

The wind thorns and rock  
Sand too they conquered,  
They came  
The flame-hearted ones,  
The back-bent and bruised ones  
Their unseen scars swelling anew  
The whipped ones came  
The down trodden  
Violated again and again  
Though unyielding  
Whenever tried like reeds  
In the cruel whirls and storms  
Of Anglo-Boer love  
They arrived,  
These unconquerable custodians of justice

And rallied  
Their visions fixed on a gigantic  
A pregnant idea!  
Down from the place  
Of another birth  
The birth of dispossession  
Called Natal  
They came with stories  
Of how the valley of a thousand hills  
Always green and swollen with hope  
Seemed to swallow Tugela waters  
Just to let freedom riders pass!  
And those whose wagons and bicycles  
Saw the Lekwa and Nciba waters  
Rise  
With African pride  
Also impatient for return of stolen banks  
Whispered in various tongues  
That even creatures  
Known to love human blood  
Popped their head high  
Up and down  
Spirited by the call of  
MANGAUNG  
And bubbled  
Deep in their water-home  
Ndlelanhlele  
Just to let freedom riders pass!  
Titlela a ti basi  
Tsela Tsweu  
Just to let freedom riders pass!  
Just to lighten the burden  
Ndila tsena  
Let the roads be white  
They all sang  
Just to let freedom riders pass.

TRMBy cmmne  
Burning deep inside

tlmarnilitary.

The works committee system - which was seen as an alternative to bargaining â\200\224 seemed not to be functioning properly:

"Seminar after seminar followed on how to get committees functioning adequately - seminars which continue, at considerable profit to their organisers to this day". (402)

Before we proceed tt>discuss the developments in the trade union movement, we would like to tackle some of the questions raised by Friedman, in his otherwise interesting article on trade unions in the 1970's and 1980's.

He says:

"In Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg, Whites sympathetitztuaâ\200\230black trade unionism began to organise worker bureaux which were to become the nucleus of the union movement.

But the real fillip to the re~emergence of the unions was provided by workers themselves.â\200\235 <403>

From this wrong premise Friedman â\200\235logically" proceeds to a wrong conclusicn,rmmmĩ-\202y the exaggeration of the role of Whites in black trade unionism:

â\200\235In.a survey among Durban workers, white students organising the new black unions ranked in popularity with men like Nelson Mandela.â\200\235 <404>

â\200\224509~

for the release of detainees.

Within two months of the

first Soweto shootings, eighty black communities

erupted and by the end of October a further eighty.

What the government found even more alarming was the

prospect that student protests might mesh with a

general strike of black workers in Johannesburg,

including migrant labourers housed in Soweto's

single-sex hostels.

Approximately 60 per cent of the

African labour force stayed home from work for two days

in early August, an impressive if short-lived show of

solidarity the like of which had not been seen since

the Defiance Campaign of the 1950's.

A few weeks

later, a comparable two-day stay-at-home occurred in

Cape Town". (415)

In 1979, time students formed the Congress of South African

Students (COSAS) and the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO);

organisations, at school and university level, which continued

the fight.

Commenting on the struggle at the students front,

DAWN, the journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe stated:

"Blacks have never wanted the same education as Whites

- in its present form. What Blacks want is the

improvement of the content of education, a reflection

of Black history and achievement in the syllabus, a

direct say in what is being taught, how much money is

being spent and what it is being spent on.

Bantu Education is a system designed not by Black

people.

It was about 7.p.m.

'I hired another car to Livingstone.

I was shown where

Thulani was.

My husband was with me and signed consent

papers for an Operation.

The nurses showed us Xâ\200\224rays

vĩ-\202ĩ-\202xi-\201xshowed birdshot above the eyes, both arms, neck  
and chest and both thighs ... Thulani was fully

conscious and he told me that when he had been taken

jimmn the surgery and put in the police van the police

had placed their spare wheel on top of him. I did not

question exactly how this was placed, and he was

crying.â\200\235

Mrs Maria Qomoyi, aged 59, of Graaff Reinet made a

statement in August, describing a police raid in July:

â\200\235On Tuesday, 30 July, at 7.a.m. I was in bed.

I had

'flu ... My ten-year-old grandâ\200\224daughter called out that

the police were coming (I found out afterwards that the

police had used loud-hailers to call the people outside

to clean the streets.

I did not hear the call).

'A White policeman unknown to me entered the room.

He

said to me, 'Why didn't you come outside when called?â\200\230

I said, (Who called me?â\200\231 He said, 'You ask,â\200\230 and hit me

with a ldng sjambok across the back and then across the

face.

'I jumped up and grabbed the whip.

We struggled.

Another group of policemen came up, threw me on the

floor and kicked me on the head and arms.

They walked

away ..."

â\200\224544â\200\224



yard.

'I was very distressed.

Another person put my son in a

car and took him to Dr Maqhagi, who has his surgery in our street.

As soon as I reached the surgery, I was

taken to see my son, who was unconscious.

While we

waited for the ambulance to arrive for the three

Children, my son and two others, there came the police

van. Two policemen came into the surgery and asked for the children.

These policemen were all White and wore

blue uniforms.

They came in three vans.

The police

made chaos in the surgery, asking various people there,

'Are you the one who has been shot?'

,

... The youngest child was about eight years of age

and had been shot in the arm.

He was crying.

Nobody

from his family was with him.

The other child, I think

she is about 12, was lying unconscious.

She too was

alone ...

'The police did not have stretchers.

The doctor's

nurses carried the children outside to the police van.

I realised that my son was no longer unconscious by

this time, as I could hear his screams ...

'To my knowledge there were no mattresses in the back

of the van ...

'I sent my younger son to check if the police had taken

Thulani to the KwaNobuhle day hospital.

Ike returned,

saying they were not there.

'I hired a car and went to Provincial Hospital, where I was told that they had been transferred to Livingstone.

\*543~

that the South African Defence Force continues to occupy Namibia and parts of Angola; not to talk about aggression and destabilisation in other frontline states and the murders of ANC and BCM activists â\200\224 Abraham Tiro was murdered by a parcel bomb in Botswana in 1974.

What we are saying'is that those Whites who were "assistingâ\200\235 African trade unions were not helping "foreigners" but were fighting for their own social emancipation. The African workers seem to have understood this better than the "white intellectuals" who were "leading them":

"... the 1973 strikes did mark a watershed in South African society â\200\224 and the Wiehahn Commission recommendations which were to come six years later could well be seen as a delayed reaction to them ...

But the strikes were the first occasion in which the authorities and employers saw reform â\200\224 or, indeed, control - through reform â\200\224 as an option, rather than the repression which had met earlier strikes or waves of organisationâ\200\235. (407)

In 1974, it was reported that 59,000 workers â\200\235almost all of them Africans" struck and the figures "declined sharply thereafterâ\200\235 to 23,000 workers in 1975.

This dropxï-\201msrelative because:

â\200\235At its lowest point in the mid~8eventies, the strike figure was more than three times that in the Sixties"

~511-



Stadi- a peaceful demonstration and the police opened fire, killing Hector Peterson, a 13 year old student who became the first of many victims of that uprising.

That was on June 16, 1976.

Peter Walshe reckons:

By the end of October 1977, continuing disturbances had claimed at least 700 officially recorded deaths - a total which in reality probably exceeded 1,000. (Nais excluded the several thousands of those wounded, injured or maimed.

The shock, anger and bitterness are indescribable.

The repercussions of the Soweto uprising are still with us today.

However, the immediate reaction of the people was the exodus of thousands of young people who joined the ANC some through Swaziland and Mozambique and 500 teachers resigned, the Urban Bantu Council (UBC), a collaborationist institution, had to collapse, and:

In August (1976) the Bophuthatswaha legislative assembly was burnt down and over sixty instances of arson were reported in the Bantustans in most cases, school buildings.

School boycotts spread too, a major example being the demonstrations which erupted on 11 August in the African townships of Cape Town when thirty persons were killed.

The Cape upheavals continued into September when thirty nine individuals died as African and Coloured students, armed with their sticks, marched against Bantu Education and called

~516

(that they cī-\202i-\202xained, or had thrust upon them), was in turn one of the factors that evoked the rise of the black consciousness movement.â\200\235 <3%i-\202>:ZM(/w9,j + ,â\200\224 CLâ\200\231"

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E" "\$0,â\200\235 )

He goes on to say:

"It must be recognised that the black consciousness movement recovered an aspect of the previous Congress tradition.

It reasserted the need for selfâ\200\224determination and the national liberation of Blacks.

It stressed black unity and leadership in this struggle. Unfortunately it was a oneâ\200\224sided, partial recovery of the tradition.

Blackness tended to be asserted in a romantic manner, to the exclusion of the othet components of the tradition.

Aliiance with white democrats, far from being considered politically necessary or hmxntant, was regarded as a dilution of what was now viewed as the struggle Ci Blacks alone.

In addition, the oppression of Blacks was treated primarily on the psychological, cultural and ideological levels.

This in turn was linked to an organisational emphasis on consciousness raising, mainly amongst intellectuals, rather than mass activity."

What was the reaction of the white intelligentsia toward0 these developelements?

Butther continues:

-Syi



Their leopard flesh touching close  
And all carrying  
The spear of the nation!

And then  
To think  
All of them  
All in me  
This wealth, this vast greatness  
Our country, our people  
All in each of us  
Whatever our birth  
Wherever our birth  
Wherever we carry the struggle

For I was born  
Crying FREEDOM!  
While our working people  
The true midwives of our wealth  
Midwives of vision, hope  
Our future  
Tenderly passed me  
From hand to joining hand  
Of leopard hearts  
Blowing into me  
The rising strains of  
Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika'

And  
What's my name?  
The AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
Of South Africa.  
8, 1912.  
I gave birth to UMKHONTO  
WE SIZWE on the 16th December  
1961

Born January

Partly in reaction to black consciousness and partly in response to wider intellectual trends, the early seventies saw the reorientation of significant sectors of white students and academics towards the labour movement.

This was manifested through wages commissions and trade union activities.

It was the

period of the 1973 Durban strikes.

We have quoted at length from this piece by Suttner because it goes to the heart of the matter:

that the political and

ideological contradictions in both Black Consciousness and white radicals were a reflection of the existing social and economic contradictions.

Steve Biko was against racism and white liberalism but he went further than that: "the liberal establishment, including radical and leftist groups". <391>

By "radical and leftist

groups" Ina is referring to the white intelligentsia which tended towards the labour movement, described by Suttner.

On the question of "unity" of the "liberation groups" (Steve Biko's term) he had this to say:

"I personally would like few groups.

I would like to

see groups like ANC, PAC and the Black Consciousness

Movement deciding to form one liberation group". <392>

There are problems here.

It is true that we are all

oppressed as Blacks but there are other factors to be considered when it comes to the question of "unity of all democratic

4043

In the hidden brow  
Watery in the hidden eye  
Weighted Cî-\2021 the mind  
By what they called  
The pains of labour

,

From passâ\200\224carrying mines  
From passâ\200\224carrying farms  
From pass churches, pass schools  
Pass universities, pass stores, pass laws  
From plenty heavy pass work  
Our people did and still do  
Speaking all the despised languages  
Of our roots  
And European ones too  
They arrived  
All their hearts pounding  
All thoughts new extended, mingling  
All embracing now  
Awaiting  
The beginning of the death of our  
Splitting pain  
The pain that seprates us  
Awaiting,  
The birth of our nation  
There at MANGAUNG!

I think my parents  
Chose this place because  
I was to be special  
The first fruit of peace  
From ourselves to ourselves  
The living wedding gift  
An unbreakable vow  
That each is empowered  
And raised higher  
Only  
And then only  
In the tightening and linking  
Of our clenched fists:  
In short  
A weapon against  
Divide and destroy

Today,  
The enemy greases the pockets  
Of a few greedy ones  
Who wear our leopard skins  
And forget MANGAUNG!  
The enemy dots our country  
With smallpox and leprocy  
Dumps  
Called Bantustans

To hasten the death

Of our nation!

~556~

Johannesburg.

Matriculating in 1938, he went on to Fort Hare

University College where he graduated in 1941 with a B.A. Degree.

'After being involved in students' strikes and expelled from Fort

Hare, he obtained his Education Diploma and taught at St Peter's

Secondary School from 1943 to 1947, where his students included

the late Duma Nokwe.

In 1948, he began studying law and started in legal practice

with Nelson Mandela, who is now serving life imprisonment in

Pollsmoor Prison, in December 1952, establishing an African legal

partnership in South Africa.

He was one of the founders of the ANC Youth League in 1944,

and successively its National Secretary and National

vice-President.

In 1949, he became a member of the National

Executive of the ANC and Secretary-General of the organisation in

1955, holding the position until 1958 when he was elected Deputy

President General.

In 1954, he was served with Government orders under the

Suppression of Communism Act, banning him from attending all

gatherings for two years and restricting his movements to the

magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Benoni for a certain

period.

In December 1956, he was charged with 155 other members

of the Congress Alliance with High Treason.

And in 1959, he was

served with a further Government order prohibiting him from

attending any gatherings for a period of five years.

The practice he and Nelson Mandela had set up as a means of

defending Africans charged with "crimes" was seriously affected.

He could not now travel to places like South West Africa

(Namibia) as he had done before, to represent the Africans facing

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Whatever their differences with some of the principles of their forerunners, the Black Consciousness movement was descended from the organisations that the

government banned in 1960 ... the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress (378)

The reasons for the emergence of Black Consciousness are obvious: the brutal racist colonial system of apartheid which is a vicious national oppression and economic exploitation of the Blacks and their total exclusion from the political, economic and cultural life and development of the country.

What was new in Black Consciousness (as opposed to similar manifestations in the past)

was that it emerged in 1968 at a time when most African states had attained national independence and hence colonialism and indeed imperialism had been weakened. The psychological impact on black South Africa of the attainment of national independence by African countries "Africans ourselves" - cannot be overestimated.

Surely in the 1960's the student movement throughout the world had become stronger and in South Africa student population had increased.

There were also other factors connected with the general crisis of capitalism. In the United States the anti-Vietnam war campaign had grown tremendously and the civil rights movement saw the emergence of Black Power. The student revolts in France in 1968 (and to a lesser degree in West Germany and West Berlin) brought the De Gaulle government almost to its knees.

The influence and impact of the struggles in the former Portuguese

~493»



Aelred Stubbs, who was based at the Theological Seminary in

Alice, observes about this period:

The years 1963-1967 were years of demoralisation for the African people generally in South Africa and the students especially.

The savage repression launched

after Sharpeville in March 1960 continued.

There were

no above ground political organisations.

At the

University College of Fort Hare, for example, next door to our Seminary at Alice, the remaining ANC and PAC elements were winkled out by the Security Branch who had the entree to the College and access to the students' files.

Militant resistance to the hated

Bantu Education system was succeeded by any apparent apathy and students' resentments and frustrations were expressed by some in heavy drinking and sexual promiscuity.

It seemed that at Fort Hare, once the intellectual heart of black South Africa, the authorities had won, if only in bludgeoning the students into a defeated acquiescence with the system. (374)

This assessment, seems to be an accurate reflection of what was happening throughout the country.

Indeed, Steve Biko

confirms:

"In the period '63-66 black people were terribly scared of involvement in politics. <375>

~490

The history and evolution of the Christian Institute teaches us that revolutionaries make a mistake when they think that revolutionary changes can be made by revolutionaries alone.

We, as a liberation movement, must work in alliance with all patriotic forces in the most diverse spheres of activity.

That is even if

do not agree with them on everything." <421>

And on Beyers Naude himself, the journal stated that his evolution "shows that people can change.

By sheer force of

example he has shown that it is possible to break with the forces of darkness and the initial isolation is a necessary break which leads to acceptance by the forces of the future" - the black people. (422)

The Christian Institute was banned on October 19, 1977 together with 18 others.

This was a tense situation in South

Africa during the Soweto uprising and after the murder of Steve Biko on September 12 and the arrest and detention of people.

About 540 black leaders were detained and 7 whites were placed under banning orders for five years.

Most of them were

associated with the Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

Ironically, the Soweto massacres, arrests, and detention, banning of organisations had a politicising influence.

To

illustrate this point, let us take the example of Bishop Desmond Tutu who rose to prominence following the Soweto uprising as a fighter against police brutality.

He became the Bishop of

Lesotho and later the General Secretary of the South African

DEATHS IN DETENTION SINCE 1963

Name

Date of

Official Explanation

Death

of Death

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Bellington MAMPE

'Looksmart' S. NGUDLE

James TYITYA

Suliman SALOOJEE

Nengeni GAGA

Pongolosha HOYE

James HAMAKWAYO

Hangula SHONYEKA

Leong Yun PIN

Ah YAN

Alpheus MALIBA

J B TUBAKWE

1.9.63

5.9.63

24.1.64

9.9.64

7.5.65

8.5.65

8.66

9.10.66

19.11.66

30.11.66

9.9.67

11.9.68

causes undisclosed

'suicide by hanging'

'suicide by hanging'  
'fell out of seventh  
floor window'  
'natural causes'  
'natural causes'  
'suicide by hanging'  
'suicide'  
'suicide by hanging'  
'suicide by hanging'  
'suicide by hanging'  
'suicide by hanging'

An unidentified man died at an undisclosed time of an  
undisclosed cause at an undisclosed place. (Disclosed in  
Parliament on 28.1.69).

14.

Nichodimus KGOATHE

5.2.69

15.

16.

17.

18.

19.

20.

21.

22.

Solomon MODIPANE

James LENKOE

Caleb MAYEKISO

Michael SHIVUTE

Jacob MONAKGOTLA

Imam Abdullah HARON

28.2.69

10.3.69

1.6.69

16.6.69

10.9.69

27.9.69

Mthayeni CUTSHBLA

Ahmed TIMOL

22.1.71

27.10.71

23.

Joseph MDLULI

24.

25.

26.

27.

28.

29.

William TSHWANE

Mapetla MOHAPI

Luke ?v'mZWISMBE

Dumisani MBATHA

Fennel MOGATUSI

Jacob MASHABANE

19.3.76

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~519~

'bronchopneumonia  
following head  
injuries sustained  
in a shower'  
'natural causes'  
'suicide by hanging'  
'natural causes'  
'suicide'  
'thrombosis'  
'fell down a flight  
of stairs'  
'natural causes'  
'fell out of tenth  
floor window'  
'application of  
force to neck'

gunshot wounds'  
suicide by hanging'  
suicide by hanging'  
unknown illness'  
suffocation'  
suicide by hanging'

especially imilairope far from the battlefield in South Africa â\200\224  
under'ï-\202warmme â\200\235ANC - African Nationalist" and within the ANC  
circles was known as the â\200\235Gang of 8â\200\235.

This group, basing itself  
on antiâ\200\224communianenmiâ\200\235racist chauvinismâ\200\235 (African exclusivity)  
attempted to change the orientation of the ANC, undermine the  
unity which the ANC had built over decades and win recognition  
for itself.

They tried every trick in the book to achieve this;  
they failed.

These were some of the achievements and problems during this  
period.

It goes without saying that some of these problems were  
resolved later â\200\224 during what President Tambo characterised as  
the:

Period of Consolidation and Further Advance.

â\200\230This was tï-\202ue period after 1975.

Besides the 1971 and 1975

Conferences of the ANC, Conferences which deali:eaither with the  
splitting devices of the "Gang of 8â\200\235 or apartheid's "detente"  
offensive, the ANC strove to secure independent Africa as a rear  
lmase and this resulted from the realisation of a need to ensure  
that at all times independent Africa remains a reliable rear  
base.

From 1975 onwards, the ANC was able to establish an  
official presehbe in the Kingdom of Swaziland.

Malawi, because

of its links with apartheid, could not have relathmusunth the  
ANC.

The sinister intensions of the apartheid regime in  
entrenching itself in Malawi need special research.

The political crisis of apartheid and the mass upheaval  
inside South Africa continued.

We have already discussed the

Period of Regrouping and Recovery and he characterised the latter period from 1975 onwards as a Period of Consolidation and Further Advance.

It is to this Period of Regrouping and Recovery that we shall first turn our attention to.

This was an extremely difficult period when the Vorster regime was at the pinnacle of its power and Pretoria through it. had further secured itself by helping to suppress the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and despite the fact that the U N General Assembly had terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia, the apartheid regime felt it could continue its domination of Namibia for as long as it wished.

Internationally, the apartheid regime had iixs friends.

To

illustrate this, let us quote from the so-called National Security Study Memorandum 39 which was adopted by the U 8 Government in 1969.

Memorandum 39 stated:

â\200\235For the foreseeable furture South Africa will be able to maintain internal stability and effectively counter insurgent activity ...

The Whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them.

'There is no hOpe for the Blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists ...

We can, through selective relaxation of our stance towards the white regimes, encourage some modification of their current racial and colonial policies ...

~528â\200\224

pc>intL dic:tat:ed by :its (iiSLitil].ity to <i-\202onlinarit  
interests ...

Secondly, colonial conquestliistorically provided the  
base from which industrial capital recruits its labour  
force, the conception of disutility is likely to be  
linked with the bare survival of the work force.

Both  
conceptions of disutility are consistent with very high  
levels of repression." (430)

The ANC introduced a new element.in the Soweto uprisings,  
namely the combination of armed struggle with unarmed  
demonstrations.

The incidents involving and surrounding  
arrest in 1977 of Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu for ANC activities  
liis execution on April 6, 1979 were directly connected with  
process of resumption of armed struggle.

Solomon Mahlangu -

hero of the revolution â\200\224 represented this young generation  
had moved to the forefront of the revolution and was ready to  
the

and

the

the

who

Pay

the supreme sacrifice ftm liberation.

He wrote his own epitaph

when he said:

"My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the  
fruits of freedom.

Tell my people that I love them and

that they must continue the struggle.â\200\235

These were the beginnnings of the escalation of armed  
struggle in South Africa.

The difficulty which one faces when it

comes to detail the armed activities of the ANijxs the official



cOncealment of these activities.

~534~

military combat forces is growing.

This means that political

education of the masses is a principal task which helps the ANC to lead the masses into struggle, and this in turn facilitates unity in action of the black masses and the democratic forces as a whole and that there can be no unity of the democratic forces or black unity as such without unifying the Africans under the banner of the ANC.

The operations of the ANC inside South Africa have a psychological impact.

They instil self-confidence in the people and transform the latent hostility of the people to the government into open mass confrontation; they intensify the sense of unease and insecurity among the enemy forces; they increase the conviction among the struggling people that victory is certain and popularise armed struggle. The term "armed propaganda" has gained popularity within ANC circles.

This and

much more explains why the ANC flags, symbols, songs and freedom songs are sung everywhere, especially at funerals of those gunned down by the enemy.

Internationally the prestige of the ANC is equally high.

The ANC is regarded as the alternative to apartheid.

The

struggle and the sacrifices of the masses of the people inside the country have contributed to this.

The correctness of the policies of the ANC and its leadership have brought admiration from many supporters.

This collective has been under the leadership of President O R Tambo.

Born at Bizana in Eastern Pondoland, Eastern Cape in 1917, and of peasant origin, he attended school at Ludebe, the Holy Cross Mission and later at St Peter's Secondary School,

~550



But I'm an extraordinary spirit  
A power, a force, a home  
A shield  
A spear  
A child  
Yes, a child born with stubborn leopard spots  
Of racism  
All over  
But born nonetheless  
Breathing, kicking stretching  
Into the future  
Breathing heavily  
With the hearts of leopards and lions  
Plus all the known  
And unknown courage and triumphs  
Of Africa  
For I was born  
At the gathering of the brave!

Today,  
The enemy tramples  
On the burial place  
Of our umbilical cord  
With iron boots tanks  
And bullet-belts

Oh no!  
Please!  
I'm not boasting  
When I say  
I have the most supreme family tree  
For every vein in my body  
Every artery was infused with blood  
Rich  
With the history of freedom fighters.  
And just for my birth  
They all came!  
Thulimahashe was there  
Remembering Soshangane  
Sikhukhuni stood high  
And kings standing taller  
And more majestic  
Than any Hollywood king of kings  
Makhado with his elephants head  
He remembered Thau ya Ndou  
Khama Moshoeshoe  
All shielding the lowly victims of  
Capital and race  
Victims Of bloodsucking exploitation  
Cetshwayo with unshakeable Shaka  
On his mind  
All took off  
Their Cloak of loneliness  
Hintsa, Makhandanda ~ Nxele

forcesâ\200\235.

Colour alone is not an enough criterion.

Indeed, the

struggles of the Vietnamese, Angolans, Mozambicans, Guineans, Zimbabweans (especially during the 1980 elections) and Namibians, teach us, anmnug<other things, one lesson:

they have challenged

the validity of the argument of an â\200\235allâ\200\224embracing national unityâ\200\235 covering all movements and classes.

On the contrary they suggest

the inevitability at some stage of an open confrontation between the narrowly"%uitionalistic petty bourgeois elements" â\200\224 who are always allied and collaborate with imperialism and its surrogates - and those who favour the further advance of the revolution from opposition to colonialism to a broader anti-imperialist struggle.

This is the experience of the ANC with the PAC. <393>

There is a lot nmna'that can be said about Steve Biko and Black Consciousness.

Suffice to say here was a man who was in

the tĩ-\201ĩ-\202xĩ-\202<<of the struggle â\200\224 struggling and sacrificing his life tc>liberate himself and his people from white racism and white liberalism; a.nmulvĩ-\202u3 tried hard to understand his environment and a solution to the crisis in South Africa.

Here is a young

African intellectual trying to emancipate himself and his people "through peaceful means" <394> from the violent system of apartheid which he calls â\200\235an island of Europe in Africa". <395>

â\200\230The ideas and contribution of the BCM will one day be properly evaluated and assessed.

11:

is sufficient to say that

the BCM was gmuH1<of the broad forces fighting together with the ANC (and not in competition) against colonialism, racism, and exploitation in South Africa.

An evaluation and appreciation of the theory and philosophy of Black Consciousness is impossible without taking into account the practical problems and politics of the Black Consciousness Movement.

From its inception in 1968, up until 1971 SASO was confined to the campuses and then decided to "go out into the community". But this could not be realised fully because Black Consciousness did not have a clear programme of action nor a clearly defined philosophy for social transformation such as the Freedom Charter for example; there was no strategy for the working class; it was not a homogeneous movement capable of acting in a coordinated fashion.

It failed to develop roots in the masses especially the working class and did not (could not) muster all the social forces (black and white) that can bring about change in South Africa.

There was also the question of racist onslaught: many of the leaders were arrested, harassed and banned.

The wholesale

bannings of 19 organisations on October 19, 1977, covering student and youth movements, welfare organisations, charitable and church groups, associations of writers, journalists and women, cultural organisations and two black newspapers, showed clearly that the racist regime of Vorster was not prepared to tolerate anything, even the peaceful voices and forms of cultural and national expression, voluntarily chosen by the people.

This

gave rise to problems of continuity of leadership and financial problems; the amount of money and time spent in defence of leaders and activists affected the smooth running of the organisation.

~500-

educationists and Black parents, but by a white government in which they have no say.

Verwoerd's

philosophy and motivation ~ which he announced so bluntly â\200\224 has poisoned the entire system, probably beyond repair.

Bantu Education is closely linked with Black poverty, jobs colour bar â\200\224 and now 'total strategy'.

An Oppressed people cannot gain control over its own education without first gaining control over the economy of the country, and this depends on the political arrangements within the country.

Thereï-\202ane

it becomes clear that any talk about struggle against Bantu Education is essentially about political power ...

A say in the educational decisionâ\200\224making ultimately means a say in the political decision~making." (416)

And concretely, on the Soweto uprising the article states:

â\200\235This is why the Soweto uprising started off as a reaction to the imposition of the Afrikaans language and developed to be a rejection of the whole system of apartheididâ\200\235 (417)

The Soweto uprising was accompanied by a rise in "deaths in detentionsâ\200\235 as the table below shows:

~518-

[ \nd (xantiJNJes:

â\200\235The banning of union leaders - all white intellectuals

â\200\224 began a decline which was to see paid~up union

membership in the Durban area slump to something in the

region of 2,000 by the midâ\200\2241970's." <405>

This exaggeration misses the point.

The real reasons for

this state of affairs were:

the denied official bargaining

:rights;

lack workers were only allowed to air their grievances

through plant level works communities, strikes were illegal and

the police and army were always ready to take action against the strikers.

This turning of the white intelligentsia towards the labour

movement was â\200\235partly in reaction to black consciousness and

partly in response to wider intellectual trendsâ\200\235.

They regarded

themselves as 'Whites' and hence the preoccupation with class

issues but unfortunately "this tended and tends to downgrade the

significance of racial or national oppression in South

Africa.â\200\235 <406>

It is true that these Whites, Friedman talks about, were

â\200\235sympathetic~\202'to~\201>black trade unions though they did not have a working class background.

But it was not just a question of

â\200\235sympathetic~\202not~\202to~\202

The Whites in South Africa, though not nationally

oppressed, are suffering from economic and social oppression,

that is those who do not own the means of production.

It is from

the~\202u taxes of the~\202to~\202i black and white that Bantustans are financed,

~510~



testified to the fact that the crisis in South Africa had gone beyond a question of law and order; it was no longer a question of police action; the South African police (SAP) could not manage; the army had to move in.

The racists had once more declared war on the African population.

It was at this time that state terrorism was unleashed.

Death squads emerged and gangs of policemen and their agents with faces concealed in balaclavas, began to harass people.

A few

affidavits do give an indication as to the extent of some of the atrocities perpetrated by the police and army.

They describe the

kind of violence and intimidation in the Eastern Cape that is being used against the people by the police and soldiers of the Pretoria regime, before and during the state of emergency of 1985.

These are extracts:

Mrs Willel Zinto of KwaNobuhle made a statement in February about events that had taken place on 29th January:

My son, Thulani, was about to go to the shop to buy some coolaid.

I was standing at the kitchen door.

I

heard a bus coming.

I could see Thulani at the gate of the back yard.

Suddenly I heard screams and noise.

I

believe this was from a group of children when they realised that there were police inside time bus.

This

was followed by shooting.

My neighbour came screaming

and crying, saying: 'Thulani Thulani has been shot'.

I crossed to her yard and found him lying inside her

â\200\224542â\200\224

enī-\202ucationists and Black.gunmaits, but by a white government in which they have no say.

Verwoerd's

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The Soweto uprising was accompanied by a rise in â\200\235deaths in detentionsâ\200\235 as the table below shows:

~518â\200\224

At the same time, we would take diplomatic steps to convince the black states of the area that their current liberation and majority rule aspirations in the south are not attainable by violence and that their only hope for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with the white-minority states. (424)

This was an outrageous statement, displaying arrogance and insensitivity, neglect of African aspirations which are subordinated to American imperialist designs and exposing the racist approach of the U S Government.

Despite these problems, the ANC revived the contact with the people; the voice of the ANC inside the country increased ~ Radio Freedom, the voice of the ANC beamed from Tanzanian and Zambian broadcasting stations.

The ANC sent cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the country through the machineries of the Revolutionary Council which had been established at the Morogoro Conference. This raised the confidence of the masses of the people in their capability to confront the apartheid regime and, as President Tambo put it, 'our people were once more beginning to feel the organised movement among them and drew courage from this, to break out of the state of dormancy that the enemy had sought to impose on us through a policy of terror.' (425)

These circumstances it should be remembered, were being scored at a period following the Rivonia arrests and other reverses compounded by the death of the ANC President, General, Chief A J Lutuli in 1967, which situation imposed on the ANC External

burning the racist flag and hoisting the ANC flag and the Coloured and Indian youth were up in arms against apartheid and the Freedom Charter was "revived" and popularised. Many people of different walks of life came to associate themselves with the ANC. At the time people were unbanning the ANC. All this was happening in 1980 - the year in which Rhodesia became Zimbabwe. An integral part of this mass upsurge was a call for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners; a campaign which was influenced by the developments in Zimbabwe: The present campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela was initially a reaction to a call for a convention by two 'influential' Afrikaans newspapers following the overwhelming victory in the recent Zimbabwe independence elections of the Patriotic Front alliance. But these Afrikaans papers blundered. They misread the mood of the people. 'This is exactly what the Zimbabwean Whites did. They misread black attitudes. And not only that. The Zimbabwean elections, against most white expectations, have shown that black "leaders" who are picked out by Whites as suitable people to lead, will be politically destroyed by precisely that recognition and replaced by a people's choice.

Zimbabwe has also shown the folly of believing that a white minority can enjoy power and privilege indefinitely at the cost of a black majority. These reasons perhaps explain why recently in the South African press there has been a consistent use of terms



the prohibition of mixed marriages; migrant labor was  
decimating family life ...; wage structures were below  
the poverty line for millions of non-whites; men had a  
right to own land wherever they were domiciled and  
participate in the government of their country. (418)  
Even this mildly formulated resolution caused a storm within  
the established Afrikaner church circles:  
the representatives of  
the small Transvaal-based NKK refused to sign the document and  
reaffirmed their support for government policy, whereas the  
delegations of the NKK of the Cape and Transvaal interpreted the  
declaration as being critical of apartheid policies "but capable  
of being interpreted as in keeping with the principle of  
differentiation".

There was commotion in the Afrikaner power  
structure and provincial synods:

" ... the Dutch Reformed Churches withdrew from the  
World Council of Churches in a carefully orchestrated  
response which had the full backing of the prime  
minister, the Broederbond, and the Afrikaner  
Nationalist Party." (419)

The Cottrell declaration brought matters to a head and  
apartheid was definitely in conflict with international opinion.  
Leaders of various churches, mostly white but not  
exclusively white, felt convinced that Christians of various  
races and denominations should meet to try to work out the  
"implications of the Kingdom of God" for the people of South  
Africa-

Free State.

The emergence of the UDF was a reaction to a worsening situation in South Africa.

In the Western press and not only the press there is much confusion about Botha's "reforms". These have been portrayed either as "benevolence" to the Blacks or the opposite of apartheid.

The ruthlessness and violence with which the reforms are being enforced hardly justify the use of the term "reforms".

"Reforms", violence and naked brutality are in South Africa not mutually exclusive, because the reforms are used to justify the use of violence in the endeavour to enforce apartheid.

There should be "harmony" in the country; this is the message of "reforms".

This is connected with the attempts of the Mkhonto we Sizwe to portray Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief of KwaZulu, the leader of Inkatha, a movement, ethnically based, or rather an enforced organisation, which is moderate towards the racists and very violent when it deals with those who think otherwise and this includes the UDF.

It is a very debatable question whether Inkatha, an African organisation, has an independent policy.

Its practical political activity is killing UDF leaders, sending ANC activists to long terms of imprisonment and much worse.

The UDF mobilises all the people into one mass movement and coordinates community resistance but it does not purport to be a substitute movement to accredited people's movements such as the ANC.

It articulates the viewpoint of the broad cross-section of the people, the fundamental principle is that discrimination falls on the poor ~ accordingly the main thrust of the organisation is directed towards the participation of the working



DEATHS IN DETENTION SINCE 1963 (continued)

Name

Date of  
Death

Official Explanation  
of Death

63.  
64.  
65.  
66.  
67.  
68.

69.

70.

71.

72.

73.

74.

Johannes NGALO  
Jacob MOLELEKE  
Anthony MASUNYANE  
Samson MASEKO  
Bheki MVULANE  
Sipho MUTSI

Andries RADITSELA

Mzwandile MUGGELS

Johannes SPOGTER

Sonnyboy MOKOENA

Thembaleke GEORGE  
Loyiso NDZANDZE

15.7.84  
29.9.84  
7.9.84  
19.9.84  
29.3.85  
5.5.85

6.5.85

3.7.85

5.7.85

16.8.85

16.8.85  
19.8.85

'internal injuries'  
'shot in police van'

'no explanation'  
'died of injuries'  
'tortured to death'  
'died of head injuries  
in custody'  
'died of head injuries  
in custody'  
'bleeding from gunshot  
wounds while in  
custody'  
'death due to head  
injuries'  
'found hanging in his  
cell'  
'tortured to death'  
'tortured to death'

\* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

The late 1970's saw the emergence of radical, black and  
non-racial trade unions.

Because the workers, in general, and

trade unions, in particular,

had been radicalised, had become

more militant, they became the prime targets of the police and the

Special Branch.

This could not be otherwise since the working

class was becoming the pace setters and therefore reflecting a

change in emphasis of protest from the educational field to that

of labour.

The black trade unions became a target of another form of

onslaught: the active intervention of American Trade unions

especially the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of

Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO).

The aim of these American

unions was to

.

blacks was one of 'withdrawal' in order to regroup,  
build up confidence, a sense of identity and power  
base, and then to re-emerge to confront the white power  
structure, the latter saw it initially (as indeed SASO  
was clever enough to portray itself) as conforming to  
the segregationist 'separate development' policy of the  
Nationalists. (379)

The real politics of this incident is that the gap between  
the oppressor and the oppressed is so great that it is  
unbridgeable ~ the two live in two different worlds and move in  
different or rather opposite directions.

The other reason why Steve Biko became internationally  
known, perhaps more than any of his contemporaries, was the  
contacts he had with some influential Whites.

At the meeting  
of the United States senators and embassy officials, he had a friend,  
Donald Woods, who was a newspaper editor:

WBiko's importance was developed as a leader of black  
people; it was through the white press and white  
friends that people outside South Africa first heard of  
him". (380)

Not that this is bad in itself, but some of these white  
friends had other interests, perhaps interests diametrically  
opposed to those of Steve Biko or interests he was not aware of.  
After Biko's death many obituaries and articles were written  
about him.

Donald Woods also wrote and said:

~495-

Executive.

This did not last long.

In 1975, an extra clause was

inserted in his lxuwung order gmxĩ-\\201Utdting him from working from BCP.

Tĩ-\\201ua same year he formed the Zimele Trust Fund (Zimele

meaning stand on your own) to help political prisoners,

especiaqurtĩ-\\202nase vulnerable ones coming from Robben Island, and thier families.

He became the Secretary-General of the Trust Fund.

He also formed the Ginsberg Educational Trust for the purpose of assisting black students (Ginsberg is the hanma<3f the township where he was born, grew up and lived in Kingwilliamshmnĩ-\\202.

In 1977, he was appointed (in absentia because he was banned), Honorary President of BCP - an organisation he had helped to found.

Steve Biko was arested, detained and charged many times under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act:

in 1975 arrested and detained for 137 days without trial or charge;

in August 1976, that is during the height of the Soweto uprisings, he was arrested and held in solitary confinement for 101 days;

in March 1977, he was arrested, detained and then released;

in July 1977, arrested, charged and released on bail;

and finally in August 1977.

He never came back alive firm]

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jail.

Besides these arrests, Steve Biko was a banned person and

this alone means a life full of tensions and requiring constant

alertness.

For Steve Biko this meant:

â\200\235Confinement to Kingwilliamstown; he could not enter an

â\200\224497-

Stolen  
And in pain ...  
Our cattle gone  
Our homes burnt  
Our fields made green by us  
But, especially not for us  
And if they could only speak.  
All those rivers of South Africa  
Could tell of countless seasons  
Of our blood, our tears

But that's when my parents  
Were not married.  
They walked alone,  
Just like each fighting bulldozers alone  
Alone, tried to brave  
With bare hands  
The mad stampede of elephants  
When single-handed victories  
Often leave each parent armless  
If alive at all ...

But before that certain January 8th  
After the enemy  
Settled a little family he had  
Over our EVERYTHING  
He united  
And strengthened his fighting muscle  
Against my people

Today  
English French Dutch  
German Italian Greek  
Portuguese and other  
Tongues of Europe  
Pronounce themselves  
Nation - indivisible  
In my country!  
And us  
Sotho Venda Xhosa  
Tsopi Shangaan Zulu  
The same European tongues  
Pronounce  
Nations - divisible  
In my country!

Oh,  
But just for my birth  
Serious anxious and colourful parents  
Were there,  
They came  
On foot on bicycle  
Oxwagons horseback  
Some by trains with cattle, like cattle,  
Through rains and the frying sun ...

~554-

( '21 i- \202t1kâ \200\2301/â \200\230d.

Mkhaba) were executed.

SACTU was never officiallqumanned as an

/\

organisation but by 1965, it had been effectively silenced.

It was in the early 1970's that the black trade union

movement began to re-emerge.

It all started at the end of 1971

when 20,000 Namibian contract workers went on strike.

This

strike knzrnbgrant workers brought the mining industry to a halt

and interrupted communications and transport systems as well as

commercial operations and rural production. (400)

The South

African Defence Force was brought in-â \200\224rmĩ- \201:fbr the first time â \200\224

and six people were reported dead.

This signalled that the class

struggle against apartheid exploitation was once again on the

move and that black workers in South Africa were inspired by the

developments in South Africa which had a snowballing effect in South

Africa.

During 1972, we witnessed an increase in strikes.

The

strike wave began in earnest in January 1973.

About 2,000 black

workers at the Coronation brick works outside Durban went on strike.

They chanted: â \200\235Man is dead, but his spirit lives".

This was the beginning of the strike wave which characterised

the year 1973.

In that year, more than 90,000 black workers were

involved in strikes â \200\224 in 1972 there were 9224.

The strike wave

and

H

continued in 1974.

This was the time when unions mushroomed  
the strikes were to bring in their wake a sharp  
increase in black real wages through the midâ\200\2241970's". (401)  
Employers began talking about skills training and job advancement  
for black workers.

They eveneuiñ-\20lnitted that colour bar was  
increasingly creatiwmgea skilled manpower shortage ~ there were  
not enough Whites and even those that are there were consummxi by

~508~



Africans-kĩ-\202ack and white.

The Freedom Charter does not

envisage any transfer of power to one class;<mitĩ-\202macontrary the  
thinking seems to be a transfer of power to a cxxalition of

classes which are against the status quo, forces which are for an  
implementation of the national democratic programme which has

been â\200\224 and is being â\200\224 elaborated in various policy documents

These are our dreams; these are the nightmares cdftĩ-\202ueiapartheid  
architects.

The history of the ANC has become part<lftĩ-\201mzf folklore of

the peopheviĩ-\202m>have come to identify their future with the ANC.

Lindiwe Mabuza tells the whole story in her poem "Mangaung" <438>

which is an African name for Bloemfontein:

MANGAUNG

January 8, 1912

I was born on January the eighth  
For my birth  
My parents travelled  
Days and long miles  
To a place called  
MANGAUNG  
Which means  
The meeting place of the leopards

Today,  
The enemy calls my cradle  
Bloemfontein  
Mangaung was warm  
Hospitable  
A meeting place  
Where now  
Only poisonous creps  
Of injustice  
Bloom.

Well,  
LJust ftufzne  
One January 8th  
My parents came  
From all corners heights and plans  
Of CNJr larui

â\200\224553~

Sebe, then Chief Minister and new President for Life of the  
Ciskei, the "problem" with the Zanempilo Clinic was that the  
staff "talked politics" to the patients!

His Younger brother,

Charles, then working for BOSS, the racist South African  
Securities, had the job of watching over Steve Biko.

Steve Biko was murdered on September 12, that is 25 days  
after his last arrest.

Those were 25 days in hell.

On the last

day, the dying Steve Biko was driven, unattended, in  
in the

back of a lorry from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria, a distance  
of 740 miles.

The details about the torture he went through and the  
circumstances of his death are well known.

We shall quote Jimmy

Kruger, then Minister of Police, at a Nationalist Party Congress:

"I am not glad and I am sorry about Mr. Biko.

It

leaves me cold (Dit laat my koud) ..."

He went on to say: a certain Mr Venter, a congress

delegate, namely that prisoners in South Africa have the

democratic right to starve themselves to death because South  
Africa is a "democratic land".

Steve Biko is supposed to have

died of "hunger strike"!

All the same, Kruger's remarks need no comment.

This is the

face and mentality of racism, of fascism in South Africa.

\* \* \* \* \*

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The Workers' Front

We have already dealt with the rise of trade unionism and the struggle of the working class, especially the black workers, in the early period and during the interwar period.

In March 1953, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was formed as a federation of black and white trade unions.

Later another federation, the Federation of Free Trade Unions of South Africa (FOFATUSA) emerged.

SACTU, which was soon

to have a membership of over 100,000, was to become a signatory to the Freedom Charter and hence a component of the Congress Alliance headed by the ANC while FOFATUSA was to ally itself with the PAC.

Ken Luckhardt and Brenda Wall have written a book on the history of SACTU.

While this is not an "official SACTU history", the book, "Organise ... or Starve, the History of the South African Congress of Trade Unions" was commissioned by the leadership of SACTU and the "three chapters dealing with the post-1964 SACTU history were drafted under the guidance of a SACTU Editorial Board".

SACTU which based its policy on the principles of non-racial trade unionism and political trade unionism, was to become an effective organisation of black workers into disciplined, democratic and militant trade unions capable of confrontation with the apartheid state as well as an economic system which lives off cheap black labour. (397)

In other words, SACTU had to

~506-

For the peoples of Southern Africa, Mozambique and Angola were the latest examples demonstrating that exploitative relations are a transitional phase in the development of human society. <409>

The struggle for the recognition of Angola and the MPLA as the legitimate leader of that revolution was bitter and tense. The black people of South Africa had every reason to be concerned about the developments in Mozambique and Angola.

Besides the fact that racist South Africa has declared independent Africa the "second mortal enemy" (the first being black South Africa) the Enakks in South Africa are being taught to despise these countries because they are not as "developed" as South Africa.

This escalation of white chauvinism and racism into black thinking in South Africa is, to say the least, a Violation of the principles enshrined in the OAU Charter.

This white thinking overlooks the fact that South Africa has been "developed" by South Africans alone.

Millions and millions of Africans from Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, the then Tanganyika, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) and Malawi worked (and some continue to do so)

in South Africa and contributed tremendously to the development of South Africa.

Surely these people have an interest in what is going on in South Africa and their black brothers in South Africa have an equal interest in the well-being of their comrades in these countries.

That is what the racists did not understand when they invaded Angola in 1975.

There were other reasons why the South African Blacks showed solidarity with

\*134220\200â

of instruction in Afrikaans.

English was moreover the main language of industry and commerce, an international language, and the medium through which contact could be maintained with the rest of Africa. The language issue provided a point of unity for the community and offered a clear theme around which an anti-Bantu Education campaign could be built.

The reaction against this particular government decree however, reflected a general mood of resistance baani undemocratic and discriminatory education system." <412>

During the first half of 1976, tension had been building up in the junior schools of Soweto:

"School boards opposed the policy and clashed with school inspectors.

Board members resigned.

Parents'

meetings were unanimous in rejecting Afrikaans, and students Clashed with principals who attempted to enforce the Department's ruling.â\200\235 <413>

Students boycotted Afrikaansâ\200\224medium lessons and also refused to writeiiï-\202mïï-\202i examinations in Afrikaans.

The recently formed

South African Students' Movement (SASM) was central in the whole conflict: it decided on June 13 to hold a mass demonstration against the imposition of Afrikaans and formed an â\200\235action committeeâ\200\235 consisting of two delegates frtmlâ\202-xuïï-\202i school in Soweto;

this body was to become the Soweto Students'

Representative Council.

20,000 students converged on Orlando

â\200\224515â\200\224

in some parts of South Africa.

It has adopted a programme which

is called "The Manifesto of the Azanian People".

This Manifesto

characterises apartheid as "racial capitalism" and goes further

to state that the National Forum is fighting for the

establishment of a democratic anti-racist worker Republic in

Azania" and that black workers alone can end the system as it

stands today because they alone have nothing at all to

lose." (436)

This position differs radically from that of the ANC.

This

perhaps explains the recent joint statement, released by

the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU), General and Allied Workers' Union (GAWU), Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO):

"We reiterate our uncompromising commitment to the

historic Freedom Charter as the only democratic

document drafted in the history of the liberation

struggle.

The Charter stands out from all other alternatives for

change in South Africa, not only because of the manner

in which it came into being, but also because of the

demands reflected in it.

It can therefore never be

substituted without the will of the majority.

Any

attempt by an individual or group to discredit or

undermine it can be seen as an act of betrayal to the

aspirations of all the people of South Africa." (437)

'These are not the only problems facing the ANC.

There are

Â«548Â\200\224

was unconscious for several hours after this happened.â\200\235

Lena Rasmen of Lingelihle described in August her

encounter with some soldiers earlier in the same month:  
â\200\235In the late evening I walked to a relative's home.

I

was alone.

A Hippo drove up behind me and stopped.

Two white soldiers jumped out.

One said: 'Hier 100p 'n

'bitch, alleen in die nagy seker 'n man soek.

Ons sal  
haar help' ('Here walked a bitch alone in the night,  
she must be looking for a man.

We'lliuĩ-\202\$>her).

One

soldier lifted me by my shoulders and another by my  
ankles.

I struggledj euuixnth 'Where are you taking  
me?â\200\230

The same soldier said, 'You'll see'.

,

... The Hippo drove to the National Road and went  
towards Port Elizabeth ... A few kilometres away the  
Hippo stopped.

The one soldier jumped out and the  
other pushed me out.

The two solditnxsjlifted me over  
the fence, and climbed over.â\200\235

She then described how she had been raped by both  
soldiers, who afterwards drove off in the Hippo, while  
she set off on foot.

â\200\235 ... I ... went to my brother's house and told him  
It was 9ip.m. ... My brother gave me coffee and put me  
to bed with hot water bottles.

I was in pain and still  
bleeding.â\200\235

When she made her statemmmNNLa week later, Lena Rasmen

was still in pain.

~546~



\*

To gain new bridgeheads for the Pretoria regime in its efforts to undermine the unity of the Frontline States, destroy the SADCC and replace it with a so-called constellation of states and thus to transform the independent countries of southern Africa into its client states; and

\*

To use the prestige of the Frontline States in the campaign of the white minority regime to reduce the international isolation of apartheid South Africa and to gain legitimacy to itself and its colonial and fascist state.

The Nkomati Accord, the ANC said, concluded, "a regime which has no moral or legal right to govern our country, cannot but help to perpetuate the illegitimate rule of the South African white settler minority".

What about the tricameral parliament?

The anti-election

campaign which led to boycott of elections, 235 arrests, police brutality and terror, arrest of UDF leaders (who were later charged with high treason) Opened a new chapter of resistance signifying that both the Nkomati Accord and the tricameral parliament were two sides of the same coin which will have a lasting impact and imprint on the development and perhaps even the course, duration and outcome of the struggle in South Africa.

The people responded.

There was the November stay-away, the Transvaal, the industrial heartland of South Africa ~ which crippled the economy of South Africa.

Since then South Africa

has known no peace.

The use of the soldiers from the South African Defence Force (SADF) to occupy African residential areas became routine.

This

~541-

â\200\235The government quite clearly never understood the extent to which Steve Biko was a man of peace.

He was

militant in standing up for his principles yes, but his abiding goal was a peaceful reconciliation of all South Africans, and in this I happen to know he was a moderating influence." <381>

Surely the young people followed him more for his militancy "in standhugim>for his principles" rather than his "moderating influence".

Thirdly, Steve Biko had another quality, vnuit Stubbs cxtlls

â\200\235compelling eloquence" and " extraordinary gift of leadershipâ\200\235:

"He had at that time extraordinary magetisnn

Iiis hold

<3n his allâ\200\224black audiences was almost frightening; it was if they were listening to a new 'messiah'. <382>

These three factors, the regime's â\200\235confusion" about what Black Consciousness was all about, some sympathetic friends within the white press and Steve Biko's dynamism laid a basis for Black Consciousness to make some advances.

From 1971} Eknus became increasingly involved in political

activity and in 1972, his course at Wentworth was terminated.

He then worked for the Black Community Programme (BCP) in Durban but in March 1973, together with seven other SASO leaders, he was banned.

He was restricted tx)liis home town, Kingwilliamstown.

He founded UKEEasterh Cape Branch of BC? and worked as Branch

~496~

## CHAPTER EIGHT:

THE REA\200\224EMERGENCE OF THE ANC : 1969 - 1985:

'The decisions and rescductions adopted at the Morogoro Conference had to be implemented.

The Revolutionary Council and the ANC leadership saw to that.

This wasearmwzsituation.

The

1970's were a complex period: gone were the days when the regime

would boast so many times that it has â\200\235broken the back of the ANCâ\200\235.

This announcement was made so many times tfuu: the people

started asking: How many backs does the ANC have?

In the early 1960's, there had been attempts to found African student organisations.

The special disabilities suffered

by African students especially under Bantu Education, necessitated this.

In 1961, the African Students Association (ASA) was formed.

Although ASA was not a wing of the ANC ~ which

was banned in 1960 â\200\224 the influence and political bent was clearly discernible.

In 1962, the PAC adherents felt it necessary to "counter" this move by forming the African Students' Union of South Africa (ASUSA).

ASA and ASUSA reflected the political divisions and ideological loyalties of the time.

The National Union of the South African Students (NUSAS), a basically white liberal student body, which had some presence on black campuses, that is the English~speaking Whitfilĩ~\202ĩ~\201iVEFSities of Witwatersrand, Rhodes, Cape Town and Fort Hare.

Black

studentscxnĩ~\202d not attain leadership positions in NUSAS, while NUSAS could not speak for black campuses, although at thmĩ~\201sit; did.

~489â\200\224

colonies of Angola and Mozambique and, closer home, of the ANCâ\200\224ZAPU guerrillas fighting in the then Rhodesia. This explains the atmosphere amj<zclimate for the emergence of Black Consciousness.

But the real reasons are to be sought internally, in the workings of apartheid and especially Bantu Education.

Numerous youth, workers' and journalists' organisations emerged such as: the Black People's Convention (BPC in 1972); Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU in 1972); National Youth Organisation (NAYO in 1973); and many regional and provincial youth and cultural organisations, including the Union of Black Journalists.

Why did Steve Biko attract so much attention in the country and internationally?

There have been many black leaders well-known to black people inside South Africa, who died in similar circumstances but were seldom known to the outside world.

Three reasons stand out clearly.

These helped the spread of Black Consciousness and Steve Biko's prominence.

Firstly, there was the racist regime's utter ignorance and disregard of black aspirations and black thinking. They were so obsessed Muiji â\200\235racial politicsâ\200\235 and â\200\235separate development" that they confused themselves.

Not actually dealing with this problem directly, Aelred Stubbs gives us an insight ixnua their thinking' when he says:

â\200\235Ironically, the Organisation (SASO) was immediately accorded official recognition by the Fort Hare

Administration, who liked its segregated appearance! Although SASO's strategy in confining its membership to

-494â\200\224

trade unions is to gain influence in and to coopt the South African trade union movement.

They want to "step up aid" to local emerging unions and to sponsor union training programmes such as union education, worker education, training of union staff and much more.

What particularly concerns the black trade unionists in Africa is the CIA connection and involvement in American trade unions.

This assistance, with all the huge sums of money that accompany it, is suspect to say the least.

The Church Front:

In the South African freedom struggle, church figures have always featured, combining church matters with politico-religious issues.

Names such as Ambrose Reeves, Trevor Huddleston, Michael Scott, Joost de Blank, Rev. Calata, Rev. Mahabane, Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak, Dr Manas Buthelezi, Beyers Naudee and others have emerged at different times.

The conflicts which take the form of church versus state are closely connected with the socio-political tensions and developments in the country.

The 1960 Sharpeville massacres, the banning of the ANC in 1960 and the State of Emergency of the same year; and the general international isolation of apartheid South Africa as evidenced by its withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 1960; the tension between the English-speaking churches and the state and between these churches and the pro-apartheid Dutch Reformed Churches (DRC) and later the need to respond to the emergent black consciousness and black theology and/or liberation theology - these were some of the issues which had to be tackled.

In December 1960, there was a Cottesloe consultation.

Cottesloe is an old residence of the University of the Witwatersrand, one of the very few places where delegates of all races could meet and reside together.

Joost de Blank, the

Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, initiated the consultation by asking the World Council of Churches (WCC) to arrange a meeting of its member churches in South Africa to consider the worsening situation in the country.

Among the Afrikaner churches, the Cape

Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), the Transvaal NGK and the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK) were members of the WCC.

The

bulk of the South African membership was made up of the English-speaking churches, while the Bantu Presbyterians were the only African church to be represented.

The Roman Catholic Church

was not a member of the WCC.

The racist regime reacted: in September 1960, it deported back to London the dynamic Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves.

In all 80 representatives from the South African churches and six WCC representatives met.

The deliberations and

resolutions were far from being radical. The important thing was the direction in which the church was being asked to follow:

"... this ambivalent stance was followed by several firm assertions, inter alia: the church, as the Body of Christ, was a unity within which the natural diversity among men was not annulled but sanctified; believers should not be excluded from any church on grounds of race or colour; there were no scriptural grounds for  
the

like 'true leaders' or 'real leaders',

'recognised

black leaders', right leaders' or even 'authentic black leaders', Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela is one.

This is

the unique leadership role accorded him by our

people.â\200\235 (433)

'This momentum of mass upsurge was maintained and sustained

and developed to higher levels resulting in the formation of the

United Democratic Front (UDF) in Cape Town on August 20, 1983

where more than 12,000 people converged.

The formation of the

UDF was a reaction to a call by Dr Allan Boesak made at the

January congress of the Transvaal Indian Council.

It was not

simply a response to a call for unity:

it was a culmination of

the development of organisations and the need to coordinate

isolated struggles into broader forms of national campaigns and resistance.

It was an indication of a new level of organisation.

One or two things need to be said about the UDF.

Its

composition of more than 700 affiliates comprising all sections

and national groups: trade unions, churches, civic and community

organisations, sports bodies, and political organisations, unites

them in the struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa and

to pool their resources and to inform the people about the crime of apartheid.

The UDF is committed in urban and rural areas working

outside the governmentâ\200\224created structures and organised in a

decentralised, federal structure with established regions in the

Transvaal, Natal, Border (the East London area); Eastern Cape

(Port Elizabeth district); Western Cape, Northern Cape and the Orange

Free State.

But all the same, we know that between 1977 and 1982, Umkhonto we Sizwe attacks concentrated on sabotage of railway communications, industrial installations, attacks on Government offices, that is, buildings belonging to the regional Administration Boards (the bodies responsible for African township administration).

There were also assassinations and attacks on African security policemen, community councillors and former ANC members who have turned state witnesses, trials or who have in some way or other betrayed the organisation: The ANC, like any African elephant, has demonstrated a long historical memory in such cases. It.

was in this period that there were also incidents of clashes between ANC guerrillas and police or army units that is soldiers - in June 1979, in the Northern Transvaal and Bophuthatswana Mangope's army helped to track down and actually killed ANC guerrillas.

Police stations became the focus of guerilla assaults where sophisticated weaponry such as grenade launchers (RPG7) were used by ANC guerillas.

Since then police stations are fortified with sandbags and bullet proof screens, especially in the countryside. The rocket attack on the Voortrekkerhoogte Military Base near Pretoria convincingly demonstrated the increasing technological expertise of the ANC guerrillas and the quality of their organisation.

These attacks ~ often accompanied by pamphlet bombs scattered in the city centres ~ demonstrated considerable sensitivity to local conditions: an attack on a police station in Soekmekaar in the Northern Transvaal was intended to combine or ~535



Missionâ\200\235 tĩ-\202ua'task of representing and leading the movement as a whole, including its internal units.

It was durdxug this Period of Regrouping and Recovery, that the ANC normalised its relations with the governments of Botswana and Lesothcu

7Nlis was not unconnected with the developments in the region.

The collapse of tme Portuguese empire and the achievement of independence by Mozambique in 1975 rhĩ-\201ĩ-\201:cxlthe doorsteps, had a positive influence on the political developments in Lesotho and Chief Leabua Jonathan reasoned "if the Portuguese empire could collapse as it did, apartheid in South Africa could so as wellenmithe future of Lesotho demanded an alignment with anti-apartheid fores, namely the ANC, ...

Prime Minister

Johanthan developed an astonishing personal rapport with ANC President Oliver Tamboâ\200\235. <426>

The balance of forces was shifting in favour of the struggling oppressed people and one of the factors which contributed to this was the victory of the heroic people of Vietnamuitie growth of the anti-Vietnam war campaign in the United States itself.

I

This was the period when the racist regime was involved in. the so~called â\200\235detenteâ\200\235 offensive or â\200\235dialogue" initiatives with independent Africa â\200\224 tactics, which the ANC together with the OAU had to thwart. 'The other problem ~ an irritant, bother, nuisance or perhaps even menace rather than danger - was the emergence of a faction within the ANC which, though it posed itself as a defender of'Vĩ-\202kican heritageâ\200\235 <427> was used by the apartheid regime and its allies in their campaign against the ANC.

We are

referring to a group which ultimately emerged in public ~

530â\200\224

people in the workplace and in the living areas.

Surely the UDF is a front organisation â\200\224 its name United Democratic Front â\200\224 suggests that.

It is a united front in which all organisations keep their identity and independence but Gooberate in opposhugtĩ-\202mzregime.

There is nothing sinister in that.

But the UDF is not a front organisation of the ANC manipulated by its invisible hand as the regime claims â\200\224 for the simple reason that the ANC is not (and cannot) be an affiliate of the UDF.

Their Nightmares are our Dreams

1984 was an important year in the liberation struggle in South Arica.

Two events took place.

There was the signing of the Nkomati Accord <434> by the racist President (then Prime Minister) P W Botha and President Samora Machel.cĩ-\202ffÂ«32ambique on March 16 and the elections in August and September to the tricameral parliament of Whites with Indians and Coloureds as junior partners.

The ANC considered â\200\235the current situation in Southern â\200\230Africa" and assessed the â\200\235frantic diplomatic political and propaganda counter-offensiveâ\200\235 of the racist regime as follows:

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\*

To isolate the ANC throughout southern African and to compel the independent countries of our region to act as Pretoria's agents in emasculating the ANC, the vanguard movement of the South African struggle of national emancipation.

To liquidate the armed struggle for the liberatitn1<3f South Africa.

~540~

UDF activists, leaders in their communities and areas, were found dead, their bodies mutilated or burnt beyond recognition. Besides the disappearances of people, reminiscent of similar incidents in Latin America, there was also the case of mass graves being discovered 224 people secretly buried by the army and policemen.

Many UDF activists are on the hit list.

It is

impossible to get the exact statistics about the number of people killed or those who have disappeared or what happened to them:

"The state of terror and the occupation of black townships by the SADF and the SAP made it difficult to establish what happened to the many people who had disappeared." <435>

The other aspect of this problem is the terrorism unleashed by Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement against anybody who differs with, let alone, opposes him and his Inkatha.

He has

used every trick in the book to achieve this: tribalism, big tribe chauvinism and anti-Indian propaganda.

Gatsha's Inkatha has its own death squads, terrorising and killing the people the same way the racist regime is doing.

This

is particularly true in Natal.

Gatsha is supposed to be leading

the Zulu-speaking people but he is terrorising and killing them.

These are acts of desperation, a reflection of the fear of a people in struggle and an expression of the racist regime's inability to find solutions to the problems facing the people.

Apartheid is in a crisis.

What about the National Forum Committee?

This group exists

~547 224

Mozambique and Angola.

Writing about these events, Sechaba

commented:

"The revolutions in Angola and Mozambique teach us the simple lesson that in Africa there is a need to differentiate between formal independence and genuine independence." <410>

In addition the Freedom Charter states that a future, independent South Africa shall respect the rights and sovereignty of all nations, maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation, not war:

"The right of peoples of Africa to independence and self-determination shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close cooperation." <411>

It was during this period that an explosion that was to have more serious repercussions and ramifications took place - the Soweto uprisings.

What triggered off this explosion was that the office of the Minister of Bantu Education issued instructions that half of the subjects in standard five or six be taught in Afrikaans:

"From a strictly educational point of view a switch to Afrikaans would have been disastrous.

Nearly all

African teachers had received their own training in English and could not possibly have conducted a course

"14"

also diplomatic pressures as well.

The ANC is being told by the

Western governments to abandon armed struggle, to â\200\235loosenâ\200\235 its ties with the South African Communist Party withflnĩ-\202iich it is in alliance ammieilso with the Soviet Union.

In short, the ANC has

to be part oftĩ-\202maâ\200\235reform processâ\200\235.

The aim is to disband the

ANC and ilxsrnilitary wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

If physical

liquidation of the ANC, through open mass terror and its

isolation from tfmarmasses it leads and the socialist Countries

fails, then â\200\235moralâ\200\235 pressure has to be applied through sowing political and ideological divisions and the creathmucĩ-\201 splits

and proâ\200\224imperialist forces, looking for collaborators amongst the

black peOple â\200\224 the soâ\200\224called â\200\235third force".

The signficance of the ANC in the present crisis derives

from the fact that its popularity among the masses has grown

tremendously; its democratic programme accepted by the people and

its leaders in gaol are an inspiration to all fnaakmifighters

and activists.

'Phe ANC is time only organisation in the country which

engages the enemy militantun

Umkhonto we Sizwe has become the

hope of millions of the oppressed.

The policy of the ANC on

armed struggle is based on the conviction that no victory is

possible without mass participation; without conscious and active

involvement of the oppressed black masses.

No group of

revolutionaries acting on thier own, however gallant, disciplined

and selfâ\200\224sacrificing they can be, can succeed to overthrow the government.

THU: struggle has to be fought by the entire people

not only in strikes and demonstrations but precisely in the field

of armed struggle.

In other words, the role of the masses as the

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and although

"the period from 1974 to 1979 was undoubtedly a lean time for the unions, they continued to operate and slowly began to grow again." <408>

There were quite a number of events and revolutionary changes taking place outside South Africa, but in the region, which had a direct bearing and impact on the course of events in South Africa.

The intensification of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia and especially the attainment of independence by Mozambique on June 25, 1975, and Angola on November 11 of the same year, and the fact that racist South Africa invaded Angola (prior to the independence of Namibia (which it is colonising) as its launching pad to attack Angola) issues which agitated the minds of the people of South Africa, especially the Blacks.

Angola became

Angola became a symbol and an inspiration to the Blacks in South Africa: here are two countries, next door to us, which have attained independence through armed struggle.

Here the

psychological impact cannot be over-emphasized.

But what was

even more important was the real change of the balance of forces in the region.

The change was in favour, and indeed in the interests of the oppressed Blacks in South Africa.

There emerged

in Southern Africa a new kind of state power, fundamentally new types of property relations were being established, and consequently, new social relations were emerging:

512â\200\224

fight against the state and employers.

SACTU'S combination of economic struggles with political demands, meant that the emancipation of the working class will ultimately be achieved after the national liberation of the nationally oppressed Blacks, especially the Africans.

But the

class struggle against the employers and state does not have to wait.

It has to continue.

It is not in competition with national liberation struggles.

It is complementary to the national liberation struggle. But this does not mean working class problems and struggles are subordinate to the struggle for national liberation.

They are central.

Hence the demand by

the ANC that the working class should lead the struggle for national liberation.

SACTU campaigned against the Industrial Amendment Act of 1956 which prohibited "mixed" (non-racial) unions from registered status, as well as against the statutory Job Reservation imposed by the Act.

In 1957, SACTU led a national "Pound a Day" campaign for a minimum wage.

Petition memoranda, conferences, strikes and stay-at-homes in this campaign involved thousands of workers, unionised and ununionised, employed and unemployed.

This was

extended to the rural areas and farms, e.g. the potato boycott of 1959, which focused on the conditions of rural labour.

Even after the banning of the ANC in March 1960, "SACTU fearlessly continued its mobilising and organising role among the masses."

<398> There were massive detentions of SACTU leaders ~ between 1960 and 1966, over 160 of them were banned and some



served long sentences of imprisonment on Robben Island <399>

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while three SACTU leaders (Vuyisili Mini; ... Khayingo and

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~507â\200\224

educational institute; he could write nothing for publication; he could not speak in public; he could attend no gathering of any kind except a bona fide cĩ-\202unxĩ-\202i service; he could not be quoted in the press or in any publication (this ban included all he had written before); no one could visit him at his home where he had to reside, except a doctor; he could never be in the company of more than one person at a time; even a chance meeting in the street would cmnustitute a 'gathering' if protracted beyond the most formal exchangesâ\200\235. (383)

By the way, this was not happening only to Steve Biko â\200\224 his cxĩ-\202leagues in the Black Consciousness Movement - the whole generation was under such persecution.

We depict the life of

Steve Biko so as to portray through an individual.tĩ-\202ua life of a generation.

The names of those who worked with him are so many, throughout the four provinces of the countiyrauui interestingly enough - they were black and white.

Two Whites immediately come

to mind,tĩ-\202mĩ-\202:is besides Donald Woods;

One was Reverend David Russell 'a yound Anglican priest only a few years older than

himself, fluent in Xhosa and dedicated to the service of the poor and the Oppresmafĩ-\202 (384)

the other one was Father Aelred Stubbs, C.R., whose personal memoir of Steve Biko helps us to understand the man.

Steven Biko had problems with Ciskei authorities, especially their obstructive hostility to the Zanempilo Community Health Centre, one of the projects of the BCM.

According to Lennox

~498-

polithxm.charges and involved in political disputes with the Government.

A week after the Sharpeville shootings on March 21, 1960, and two days before the declaration of a State of Emergency on March 30, he was directed by the ANC National Executive to go out of the country in order to put the case against South Africa in world forums.

Comrade Tambo's role in arousing world consciousness has had an immense impact on international opinion about South Africa. Since coming out of South Africa in 1960, he has earned the respect of many world figures by his honesty, modesty, his incisive judgement and his historic indictments against the South African regime at the United Nations and other world platforms.

So ably has he presented the case against South Africa that he has come to be regarded as a man whose authority cannot be challenged on such issues.

He has travelled widely.

The esteem with which he is regarded in Africa can be judged by the fact that the movement he leads, the ANC, is regarded as the authentic and representative voice of the black masses of South Africa.

He knows personally almost all African leaders on the continent who have a great respect for his opinions.

His speeches have been published and translated into many languages.

\*\*\*\*

The ruling racists in South Africa fear the ANC because, they say, it is a communist led organisation and yet the ANC is fighting for national liberation of the oppressed black majority, especially the Africans and for social emancipation of all South Africans.

Her pregnant daughter, 24-year-old Marina Qomoyi, took up the story in a statement made the same day as her mother's:

"

... I was at home in my bedroom when suddenly I heard some children screaming.

I got out of my room to investigate and found that some White policemen, about four in the bedroom, were assaulting my mother.

The police were in their ordinary blue uniform.

They were beating my mother with black sjamboks and they were also kicking her.

My mother was sprawled on the floor at the time ...

I then intervened and asked why they were beating my mother.

After I intervened they turned on me and beat me in the same way ...

At this point they dragged my mother along the ground towards the back door, all the time beating.

First of all, the police sjambokked me across my back - I still have the marks.

'I followed them dragging my mother, and once I was outside the house they continued to beat me - this time on my abdomen.

I am pregnant and I have been told that I can expect to give birth to my child any day now.

,

...

I went to my mother and talked to her as she wanted to proceed immediately to the police station to lay a charge ...

I

... went inside to attend to my  
little cousin ... who is three months old.

I had seen  
the police trample on this baby when they entered the  
room.

I believe this was done accidentally.

The baby

â\200\224545~

Council of Churches.

His activities in that capacity are well

known

What needs to be added is that SACC has 13 million

non-Dutch Reformed Church Christian members, 80% of whom are Black.

The Dutch Reformed Church withdrew from the SACC in 1978

and its current Secretary-General is no other than Dr Beyers Naude.

The other interesting aspect of the established churches

(as opposed to independent African churches) is the continuity in the radical stance of their leadership.

Bishop Tutu is in the

true sense of the matter,

a product of Ambrose Reeves and Trevor

Huddleston, the two Anglican priests who challenged the system of apartheid.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston is reputed to have once

said, in the 1950's:

"The church sleeps on though sometimes it talks in its sleep". <423> today he says there is no time for talking, this is time for action.

The Period of Regrouping and Recovery 1969-1974

The African National Congress held its Second National

Consultative Conference in Zambia on June 16-23, 1985.

1H: this

Conference more than 250 democratically elected delegates represented all sections of the ANC.

Many issues were discussed,

resolutions adopted and strategies worked out.

At this conference President O R Tambo gave the political report of the national Executive Committee.

In his report he

gave the full details of the activities of the ANC since the 1969 Morogoro Conference.

He stated that with the benefit of

hindsight, we could possibly describe the years 1969-1974 as the

~527-

activity.

The heroic struggles of Soweto had a profound impact on the ANC:

They resulted in the accelerated expansion of the movement both inside and outside the country; this resulted in increasing the relative proportion of the youth and students within the ANC ranks and this brought into the ANC many young people who had had very little contact with the ANC, if any.

Young militant cadres

who were ready and yearning to carry out even the most difficult missions that the ANC wished to give them were put at the immediate disposal of the movement and this was particularly important since the resumption of the issue of armed struggle was placed on the agenda, as an extremely urgent question.

The message of Soweto was that the liberation struggle in South Africa had entered a new phase that was marked by an ever-sharpening confrontation between the masses and the apartheid regime and in which the mass offensive would, in all intents and purposes, be continuous and uninterrupted.

This was also

all the more so since the regime was using, and would continue to use, maximum force against the risen but unarmed people.

Talking about repression in a colonial situation, Stadler remarks:

Firstly we should remember that there is a limit to state repression ... In a situation where the poor have evolved out of a conquered people, these limits are likely to be very high ...

In societies based on colonial conquest and domination the limit to repression is likely to be drawn at a

~533



rise of Black Consciousness and Steve Biko but it is necessary to add that by 1976 time ANC had arrived at the point where it felt that the time had come to meet the leading representative of the Black Consciousness Movement, the late Steve Biko. This was made possible by the fact that Steve Biko and his colleagues had arrived at the following positions:

a)

b)

that the ANC is the leader of our revolution;

that the Black People's Convention should concentrate on mass mobilisation,

c)

that the BPC should function within the context of the broad strategy of the movement; and

d)

that a meeting between the leadership of the BPC and the ANC was necessary. (428)

Arrangements were made in 1976 and 1977 to meet Steve Biko but in both cases it was impossible to have him in the country.

He was subsequently murdered.

The significance of this

lies in the fact that the ANC did not deal with the BCM in a competitive spirit but related to it as part of the broad movement for national liberation, giving its members access to the ANC's strategy and tactics and thus enabling the ANC to

achieve:

a

deterring the attempt to

the forces of

counter-revolution to build a so-called Third Front, especially in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising". (429)

The other element which preoccupied the ANC at this time was the Soweto Uprising of 1976-1977 which within a short time propelled it to the forefront of the struggle, millions of young

people, thus immeasurably expanding the active forces of the  
revolution and inspiring other sections of the population into

~532~

DEATHS IN DETENTION SINCE 1963 (continued)

Name

Date of

Official Explanation

Death

of Death

Edward MZOLO  
Ernest MAMASILA  
Thabo MOSALA  
Twalimfene JOYI  
Wellington TSHAZIBANE  
George BOTHA

9.10.76  
18.11.76  
25.11.76  
undisclosed  
11.12.76  
15.12.76

30.  
31.  
32.  
33.  
34.  
35.

36.  
37.  
38.  
39.

Naboath NTSHUNTSHA  
Lawrence NDZANGA  
Elmon MALELE  
Mathews MABELANE

40.

Samuel MALINGA

41.  
42.  
43.  
44.  
45.  
46.  
47.  
48.  
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Aaron KHOZA

Phakamile MABIJA  
Elijah LOZA  
Hoosen HAFFEJEE  
Bayempin MZIZI  
Steve Biko  
Bonaventura MALAZA  
Mbulelo Rocky JAMES  
Mzukisi NOBHADULA  
Lungile TABALAZA

Saul Ndzumo  
Sifundile MATALASI  
Manama MGQWETO,  
Tshifhiwa MUOFHE  
Neil AGGETT  
Ernest DIPALE  
Tembuyise Simon MNDawe

9.1.77  
9.1.77  
20.1.77  
15.2.77

22.2.77

26.3.77  
7.7.77  
2.8.77  
3.8.77  
15.8.77  
12.8.77  
7.11.77  
9.11.77  
20.12.77  
10.7.78

9.9.80  
10.12.80  
17.9.81  
12.11.81  
5.2.82  
8.7.82  
8.5.83

58.

Molifi Paris MALATJI

4.7.83

59.

60.

61.

62.

Samuel Muqiohela  
TSHIKHUDO  
Ephraim Thamsanqa  
MTHETHWA  
Mxolisi SIPELE  
Tatlehehm KOROTSOANE

20.1.84

25.8.84

4.7.84  
25.3.85

,

causes undisclosed  
'suicide by hanging'  
'internal bleeding'  
undisclosed  
'suicide by hanging'  
'fell six floors  
down stairwell'  
'suicide by hanging'  
'natural causes'  
'heart failure'  
'fell out of tenth  
floor window'  
'heart or respiratory  
failure'  
'hanged himself'  
'fell from window'  
'natural causes'  
'hanged himself'  
'hanged himself'  
'brain injury'  
'hanged himself'  
'shot while excaping'  
'natural causes'  
'fell out of fifth  
floor window'  
'natural causes'  
'self strangulation'  
'undisclosed  
'beaten to death'  
'hanged himself'  
'hanged himself'  
'found hanged in  
cell'  
'bullet at point~  
blank range through  
his head'  
'no reasons  
disclosed'  
'hanged himself'

'no reasons disclosed'  
'no reasons disclosed'

Africa.

This is why the meeting on August 13, 1963 in the Central Methodist Hall in Johannesburg was called to consider the establishment of a new ecumenical body, to be known as the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. About 250 people were present.

Beyers Naude was elected director of the Christian Institute.

This was the beginning of his problems.

He says in a sense "because he was already in trouble with the Broederbond, that hard-core secret society that permeates and controls Afrikaner cultural, economic, church and political life and structures.

Beyers Naude, a former member of the Broederbond, decided not only to break with them, but also to break his vow of secrecy regarding the Broederbond.

They were

after his death. The Special Branch (Van den Berg) assisted by the Broederbond (Piet Koornhof was then Secretary of the Broederbond) and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) - J. Meyer was the head of both the Broederbond and the SABC - led a vicious campaign which was followed by death threats and similar nasty things.

If we seem to have singled out the Christian Institute we only want to diminish the fact that the struggles of the Blacks, on all fronts, including the religious or church front had an impact and a radicalising effect even on those sections of the population which are generally regarded as the establishment.

The Christian Institute oriented itself towards the struggles of the Blacks which gave it life and strength.

In

a review of Randall's book: "Not without Honour - Tribute to Beyers Naude" (420) Sechaba commented:

~525

But the Eastern Cape was severely affected during this time as Mary Benson indicates in her pamphlet "The Purge of the Eastern Cape".

The banning of the ANC, the arrest of its leaders and

activists, the exile, banishment and killing of its members, the 1960 State of Emergency, and the massive active rescue operation of multi-national and western governments of the apartheid regime - especially after the Sharpeville crisis - these were some of the factors responsible for this state of affairs.

1967 saw a ferment of a revival of the peoples' initiative.

It started with students.

This was when the University Christian

Movement (UCM) was formed.

These were the initial beginnings of

what was to come later.

The UCM had better possibilities of

functioning on black campuses than NUSAS.

These were dynamic

times.

In July 1968, at the UCM Conference in Stutterheim, Cape Province, about 40 black students, from all the main black centres of higher education in South Africa formed themselves into a caucus and agreed on the need for a nationally representative black student organisation.

The University of Natal, Black (UNB) Group, which surely included Steve Biko, was asked to instigate and/or continue investigations and as a result a representative conference was held at Marianhill, Natal, in December 1968..

The South African Students' Organisation (SASO)

was formed.

It was inaugurated in July 1969 at Turfloop

University when Steve Biko was elected President.

~491

Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement

Steve Biko has at times been called the "father" of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South Africa.

There is

some justification for this.

Born in Kingwilliamstown, Cape Province -

a town which

played a significant role in the emergence of African nationalism

at the turn of the century â\200\224 on 18 December 1946, Steve Bantu

Biko went to the Roman Catholic Marianhill in Natal (after a

short spell at Lovedale) where he matriculated at the end of 1965

and entered the medical school of the University of Natal,

Nonâ\200\224White Section (as it was called) in Durban at the beginning of 1966.

It is said that Steve Biko seems to have attended a NUSAS

Conference while still at Marianhill and ateĩ-\202xnu:1966, while a

student at Wentworth (University of Natal, Nonâ\200\224European) he joined NUSAS and became "active and indeed prominent in that organisation". <376>

He broke with them in 1968 and was

instrumental in forming SASO.

1968 was the year in which the students in the western world

"stormed the barricadesâ\200\235.

In South Africa NUSAS was challenged.

In black campuses there was a "miraculous renaissance". (377)

The rise of Black Consciousness in the 1960's was not a new

phenomenon in the history of South Africa.

In this book we have

shown that since the end of the 19th Century African nationalism (sometimes called black nationalism) emerged, manifesting itself in various forms: cultural, social, religious, political and in trade unions.

The whole history of the ANC is full of such

incidents and examples.

Hilda Bernstein confirms:

1

~492â\200\224