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SOUTH AFRICA HEROES DAY
DECEMBER16, 1976
The African National Congress
49 Rathbone Street London W1A 4NL

December 16, 1976
SOUTH AFRICA HEROES DAY
PROGRAMME
Poetry Reading
MAYIBUYE CULTURAL UNIT
Chairman's Opening Remarks
Reg September, Chief Representative UK
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Ken Gili, General Secretary
AU EW - TASS
Peter Katjivivi
SWAPO
Naison Khezwana
ANC -ZIMBABWE
Dr. Y.M. Dadoo
Vice Chairman, Revolutionary Council
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Bob Hughes MP
LABOUR PARTY
Presentation of Juliot Curie award by Romesh Chandra
Secretary General
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
RUTH FISCHER
Alfred Nzo
Secretary General
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DECEMBER 16:

South Africa - Heroes Day

Men and women of great courage and clear-sighted social vision have always emerged from among the oppressed people in South Africa to lead the struggle against white supremacy in all its forms. Throughout the centuries of struggle their liberating ideas and exemplary heroism have served to kindle the fire of resistance among the oppressed of our country against those who have robbed us of freedom, land and human dignity.

Each generation has been moved to struggle by their names and deeds; their profound ideas of social justice and freedom; their resolve, unwavering, to fight in the face of fascist brutality, detention, torture and death.

They are the men and women who embody the highest ideals and aspirations of their generation and future generations of the oppressed and unredeemed black majority striving to create a society of brotherhood, peace and justice.

In the white supremacist history books of today and yesterday their names and deeds and ideas are not to be found or, if they feature at all, it is only as the forces of evil; as the terrorists set out to destroy a so-called National Christian Society. White supremacist historians attempt to kill the minds of each generation of South Africans as surely as their regimes have murdered and goaded those who have consistently offered the only hope for a truly free and democratic South Africa.

History books notwithstanding, prison bars and walls apart, and, long after the Vorsters and Krugers, the van den Bergs and Swanepoels, the monstrous torturers of the racist South African Gestapo are dead and forgotten the heroes of our people and the memory of our martyred dead will survive in each generation through their legacy of ideas and deeds.

The names of hundreds of leaders such as Mini and Kayinga who sang freedom songs on the way to the gallows; Malaou and February who died on the Wankie battlefields; Saloojee and Mdluli who were tortured to death in detention; Fischer, who died as a result of neglect in prison; Mvemve who was killed by a parcel bomb; Mandela and Sisulu who to this day - eleven years after being sentenced to life imprisonment - are still incarcerated; Dorothy Nyembe, languishing in jail, serving a 15-year sentence; the banned, the banished and the exiled, will forever remain in the memory of our people.

Their names will feature in songs and poetry; their writings and speeches will be the basis of text books for our revolution and during the building of the new society in our Motherland.

Not In Vain

On all suitable occasions and especially on December 16, which has been declared South Africa: Heroes Day by our people, the African National Congress and the oppressed black majority of South Africa pay tribute to these countless comrades and heroes. On this day we also remind the racist-fascist regime that the ideas of national liberation so boldly propagated by these men and women will triumph through the national revolutionary struggle of today's oppressed and that their lives have not been sacrificed in vain.

Yet, it is not only the legacy of ideas and deeds which have gripped the imagination of each generation of the oppressed black majority in the struggle for national liberation. Equally decisive have been the instruments of liberation, forged in the fire of struggle which have been bequeathed to us. Such an instrument is the African National Congress - the national political instrument which generations of the oppressed people built and protected as the supreme organisation on which we have pinned our hopes for a successful struggle against white supremacist rule. It is to: this reason and fate of this of the ANC audits Programme, the Freedom Charter, that the racist regime has done everything possible to destroy the ANC, its leadership and cadres, and its ideas contained in the Freedom Charter. For the ANC is the embodiment and continuation of the finest in our tradition of struggle and the best hope of crowning with victory the efforts and sacrifices of the past and present generation of oppressed, anti-racist and democratic forces in our country. . ,

In the calendar of militant struggle, December 16 has equally come to be associated with UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, (The Spear of the Nation) the popular army of national liberation created by the ANC to meet the challenge of the armed seizure of political power as a step in the creation of a state of national democracy and to destroy for all time Vorster's terrorist regime. Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, said on the occasion of Heroes Day: 1969:

On December the 16th, 1961 a national army - Umkhonto We Sizwe - was born to resume resistance this time against the modern enemy and his allies. Already this army has won historic victories in the battlefield against armed army forces. Thus, the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe joins together three periods in our history: the first is the period of the Wars of Resistance waged by our forefathers against the white invaders of our country. This lasted for centuries. The next began with the formation of the African National Congress in 1912, which meant the birth of a new united African Nation in South Africa. The third is the emergence of Umkhonto We Sizwe itself. This signified the resumption of armed struggle under modern conditions for the restoration of our land to its rightful owners.

HOMAGE

T0133. as on each Heroes Day. we salute the brave men and women of

Umkhonto from among all sections of the oppressed and exploited and all anti-racist and democratic forces who have already paid the supreme price in the revolutionary struggle.

On this observance of Heroes Day, December 16th, 1976; the African National Congress is fully conscious of the historically unprecedented sharpness of the conflict between the oppressed majority and the racist-fascist state of South Africa, and of our historic commitment to the armed seizure of power. The events of "Bloody Wednesday" -- June 16th, 1976. in Soweto. and its aftermath has demonstrated once more the fascist nature of the white supremacist state. Equally, the mass upsurge of this period clearly underlines the heroism and determination of our people to struggle, even to death, to secure victory and to create a South Africa where racism, fascism and the exploitation of man by man shall be consigned to the dust heap of history. For the heroes of today, as with those of yesterday, there is no time to mourn. Rather, in contemplating their heroism, determination and vision of justice and freedom, should we rededicate ourselves, individually and severally to an intensification of the struggle for national liberation. This is even more urgent and important today than ever before because of the sharpening of the struggle in South Africa a brief analysis of which we make in the following pages.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

MMATLA KERONA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

The Roll-Call

BY GEORGE SHEA

Not all men,

Nor any other book

Than the register will hear me out,

That all are present and well.

But to make sure,

Let us have a roll call.

And if none answers to his name,

Know that it is for your own good

And mine that he has fallen;

Fallen never to rise!

Now hang on my lips;

And listen to the roll call.

Johannes Nkosi!

Vuyisile Mini!

Wilson Khayingo!

Z. Mkhaba!

Washington Bon co!

Bahia Saloojee! hey are all not there!

It's enough and done for a while.

Done with the patriots of my motherland.

I know the meaning of the tears
 That I see in your eyes.
 And the meaning of the spilt blood.
 Of the sons and daughters of Africa;
 By men who have shelved humanism!
 L'pheld injustice;
 And aligned themselves
 With animalist tendencies
 In the deepest South of the Seventh Hell!
 My hatred and anger is beyond pardon;
 And there shall be peril, havoc and the tempest!
 To avenge and bring to justice
 Those fascists,
 Who have lost a human touch
 And forced man to be against man;
 Brother against brother
 In the South of the Seventh Hell!
 The distant hour is surely at hand
 I shall no longer be a stranger in my own land.
 Nor landless, voteless helot of circumstances;
 Oppressed, persecuted and hunted,
 By the disciples of Hitler and Fascism.
 In the deepest South of the Seventh Hell!

Bram Fischer (1908-1975)

Bram Fischer has an assured place among the heroes of South African
 liberation. He was a strong, balanced and just man in a deranged, unjust
 society. He was heroic in his total refusal to compromise, despite all the easy
 prizes waiting for the talented eldest son of an eminent Afrikaner family.

' But Bram was not only devoted to the principle of freedom for all the
 people of South Africa. He was just as committed, in practice, to the people's
 national liberation movement, as led by the African National Congress. He
 knew and understood where the main current and main expression of the
 people's will lay - and he became part of that. In this too, Bram was heroic.
 A gently loving family man with admiring friends throughout the world -
 politically Bram was tough with himself, as he could be in his expectations of
 others. He was not outside structures, but submitted himself very much to the
 discipline of the people's national movement, specifically the Congress
 Alliance, led by the ANC. ,

It was his own fearless adherence to principle which made Bram Fischer
 beyond being merely a controversial figure in his society. He will be
 remembered not so much for his long eminence as a brilliant lawyer - not even
 for the case he argued before the Privy Council in London while on bail from
 his initial trial in Johannesburg for being a communist. He will be
 remembered instead for his political contributions: for the work done

during the long and difficult silent years after the Communist Party was banned in 1950; for his work as a leading member of the defence team in the Treason Trial (1956-61) in which 156 leading members of the Congress Alliance, including the late Chief Lutuli, the Nobel Prize-winning President-General of the ANC stood trial; and for his greatest public success, leading the defence team which saved the lives of the men at the Rivonia Trial (1963-64), where the national leadership of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC appeared.

At this trial, though Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki and others sat accused in the dock, while Bram stood in silk-gowned dignity before the judge _ he was in reality waging the struggle alongside these men, his comrades and leaders. Bram, the highly respected Johannesburg barrister, was to share their hardships of life as a political prisoner. Before he died last year in Bloemfontein, he had served nine years of his life sentence for activities against apartheid.

His story is that of a man with a huge contribution to make to his society, whose compassion and conviction led him into active politics, and whose courage and commitment eventually required that he make the absolute personal sacrifice. The fact that he died a convicted opponent of Vorster was as much a confirmation of his undying hatred of oppression and injustice, as it was the natural outcome of a life dedicated to the fight for freedom for all people in our country.

His background and his own outstanding capabilities gave bright prospects for the young Bram Fischer. His early career, through unspectacular, confirmed all expectations. In 1931 he won 21 Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford, where he was also a rugby and tennis blue. He returned to South Africa to start his legal practice and rapidly established a reputation as an expert on company and mining law. At the time of his arrest in 1964 under the Suppression of Communism Act, he was the longest-serving member of the Johannesburg Bar, had been its chairman, and had become one of South Africa's leading QCs.

MAGNETISM

His personal success coincided with the growth of Afrikaner political power and there is no doubt that he would have risen to great heights of prestige and privilege if he had conformed with white South African patterns. But his early recognition of the subjugation of the majority of South Africa's peoples on which the growing power of the Afrikaner was built soon made the young Fischer rebel. Bram saw the Afrikaners as having been the first people in Africa to have won liberation from British colonial domination and, as an Afrikaner, he was therefore the more incensed and ashamed when his people set about enforcing a system of legislation based on racism and oppression. And, as an Afrikaner, it was no light decision for him when, in the late 1930s, he joined the Communist Party _ still at that stage legal and the only political party which then observed no colour bar and which advocated universal franchise. This decision dominated his life and he remained, to the end, a dedicated communist. As he explained at his trial:

My attraction to the Communist Party was a matter of personal observation. It was always the Communists of all races who were prepared to give of their time and their energy to help with night schools and feeding schemes, who assisted trade unions fighting desperately to preserve standards of living. It was African Communists who constantly risked arrest in order to gain or retain some rights. This fearless adherence to principle must always exercise a strong appeal to those who wish to take part in politics, not for personal advantages but in the hope of making some positive contribution.

That he could, while making no secret of his affiliations to the Communist Party, become a foremost barrister within apartheid South Africa was an indication of Bram Fischer's ability and of the peculiar respect, often affection, which he evoked in all with whom he came into contact, even in those who vehemently disagreed with his political views. For Bram was a man of immense personal magnetism, with an immediate charm and a strength born of honesty and deep commitment - and supported always by a lively and close-knit family.

UNDERGROUND

Bram's most memorable action came when he returned from London on bail, and in January 1965, went underground, inside South Africa. His action then was shattering, both for himself and for all who knew him. But it was, in terms of the logic of his life and commitment, inevitable. As he explained in a letter to the court:

If in my fight I can encourage even some people to understand and to abandon policies they now so blindly follow, I shall not regret any punishment I may incur. I can no longer serve justice in the way I have attempted to do during the past 30 years - I can do it only in the way I have now chosen.

No Afrikaner had ever made such a stand before - and no one South African could ever have made that particular point as forcefully as did Bram. The consequences were clear: his chances of survival were slim and his defiance, he knew, would finally arouse against him the implacable wrath of the apartheid State. Yet he managed to survive undetected for a full ten months within South Africa - for a man of his position, and aged 57, itself a remarkable feat. And there was a private aspect of his decision which indicated the degree of Bram's determination: in June 1964, only the day after his success at the Rivonia Trial, his wife Molly was killed in a car-crash. Few people outside his family could have realised the devastating effect of the tragedy on Bram: Molly had been his personal and political companion for more than 30 years and their family life had always been an essential part of his personality. When Molly died, the temptations for him to retreat into privacy with his children were great, particularly as his son Paul suffered from cystic fibrosis.

His decision to go underground thus not only cut him off from his family

but also raised the definite possibility of his never being with them again - in addition (a fear which he later admitted to) he faced the possibility of dying in prison. Yet he acted to make his stand as powerfully as possible:

When the laws themselves become immoral and require the citizen to take part in an organised system of oppression - if only by his silence or apathy - then I believe that a higher duty arises.

Bram Fischer died on 23 April 1975, still serving his life sentence as a prisoner of Vorster's government. Nearly six months before his death, it was discovered - by State doctors - that he had terminal cancer. Despite pleas from his family and from leading figures in South Africa and internationally, the Minister of Justice refused to release Bram. Eventually - by which time Bram was paralysed and near death - the Minister allowed him to be moved to the home of his brother in Bloemfontein - not, as requested by the family, to his daughter's home in Johannesburg. He was still subject to prison regulations. And the Minister demanded that, after his cremation, his ashes be retained by the Prisons Department for burial.

A large number of friends and followers went from all over South Africa to Bloemfontein for the funeral ceremony. Their tributes - and the admiration of so many who honoured his memory - served to confirm the spirit of the words which Bram himself quoted at the end of his trial in Pretoria:

Whether we win or whether we die, freedom will rise in Africa, like the sun from the morning clouds.

Few South Africans have contributed more to that happening than Bram Fischer. -

But his contribution was not a lone one - and he did not make it as an individual. He strengthened - and was in turn strengthened by - the people's movement. Bram Fischer is 3 people's hero.

For Bram Fischer

(on receiving the Lenin Peace Prize) by DAVID EVANS

This time has known no peace, not yet

except

the final brutal unsought peace of death

the pulsing city

changed to silent catacomb

the breathing country

sterile, ploughed

by whining bombs

which smear the name of peace

and till a soil of blood and shattered bone.

Is there no rest or brotherhood this side the endless graves

- those monuments to love too slowly felt?

Or is there peace
within the bloody womb of war
waiting to be born?
We know your creed
- that you believe in man
in man who struggled 'from the primal slirne
and fell
and struggled up again
in man whose anger is the other part of love
who smashes what he builds
to build again
who fails
because he climbs
who dies
that men might live.
This is your fight:
that other men might have the right to peace.
For this belief in man
men have honoured you.
We too.

The Cracking of the Racist Image

On Bloody Weenesday, 16 June 1976, in Soweto, an image was deeply cracked. Since then - in wave after wave of people's militant action - it has been shattered forever: The South African racists can never again peddle apartheid as a system guaranteeing quick profits through a docile and cheap labour force - as organised through an efficient and brutal fascist regime. The fascism remains, exposed as more bloody and murderous than ever. in its panic waves of repression. But the image of efficiency has gone. They know, as the world knows, that they cannot stifle the people's will. The bluff of economic bouyancy is being called, as the regime founders in its own contradictions, trying to divert the course of progressive Change through one shabby trick after another. But now the) are being exposed each time by the growth of political awareness, and the mere pace of events and peoples demands; the reality of naked repression and strategies for nuclear blackmail lie uncovered. Externally, the regime,s ttbuffer states" are being transformed into liberated zones of Africa.

The exploitation of black peopiets labour continues ._ but the pretence that they are docile has been stripped; all ages and all shades of black people in South Africa are mobilised to resist the repressinn of the minority regime. Andi they turn to the national liberation movement, headed by the African National Congress, from which they seek guidance to work out more advanced forms of struggle.

In response, the cadres of the ANC offer guidance for the development of greater political awareness, so that activists come to understand at this crucial time who the real enemy is, and what forms the enemy takes within the struggle.

It is a crucial time for greater political understanding because imperialism is on the lookout in Southern Africa, ready to do a deal with opportunists of any shade to try and salvage its superprofits and maintain, with minor concessions if necessary, the overall economic and political status quo.

After Bloody Wednesday the streets of the townships and of several city centres became battlegrounds between the people and the armed might of the apartheid state. Since those first peacefully demonstrating Soweto students were shot, young people, unarmed except for dustbin lids and stones, have marched in the face of police dogs, batons, teargas, armoured cars and guns. They have boycotted schools and universities. They have been joined by working people from the townships, the farms and the factories in massive demonstrations and strikes throughout the country. In many thousands they have been jailed, tortured and murdered.

As a result of massive police raids and arrests many young people have been forced to take refuge in the rural areas, and others have gone underground inside the townships. And large numbers have fled to neighbouring countries. In their exile, as inside South Africa, they are turning to the experienced and politically mature organisation of the ANC for support and guidance.

The momentum of struggle is gathering as never before. All the elements required for continuing armed struggle are manifesting themselves, one after another.

But this present uprising must not be seen as an isolated example of black disaffection - nor indeed as some new phenomenon. It is one of the links in the chain of black revolt which stretches over many decades.

As the years have passed, this revolt has grown in scope and intensity as the process of urbanisation of the African masses has speeded up. For this process has also meant the politicization of the main force of the national democratic revolution.

Since the end of the Second World War there have been a series of important campaigns: The African Mineworkers' Strike in 1946; the General Strike of 1950; the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952; the Freedom Charter Campaign of 1955; and in the late fifties, the great Pondo Revolt against the establishment of Bantustans, leading up to the launching of a campaign of sabotage and armed struggle on December 16, 1961.

SHARPEVILLE ERA OVER

The present uprising now spreads wider and deeper than anything which came before. It has involved tens of thousands of our people from every province, every part of the country. The spirit of defiance is not being snuffed out, it is not being isolated or localised - it is everywhere. It is an undeniable rejection of apartheid, time and again, by young and old, for month after month. Now the battle is joined for the destruction of apartheid. The era of Sharpeville has passed. Our people are no longer prepared just to turn their backs on the bullets. And when there is a lull in the shooting, they are no longer prepared only to mourn. They mobilise!

The) advance, confronting a fascist force that would fire on them anyway
_ exert if they merely demonstrated, as they were doing that first Wednesday
31x months ago.

So the young people of Soweto. of the Cape, the Eastern Province and
elsexx here. are coming to join in taking up the banner which the ANC raised just
15 years ago: That the only practical and realistic approach for the defeat of
racism and imperialism is through armed struggle, leading to the seizure of
power and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

In all these recent events an important role is being played by the
underground organisation of the ANC. ANC leaflets were evident in many
parts of the country. Our courageous underground cadres and leaders are
continuously seen by our people risking their lives and facing imprisonment
and torture in their work to strengthen our movement and to stimulate the
mood of resistance. The street corner broadcasts, the leaflet bombs and the
unending stream of propaganda and organisational material keep alive the
spirit of resistance and revolt and helps the people to understand the
revolutionary content and perspectives of our struggle.

The tide of revolt which the years of the present decade have seen is also in
response to events in the countries bordering South Africa. The liberation of
Angola and Mozambique and the intensification of the struggle for national
liberation by the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia have all inspired our
people to greater efforts.

REJECT BANTUSTANS

Internally, it is also a response to Vorster's fraudulent Bantustan solution. In
the Transkei, the only area where so-called independence has been accepted by
Chief Matanzima, 'elections' could only be held and won under a state of
emergency in which hundreds of Matanzima's leading opponents (including
candidates for the election) are slung in goal. Meanwhile the people throughout
the country have given notice of their intention to smash the system of
Bantustanisation of our country. They stand opposed to the Bantustan
devices set up by the Vorster regime of terror to divide the people into weak
ethnic groups.

Never meant to be independent, the Bantustans are designed to be
reservoirs of cheap, unskilled, migratory, contract labour; they are the
dumping grounds for all those rejected as 'redundant' by white industry;
they are concentration camps for the banishment of our people fighting
Vorster's tyranny; they are markets for cheap, shoddy goods produced by
so-called white South Africa.

The Bantustan leaders are the willing agents for the oppression of Blacks by
the white State. They are traitors to our cause and must be exposed as such.
They rule with the help of Vorster's murderous Special Branch and BOSS;
they rule with the help of Vorster's brutal prisons and laws.

At a time of sweeping revolutionary changes in Southern Africa, we must
work tirelessly for the destruction of the Bantustans and all institutions of
white minority rule. Racist South Africa and its imperialist allies are fully
aware of the extent to which the balance of forces has changed in the Southern
half of the African Continent. But despite all the evidence showing racist

South Africa as a threat not only in independent Africa, but also the world, Western countries, notably. Britain, West Germany, USA and France. continue to invest and trade with the Vorster regime. What is worse, these countries continue to arm the regime with all the most modern weapons of war, even to the extent of making it possible for the South African fascists to produce nuclear weapons. They refuse to break off diplomatic ties with the regime and vote against any attempt at imposing a mandatory arms embargo against the country through the United Nations and veto resolutions calling for the expulsion of racist South Africa from the world body.

MOBILISE SUPPORT

Meanwhile, between Kissinger, Smith and Vorster, there is an attempt at various neo-colonialist solutions and subterfuges to undermine the struggles of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa for true democracy and independence. We have no doubt that these schemes will be defeated by our respective peoples and that power will be transferred to the people through the continuation of the armed struggle.

As the struggle sharpens we have no doubt that the countries that profit from apartheid will do all they can _ even to the extent of physically participating in repression _ to defend and perpetuate the status quo so that they may continue to reap the super-profits that accrue as a result of the super exploitation of our people and our resources. This we must understand. For this, we and our friends must be prepared. We must know the enemy, in all its forms, and with this knowledge we must mobilise the widest possible support for the struggle for national liberation in South Africa.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

AMANDLA NGA WETHU!

MATLA KE ARONA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

11

A! Mafukuzela!

Praise Poem to J. Langaliba/ele Dube, First President of the ANC.

by S.E.K. MQHAYI

Return abroad oh son of Dube!

Return abroad Mafukuzela!

Thou worthy beast of burden bearing the afflictions of Africa:

That bears our troubles and our pain,

Thou hast borne many a hardship and seen it through, -

Borne them by the hundreds and the hundreds of thousands;

Offspring of the Bull from the East, -

We have given you the name Mafukuzela _ sturdy one._

Back then to the fray thou filibustering Buffalo!

Courageous bullock, untameable one.

Thou fighting bull whose bellowed challenge,

Challenges other from across rivers and oceans;

Whose call resounding like a horn

rips up the earth casting its sods to the rear;

Whose slashing horns break the jaws of all challengers,

Strike at their humps and destroy their pride.

Iadore thee calf of the nation, I praise thee, -

He pounds the dust with his hooves, eyes set on the North,

He struck at Ohlange and the sun appeared,

He paws the earth On the Rand and comes up with gold,

Making the Gumedes and Radebes stare in wonderment, --

Forward! with Thema and Makgatho he charges,

While deep in its slumber the aging Cape,

Shrivelled, it seems, by its own senility.

(two stanzas omitted)

Beware the Bullock of Zulu when angered!

Of the House of Sithole, Ntombela and Malandela,

Today he stands together with DuBois,

Men whose profundity of mind can never be plumbed,

He who rashly molests us shall be burnt by many fires;

We shall return to the days of Shaka;

We shall raise such an uproar

That even the heavens shall cry out in protest!

Bexx are the bullock of the house of Jama when aroused!

For he has forsaken the good life, has lost even his hair, _

He has taken to a trying road in spite of his bald pate;

He shall willingly sacrifice health and even his life

For the sake of the African people,

For the sake of Africa's children.

They shall restore her life,
They shall restore her wealth and her vigour.
GO well and return O Langa libalele - Bright Sun!
Proclaim to the world the good news that Africa :hail rezumf
Freedom's Child
by JAMES MATTHEWS
Freedom's child,
You have been denied too long,
Fill your lungs and Cry rage.
Step forward and take your rightful place.
You will not grow up knocking at the back door.
For you there will be no more traxelling third class enfored by law,
With segregated schooling and sitting on the floor.
The rivers of our land, the mountaintops and the shore.
It is yours, you will not be denied anymore,
Cry rage, Freedom's child.

HEROES DAY MESSAGES

The African National Congress expresses its gratitude for the hundreds of letters and telegrams received from organisations and individuals on the occasion of Heroes Day. Hereunder are extracts from some of these messages:

UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID:

AMBASSADOR LESLIE HARRIMAN (CHAIRMAN)

Greetings on occasion of Heroes Day commemoration stop heroism of Fighters for freedom and human equality in South Africa over many decades more particularly since despicable Soweto massacre has inspired humanity stop Martyrs of South African freedom struggle have given lives for universal cause stop They must and will be honoured all over world stop Gratified that Bram Fischer will be honoured posthumously on Heroes Day Special Committee has repeatedly commended dedication and sacrifice of that great Afrikaner and patriot in support of liberation stop His martyrdom symbolized that struggle in South Africa is not against whites but of all decent people against racism stop His name shall be cherished by all opponents of racism and oppression.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS : CZECHOSLOVAKIA

We vehemently condemn South Africans fascist white apartheid regime and all its brutalities against the black people and others who oppose this crime against humanity. We also condemn those imperialist countries which support the white racist regime. We call for the release of all political prisoners especially the leadership of the ANC: Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and many others.

On this occasion, the IUS also pays special homage to and honours the memory of Bram Fischer, the great, brilliant South African lawyer who sacrificed everything including his life, in the struggle against the inhuman crimes of apartheid...

NAISON KHOZWANA _ ANC : ZIMBABWE

Today the people of South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC (SA) are waging heroic struggle against the criminal racist regime of Vorster, for their country's liberation and independence, and victory is inevitable. The Zimbabwe struggle is inextricably linked with the South African struggle. As hitherto, so in the future too, the people of Zimbabwe shall extend full support and solidarity to the just cause of the oppressed people of South Africa and the African National Congress. Convinced that the oneness of our struggle and solidarity formed between the peoples and organisations of our two countries will further strengthen and develop through the common struggle against international imperialism, colonialism and racism...

PRESIDIUM SOVIET SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

...behalf Soviet public send ardent congratulations, best wishes South African people and express resolute support just struggle for freedom stop this year Heroes Day commemorated during new upsurge liberation struggle Southern Africa stop attention world public attracted events South Africa stop South

African people ever more decisively struggle against racism apartheid stop
Progressive forces under leadership African National Congress wage selfe
denying heroic struggle inspite mass repressions by racist regime stop
progressive world public supports courageous struggle South African people
stop Paying tribute South African Patriots world public honours memory
martyrs whose names remain immortal in memory of people of goodwill stop
award Juliot Curie gold medal outstanding freedom fighter Comrade Bram
Fischer manifests international solidarity your struggle stop long live
solidarity between peoples Soviet Union and South Africa.

LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT OF CANADA

As weapons and investments of North American capital are crucial to the
maintenance of the Vorster regime, so will the success of the South African
Liberation Movement be one important step toward our own liberation....

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT OF AUSTRIA

We express our solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa
against the racist (South African) regime. We wish the African National
Congress success in their fight.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK

On the occasion of South Africa Heroes Day and the posthumous
presentation of the highest award of the World Peace Council — the Juliot
Curie Medal - to the heroic Abram Fischer, our party conveys its most
fraternal solidarity greetings to the African National Congress and all South
African patriots fighting against apartheid, oppression and imperialism...

CENTRE DE RECHERCHES SOCIO-RELIGIEUSES:

LOUVAIN UNIVERSITY : PROF. B. HOUTART : BELGIUM

I want to manifest my full solidarity with you at this crucial moment of your
struggle.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC LAWYERS

BELGIUM

The International Association of Democratic Lawyers salutes the evening
organised on remembrance of those who fell in the fight for liberation, on the
occasion of 11Heroes Day, December 16th and confirm our whole-hearted
support for the struggles of the South African people and of the African
National Congress to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination.

FEDERATION OF BLACK STUDENTS IN FRANCE

In spite of (thesel brutish methods of oppression and intimidation we are
convinced that the courageous South African people will destroy colonialism
and racism and Vorsterls regime for all times. We reaffirm our firm support
for the strugglem.

THE NORWEGIAN COUNCIL FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

Many patriots have been killed, detained and prosecuted by the illegal
Vorster regime, but resistance has not been stopped. The people's struggle for
freedom can never be stopped by brutality and violence by the oppressors. We

express our full solidarity with the South African people and their liberation movement, the African National Congress, in their revolutionary struggle to build a society free of exploitation of man by man...

IRISH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

We express our total solidarity with the liberation movement of South Africa, especially at this time of crucial confrontation, and recognise the vital leadership of the ANC (SA) in the struggle for freedom. On this date we re-dedicate ourselves to support your just cause by whatever means you would ask of us.

The following are extracts from some of the messages received from organisations and individuals in the United Kingdom:

THE LIBERAL PARTY (DAVID STEEL MP)

When a few weeks ago we saw that awful photograph of the black teenager carrying in his arms the dead body of his brother in the South African township of Soweto, the agony that is apartheid was revealed for even the most blind to see, and we cannot turn our heads away from the sight

PAUL ROSE : LABOUR MP

May I express my wholehearted support for your struggle against the evil system of apartheid and minority domination in South Africa. I believe the day is fast coming when Southern Africa will be free.

ANDREW FAULDS : LABOUR MP

I send my greetings and support on South Africa Heroes Day, for a successful fight against the racist oppression of apartheid in South Africa. I look forward to the day South Africa moves to majority rule and African government.

BISHOP AMBROSE REEVES

PRESIDENT ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

May I through you send greetings to all who are gathered to honour all those who in former years strove so valiantly for Freedom and Justice...

NATIONAL UNION OF MINERS : SCOTTISH AREA

. wishing you every success in this event and express the solidarity of the Scottish Miners with your efforts to eradicate racism and apartheid from your country.

COMMUNIST PARTY

This has been an historic year for South Africa, a year in which significant victories for liberation have been won in neighbouring Mozambique and Angola, in which new blows for freedom have been struck in Namibia and Zimbabwe, and in which in South Africa itself new heroes have arisen from among the people...

Soweto marked a new stage in the struggle of the black people for their liberation. Its meaning is that the people are prepared to fight and die to win their liberation.

To that brave challenge the British people must respond. The British labour and progressive movement must compel their Government to end all collaboration with the hated apartheid regime and to extend solidarity to the African National Congress, the champion of all those in South Africa struggling to liberate themselves from repression, racialism and white minority tyranny

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF WOMEN

We join in the many protests against the apartheid regime in South Africa and greet the heroic women of the African National Congress; we are with them in their struggle for their liberation and that of their people.

NATIONAL ORGANISATION OF LABOUR STUDENTS

full support and solidarity in your struggle against the Vorster Regime and for the Liberation of South Africa.

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP

The IMF reaffirms its solidarity with all those fighting the racist Vorster regime and its imperialist backers, on this South Africa Heroes Day; organised by the African National Congress The most practical support we can give to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa is to force the Labour Government to cease all trade, all arms supplies and all investments to the racist states of South Africa and Rhodesia...

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

Fraternal greetings to our African Comrades whose heroic struggle for Liberation is an example to us all.

LORD BROCKWAY (PRESIDENT) _ LIBERATION

Liberation salutes the Freedom Fighters of South Africa and pledges it) full support in the developing struggle to defeat apartheid and white minority rule.

HITCHIN INDIAN WORKERS ASSOCIATION : BRITAIN

We fully support the liberation struggle carried on by the ANC against the tyranny of racism and colonialism and express our strong solidarity with ANC....

THE BRITAIN _ CIDR SOCIETY

Our support and best wishes to all those striving to remove fascism and racism from the face of the earth.

NORWICH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

We send you a message of collectivism, fraternalism and internationalism.

INDIAN WORKERS ASSOCIATION HUDDERSFIELD

fully support your struggle against racialism and fascism;

PETER HAIN : CHAIRMAN YOUNG LIBERALS

We salute the courage of those struggling and demonstrating against apartheid within South Africa today. May we also convey our full solidarity with the ANC Freedom Fighters: Victory will be yours!

THE PEOPLE'S
PATIENCE IS NOT
ENDLESS: The time comes
in the life of any nation
when there remain only two
choices -- submit or fight.
That time has now come to
South Africa.
umkhonto we sizwe
manifesto issued
December 16, 1961

SOUTH AFRICA HEROES' DAY

December 16 1976 t

Extracts from some messages received too late for inclusion in our programme:

GHANA: The. Government and people of Ghana salute you and pledge unflinching support fOr YOU? jUST Struggle...We urge you never to despair but to fight relentlessly until oppression and degradation give way to triumph and dignity. Be assured of our Gontinuous support and solidarity in your pursuit for that inalienable and priceless objective: Freedom...

SWAPO: SWAPO welcomes the World Peace Council initiative to award the Juliot Curie Gold Medal posthumously to the late Bram Frischer. Comrade Fischer was an outstanding man, a man with a Vieion, and with the courage and stamina to stand by his beliefs to the end.

EORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH: WFDY expresses its warmest revolutionary and fraternal greetings on occassion December 16 Founding Day of military wing of ANC. Supports fully decisions of your meeting. Will do our best to carry them out in support of struggle against racism and apartheid..For majority rule in South Africa.

GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY (F.R.G.) : We stand firmly on your side and are convinced that victory will be yours in your just struggle.

ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY -Central Committee; ...Your struggle against racism and gpartheid, for equalityTufgeedom and justice for your people, has the full, active solidarity of the Italism Communists, workers and democrats. With increasing vigour, public opinion in our country raises its voice in indignation and protest against the racial segregation and brutal repression practiced by Vorster's racist government and the continuation of a system of slavery and radalhmm. _

To the representatives of the A.N.C., courageously fighting in this difficult2 but noble cause, we assure our full support, for the success of their cause and for the day that racism, colonialism and oppression will forever be defeated in the South African Republic.

TASKFORCE ON THE CHURCHESU AND CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY - Canada : ...We.are aware of the terrible toll EEEEEH_hy_the racist government of South Africa of members of the ANC and its leadership. We are aware of the growing number of daily arrests, harassments and persecutions of all who Speak out against the inhumane and brutal system of apartheid and commemorate with you their sacri-fices and courage in the struggle for an end to racism...

EANITOBA ANTI-APARTHEID COALITION -Cenada: We take this oocassion to reaffirm our commitment to liberation in South Africa....

AMALGAMATED UNION OF ENGINEERING WORKEnS -TeChnical Administrative and a... m...-

EHEEEEX section : IEEEW7TASS grEEES the heroic freedom fighters of South Africa and wishes them every success in their struggle against imperialism and racism. we salute all those who have given their lives and their greedom to this just struggle.

We reserve a special place in our thoughts and regards for David Kitson, a member of our union, and pledge ourselves to continue the struggle for his release and the release of all political prisoners in South Africa.

Messages: i , 2.

ANTI- IAPAARTHEID MOVEMENT - UK: ...This year we have witnessed once more the Hnmasked brutality of the apartheid regime and a new generation of martyrs have made the ultimate sacrifice for the cause of freedom in South Africa. We salute all the martyrs of South Africa and those who are heroically resisting the might of the South African racist state. We pledge our determination to intensify our solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and our campaigns to secure the total isolation of the racist regime.

LONDON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY -Education Department: ...We share your struggle, we pledge our moral and material support and believe that with, solidarity, peace and friendship our common struggles will gain from a common resolve.

COMMUNIST PARTY -National Students Committee: ...sends greetings to all those fighting for national liberation in Southern Africa. We shall continue to make every effort to support the national liberation movements and to isolate those who back apartheid in this country...

SOUTH AFRICAN TRADES COUNCIL: ...This Council and the 16,000 trade unionists it represents...wish your organisation and all South African workers victory over racism and oppression.

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL -UK: ...peace is not possible without justice, human rights, freedom and equality. In South Africa this means there must be an end to racism and the policy of Apartheid and to all colonialist policies. We salute those who have so courageously given their lives for the future generations of South Africans.

QUAMDEN COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS: We have full solidarity with your cause. Victory seems nearer now:

J. D. BERNAL PEACE LIBRARY - UK: ...We are privileged to join in the tribute to Bram Fischer. This South Africa's Heroes' Day witnesses an intensification of the struggle of the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa to whose cause Bram devoted his life...We join in the tribute tonight, not only to Bram, but also to the thousands of other martyrs of this Freedom struggle.

EAMSBETH BOROUGH COUNCIL LABOUR PARTY MEMBERS : Fraternal greetings from all members of majority Labour group of councillors.

NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIALLY WORKING YOUTH (SDAJ) - F. R. G.: We wish you every success. We assure you of our solidarity in your struggle against the racist tyranny of the Vorster regime.

AUSTRIA - 47 signatories including academics, artists, journalists, musicians, priests, scientists, students and writers : Wholeheartedly support your meeting on the occasion of South Africa Heroes' Day. We condemn every form of apartheid as a grave breach of Human Rights and declare our solidarity with the people struggling against the racist regime in South Africa.