South African Indian Congress and the African National Congress stand out as great landmarks in the battle for freedom in our land.

As elsewhere the post World War II period has been of significance in the general development of the anti-imperialist and freedom movements of Africa. The rise and assertion of African nationalism, the determination on the part of subject peoples to free themselves from all forms of domination and human exploitation, the raising of the freedom struggles to higher levels of organisation and prosecution characterised this period.

In South Africa unity and struggle became the clarion call of the national liberation movement. Under extremely severe conditions of repression the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Coloured Peoples' Congress, Congress of Democrats (a body of democratic and freedom-loving Whites) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions planned and executed various campaigns of resistance since the end of the last war. The great African Mineworkers' Strike of 1946, the Passive Resistance struggle of 1946/47, the May Day General Strike of 1950, the mighty Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws (1952) launched jointly by the ANC and South African Indian Congress in which nearly 9,000 men and women courted voluntary imprisonment; the Congress of the People campaign lasting over two years and culminating in the adoption of The Freedom Charter in June 1955; boycotts, stay-at-homes, general strikes, youth and women's struggles, etc., are but a few examples of the great struggles conducted by the Congress Movement spearheaded by the African National Congress. It was precisely this mass upsurge on the part of an oppressed people to liberate themselves that not only spread fear into the heart of the enemy but set in motion a bloody period of repression and persecution that continues till this day.

From 1948 onwards, when the ruling National Party assumed power the history of South Africa has been that of a bloody reign of terror – bans and banishment, arrests and detention-without-trial, house-arrests, murder and torture of political prisoners and detainees, brutal suppression of civil liberties, baton charges and massacres of people at protest meetings, demonstrations, etc. – forcible removal of hundreds of thousands of people under the Group Areas Act and other discriminatory measures to entrench the apartheid-police State. This too, has been the period when the racist White regime has gone out of its way to break the unity of the oppressed by the creation of dummy institutions like the South African Indian Council, Coloured Peoples' Representative Council, Bantu Authorities Councils, etc. to serve as instruments of apartheid. By bannings, arrests and silencing the authentic representatives of the people of South Africa and their tried and trusted organisations and substituting these by puppet leaders and institutions the Government hopes to convince an ever-increasing hostile world that racism and apartheid are acceptable to our people. The exercise in creating Bantustans and the Councils is a deliberate and desperate attempt to sell apartheid internationally and perpetuate White domination indefinitely.



## Splitting Resistance Movement

In the case of the South African Indian Council there is incontrovertible evidence to suggest that the majority of the miserable members constituting the body have not only been active opponents of a united and common struggle against oppression but in fact propagate ideas not at variance with official policy to serve their own selfish interests. Suffice to add that most, if not all, of the members are handpicked by the Government and are representatives of the small Indian merchant community. That they may now be elected by the people does not alter the basic character of the body as such for the simple reason that the Council in essence will remain a statutory body within the **apartheid framework**. Its powers are limited. As a matter of fact it has no powers – it can only **recommend** to the all-powerful White authority; it cannot legislate nor implement its decisions. And it is self-evident that any recommendations calling for fundamental changes in the apartheid structure will not be entertained by the Government. Vorster has made it crystal clear that Indians must never hope that they will be given the same rights and privileges as the Whites. In other words, notwithstanding the Council, Indians will continue to remain second-class citizens. Without doubt certain concessions will be made here and there with the sole

aim of splitting the resistance movement. Having failed to crush the freedom movement through naked police terror and draconian measures the fascist regime now hopes to attain the same objective through devious means.

In the South African context the Councils and Bantustans serve a manifold purpose: Firstly, the objective is to further divide and sub-divide our people on ethnic and tribal lines; secondly, to delude the world that South Africa comprises many "nations" and each one is being given the opportunity to develop on its own lines; thirdly, to fragment our people to such an extent that not only would there be mutual suspicion and hatred among the oppressed but that each national group would be made to believe that its survival is best served by having a vested interest in the existing South African system. The racists reasoning is quite simple, viz. that the national groups are at various stages of development: primitive, semi-primitive and advanced with the White group falling in the last category and the African majority – the most oppressed, exploited and degraded – constituting the first; Indians and Coloureds are the semi-primitive or semi-advanced groups, if you please.

Apartheid theoreticians are aware, therefore, that it would be unwise to extend full political, economic and social rights to the less advanced sections as such a step would be disa-

strous to race relations in the country. The right to free and compulsory education, universal adult franchise, economic and social benefits and the right to share in the power structure of a society are therefore, not applicable to South African conditions according to Vorster and his myth makers.

As to when the less advanced sections of our society are to become "advanced" is conveniently not spelled out. But we are now told that Indian South Africans have become civilised and are fast reaching the "advanced" stage and accordingly should be given some of the privileges and rights that section enjoys. Anybody believing in this balderdash should have his head examined.

Viewed against this background, the true nature of the South African Indian Council becomes apparent. With all its trappings of "free elections", "representative character" and "cabinet status", etc., the Council is nothing more than a hollow substitute for full and unfettered rights, and an instrument of apartheid having the basic objective of driving a wedge in the united anti-apartheid freedom struggle.

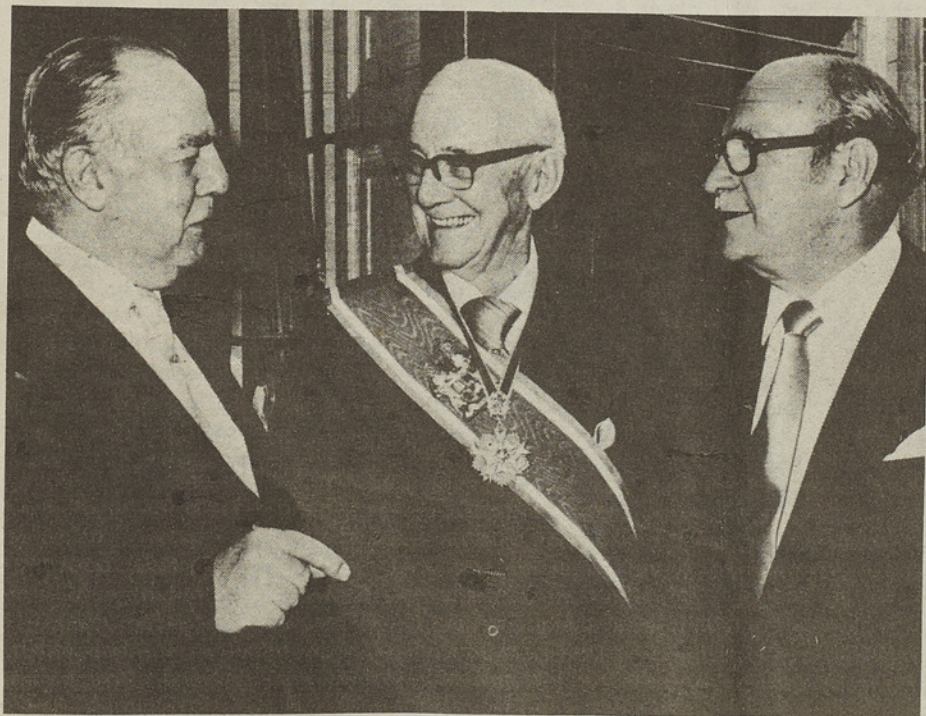
## Diluting Apartheid

Racist South Africa is indeed in a tight corner. Her traditional friends are being compelled by international pressure to sever relations and denounce her. The fear of total isolation and inevitable ascendance of popular resistance inside the country, combined with the imminent independence and freedom of countries until recently her firm allies and constituting the racist redoubt of Southern Africa – Mocambique, Angola, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (South West Africa) – have forced Vorster and Co. to re-think, make adjustments and dilute apartheid without disturbing the basic character of the apartheid-police State.

The strategy behind this is also to create a rift within the Organisation for African Unity and wean away support for the freedom movement led by the banned African National Congress of South Africa.

We are absolutely certain that friends and supporters of our cause will continue to exert pressure on the apartheid state. And, stooges of Vorster, be they Indian, African or Coloured, exposed and condemned as enemies and saboteurs of the freedom struggle in South Africa.

Vorster, left, the State President Fouché, and Marais Steyn, the new Minister of Indian Affairs and of Tourism, enjoy a joke after Steyn's inauguration . . . what a combination of duties . . .





# REPORT FROM ANGOLA

The ANC was officially invited by the MPLA to send representatives to the setting up of the Transitional Government in Angola. Comrade Ruth Mompoti and Moses Mabhidha were chosen to represent the ANC. We publish below a brief account by Comrade Ruth Mompoti of her experiences and her emotions on this historic occasion.

'Even before our departure from Lusaka, I was already very excited at the prospect of going to Angola. The ANC has had a good working and comradely relationship with the MPLA for many years and we were certainly over-joyed that after more than a decade of armed struggle, our comrades were on the threshold of grasping the reins of power in their country.

'We left Lusaka on the morning of the first of February for Luanda, together with two comrades from Zimbabwe, three delegates from Somalia, members of the Central Committee and militants of the MPLA. After a two and half hour flight, we had a 30-minute stop-over in Luso where MPLA combatants came to greet their comrades. I must say there was no evidence of Chipenda or the 3000 men under his command who are supposed to be in Luso.

'On arrival in Luanda, we were met by MPLA officials and escorted to a new hotel which had been put at the MPLA's disposal by the owner. Shortly thereafter, we proceeded to Parliament House which was the venue for the swearing in of the Transitional Government. There were large crowds outside Parliament House being entertained by FNLA dancers and at various points were stationed soldiers of MPLA, UNITA, FNLA and Portugal.

'We were just in time to witness the

ceremony. There were delegates from several countries including Zambia, Congo Brazzaville, Cuba etc. We were introduced to a number of people including Mr. Soares, Portuguese Foreign Minister, and we also had the joy and pleasure of meeting MPLA comrades whom we had not met for many years, including Comrade Lopo. Comrade Lopo gave us a message for the ANC which appears at the end of this report. After the ceremony, Comrade Manuel Rue, MPLA Minister of Information in the Transitional Government addressed the crowd outside and gave an excellent analysis of the situation in Angola and the task facing the Angola people. In the evening we attended a banquet in honour of the Transitional Government.

'Luanda, in many ways, is similar to most cities in colonial Africa: extremes of poverty, side by side with fabulous wealth; the majority of Africans in slums or crowded site and service schemes. The city is sprawling and has a big industrial complex; all the imperialist countries are represented in these industries - Belgium, Japan, France, the United States, South Africa, etc. The task ahead is going to be difficult for the Angolan people.

## MPLA O POVO

'There can be no doubt about the popular support of the MPLA. Wherever we went in Luanda, there were shouts of 'MPLA O POVO; O POVO MPLA; VICTORIA A SERT' (MPLA is the people; the people are MPLA; Victory is certain.) We also had the opportunity of attending an MPLA rally at a village in the Catete district. Over 20,000 people from the surrounding areas were present and the MPLA members arrived at the rally in

a very disciplined manner - Pioneer detachments from various MPLA branches, the Women's Brigade (OMA) Youth detachments, ordinary members in that order. It was a most impressive and informative occasion. The highlight of our stay was the arrival of Comrade Augustino Neto, President of MPLA. Tens of thousands of people came to welcome him, rending the air with shouts of MPLA! NETO! NETO! - I have never before seen such a large gathering of people, virtually a sea of people. If nothing else, this event alone proves the popular support of MPLA.

'All in all, our visit to Angola was exciting and inspiring. We were all well looked after politically, socially and materially. We had interesting and fruitful discussion with several MPLA comrades, including Comrades Lopo and Lara. We thank MPLA for the opportunity they afforded us in visiting their country and we wish them every success in the difficult tasks ahead. We are certain they will overcome their problems in a revolutionary manner and open the path to genuine Liberation. We would like them to know we are with them.'

## LOPO'S MESSAGE

Below, we print the message to the ANC from Comrade Lopo do Nascimento, Member of the Presidential Triumvirate:

**'On this great day we send you revolutionary greetings. It is important more than ever before for liberation movements to work together, to sink the roots of their work deeper. The difficulties that you are facing are the same as the ones we of MPLA faced. The role that we as MPLA will play in the Transitional Government and the responsible and capable manner in which we carry out tasks will not only benefit the MPLA, but will uplift liberation movements in their task of liberating their people. You, our brothers, can be sure that MPLA will not betray their sacred duty to the African liberation movement. The Transitional Government is the forerunner of the future Government of Angola and our role is vital.**

This is a moment which is important to all of us, mainly because the majority of our people face this moment with great joy and anticipation. They feel free but do not think that they are not completely free. This is what makes our task greater for we cannot disappoint them. We, together with them, must consolidate our movement and thus ensure a bright future. **On this important day, we cannot forget our fallen heroes**



who laid down their lives for the freedom of Angola to bring about the events of this day. Their memories live for ever. We have a long history of struggle and friendship with our ANC comrades, and our victory strengthens their work of liberation.

'The racist regime of South Africa must

learn its lesson whilst there is still time. We also remember the people of our continent, Africa. Our victory is the victory of Africa.

'The people of Angola will do everything possible to accelerate the process of liberation. We of MPLA stand firmly in support of the struggles of

our comrades of liberation movements. We consider that our struggle is not yet won. Only when the whole of Africa is free, will we be free.

**We therefore put all our efforts in the support and cooperation with the freedom fighters of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.'**

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# Neto Speaks

**The following are extracts from one of many speeches by Comrade Agostino Neto, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Provisional Government of Angola**

The moment we are living is a moment that we owe to the heroic sacrifice of the guerillas, of the fighters, of our whole Angolan people who fought against the forces of oppression and the forces of exploitation.

We are honoured today by the presence of delegations from various parts of the world. The delegates of friendly countries have already been presented here. **They came from Cuba, from Zimbabwe, from South Africa, from the Soviet Union, from Viet Nam.** They came from many other parts of the world to tell our people that we are not fighting alone. We are fighting with the help of all the progressive forces in the world. And, more than this they came to say that our struggle, the struggle of the Angolan people, a struggle we want to continue until its end, until complete independence, is a struggle which reaches outside our borders. **We are also building victory for other peoples in Africa, for Zimbabwe, for South Africa, for Namibia, where Africans are still oppressed by white reactionary minorities.**

The motor of our struggle is MPLA – it is a struggle that goes further than our borders. And at the same time as we are liberating our country, together with the people of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde, San Tome and Principe and Portugal, we are bringing about that revolutionary dream; that ideal that our people always had, of contributing towards humanity, becoming more



Dr. Neto

human; so that humanity may be more just; so that relations between men should not be relations of exploitation, but should be relations of fair understanding between all.

**Our struggle has not ended. This 4th February marks the end of a stage, a decisive stage in our struggle. We have not completely overcome all the forces in Angola who would like to turn the clock back – we have still not overcome reaction in our country.**

We have still not overcome the lack of understanding. And so, on this 4th February we must take steps forward for better organisation, for greater discipline, for more work, so that our country may in fact go forward to progress.

**We still have to build national unity. We of MPLA have to do everything possible so that Angolans, whatever their colour, may be united around the ideal of independence and progress.**

We still have to fight for democracy in our country. We have to fight so that every Angolan, whoever he may be,

whatever his condition, whatever his origin, can feel that he is in a country that is free, united and independent.

Again we would remember, on this 4th February, that the path that has been trodden by our people has been trodden in blood and sweat of heroes, some of whom have been mentioned here. And we will not spare our efforts and sacrifices to achieve our objectives. We will never again allow our country to be dominated by any other country, be it large or small, near or far. We must use all our strength to defend the independence we struggled to achieve. **I believe that everyone is aware that we will not be able to achieve the ideals of unity, democracy and progress, unless, we are concerned to unite the peasants and workers, those who were most exploited during colonialism – and unite them around this ideal – for they are the ones who can best lead this revolution.**

We have to do everything to improve the social relations of our organisation, between all races, whites, mestizos and blacks. And, I believe that unless the majority of our people participate in power, there will not be freedom in Angola. It is necessary for the people to participate, and it is necessary for the majority to lead this country. We must organise ourselves for this.

This meeting, however, as we see, shows the strength of our people. It shows the joy that our people still feel in the midst of so much sadness around us. We are still able to shout with enthusiasm: **'Angola will be a prosperous nation'** For, in fact, here is the strength of the people, the strength of the people of Angola. And it is with this that we shall continue to struggle in the next stages, until our country is in fact a free country and a country for everyone.

**One single People!  
One single Nation!  
Victory is certain!**