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STATEMENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF
SOUTH AFRICA

PRESENTED TO THE 28th SESSION OF THE O.A.U.
LIBERATION COMMITTEE.

29th JANUARY - 3rd FEBRUARY,

LUSAKA,

ZAMBIA.

Comrade Chairman,

- I -

The events of the past six months, during which South Africa has been shaken by the greatest mass upsurge in the revolutionary struggle of the black working people since the 1960's, have borne out the correctness and timeliness of our declaration at the 27th Session of this august body, that "the intense mass actions in the country testify to the ever-rising revolutionary upsurge amongst the peoples in almost every walk of life" and that "everything points to the fact that a revolutionary situation exists in the country which imposes a tremendous burden and obligation on the ANC....."

This warning was no idle politicking. It was based on our very close organic links with the revolutionary masses and a very thorough study of socio-economic, political and military developments in our country.

Since the police massacred young student demonstrators in Soweto on June 16th 1976, the popular uprisings had spread to almost every big town and city. In the country areas too, there had been angry stirrings.

The participation of the organised black working class in the general uprisings raised the entire struggle to a new and higher stage. On two occasions, in August and again in September 1976, black workers successfully carried out three-day political general strikes which paralysed industry on the Witwatersrand and the Cape and seriously shook the confidence of foreign investors in the economic stability of the racist regime. During the second general political strike in September 1976, called in support of demands for the release of all detainees and an end to massacres of our people, more than 500,000 black workers were on strike in Johannesburg and Cape Town alone.

There can be no doubt that the action of the organised working class against all the forces and institutions of the racist state, seriously challenged and shook the control of the racist regime and consolidated further the unity of all social forces - the workers, youth and students, the intellectuals and broad masses in the heroic struggle led by the ANC. Furthermore, Mr. Chairman, the intensity of the struggle waged by the masses has raised very high the revolutionary consciousness and preparedness of the oppressed people and poses urgently the need for direct combat actions against the enemy. The ANC pledges once again that the armed struggle will be intensified.

Already the enemy have tasted what is to come in ever-increasing measures. White South Africa was seriously shaken by the grenade attacks on a police van by "four members of the Umkontho we Sizwe, military wing of the ANC", as James Kruger, racist Minister of Justice and Police, readily admitted. In an attempt to reassure white South Africa that while the ANC was preparing for isolated guerrilla incursions and storing arms in secret hide-outs in the eastern Transvaal in preparation for "an eventual black revolution", the grenade attack did not herald the beginning of the guerrilla warfare against the fascists. The ANC gives no such assurance to the racists.

Corresponding with the intensification of the mass struggle is the intensification of police repression. The house-to-house searches, the arrests of hundreds of suspected militants, the torture of

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detainees, infiltration by informers and the systematic intimidation of workers and students, the bannings of trade unionists, the random arrests of all suspected to have been members or to have associated with the ANC even in the distant past - all these have been stepped up to the point where it would be correct to say that a state of war exists in South Africa.

ARRESTS, DETENTIONS, MASSACRES

It is impossible to catalogue with precision the numbers of persons killed, arrested, detained and murdered in police cells since the uprisings started on June 16th 1976, since fascist laws enable the police to withhold any such information. In August, the Minister of Justice and Police said about 800 people were being held as a result of "black rioting" - 77 under the Internal Security Act (the "SS" Act, as it was previously known) and 744 for "various crimes and for interrogation". In September, the Christian Institute reported that over 5,000 people had been arrested and at least 300 detained without trial since June 16th. According to information from inside the country, even this figure is a gross under-estimate. "Cleaning-up" operations in the form of house-to-house searches and mass arrests have been reported regularly throughout December and January. The final onslaught is the operation to be carried out by the mobilised fascist army and other para-military forces in the beginning of February. Thousands receive no publicity. Many people have simply disappeared without trace or explanation since June 16th. There are insistent reports of mass graves and midnight burials in the Doornkop and other cemeteries in Soweto. There are also no accurate details of how many people have been killed by police and white vigilantes in the months since June 16th, but from conservative estimates it would be no exaggeration to say that over 1,000 deaths have occurred.

DEATHS IN DETENTION

In addition to those killed in the streets, more deaths have occurred in detention. Some of those known to have been murdered in Vorster's torture chambers since June 16th are:

Mapetla Mohapi - aged 29, arrested on July 15th and on August 5th. The police informed his family that he "had committed suicide". The doctor who represented the family at the inquest, Dr. Ramphele, was himself arrested, as well as two other doctors who worked at the same clinic.

Luke Mazwembe - aged 32, trade unionist who was alleged to have hanged himself with strips torn from a blanket, within two hours of his detention on September 6th 1976.

Fenuel Mogatusi - aged 22, Soweto student, who died on September 28th at the Johannesburg Fort while awaiting trial. The official cause of death was alleged to be "epileptic fits". His sister, aged 19, said: "This is surprising because Fenuel never had fits. In fact we saw him the day before his death and he looked healthy."

Jacob Mashabane - aged 22, Soweto student died at the Johannesburg Fort on October 5th 1976. He is alleged to have hanged himself with his shirt.

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Dumisane Mbatha - aged 16, disappeared on September 16th, cause of death not known.

William Namodi Tshwane of Soweto. Arrested July 25th. Father informed of his death on October 14th - after he had been buried.

Already several people have been killed in detention this month. Amongst these are:

Lawrence Ndzanga, veteran leader of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions and former General Secretary of the African Railway Workers' Union. An old ANC member, Lawrence Ndzanga had spent several periods in detention. His wife Rita is currently facing charges under the so-called Suppression of Terrorism Act.

Elmon Malele, veteran ANC stalwart, who is alleged to have died "on the operating table" after suffering a stroke..

TRIALS OF ANC ACTIVISTS:

1. Dr. David Rabkin, a "Cape Argus" sub-editor, his wife Susan, and Jeremy Cronin, a Cape Town University lecturer were charged under the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act in connection with the printing and distribution of VUKANI - AWAKE, an underground ANC bulletin, as well as ANC leaflets printed inside South Africa. Dr. Rabkin and Mr. Cronin were found guilty and have begun serving ten-year prison sentences.

2. The Pietermaritzburg Trial of Tean

On trial for their lives in the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa in Pietermaritzburg are:

Themba Harry Gwala
Ndoda Xaba
Vusimusi Magubane
Azaria Ndebele
Joseph Nduli

Fano Khanyile
Zakhele Ndlalose
Mokholeka Meyiwa
John Nene
Cleophas Ndlovu

All are charged under the Terrorism Act with membership and promoting of the aims of the ANC.

The indictment stated that they are accused of sending messages to ANC representatives in Swaziland, that they received subversive literature and money from members of the ANC in Swaziland. They were also accused of planning routes "by which persons recruited for training of a political and/or military nature could be transported up to the border and/or sent across the border of the Republic into Swaziland and/or issuing instructions on routes to be followed for this purpose....."

One of the important aspects of this case is the position of Joseph Nduli and Cleophas Ndlovu who were kidnapped by South African Special Branch police on the Swazi side of the South African border and taken to Pietermaritzburg where they were joined with the other accused.

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Despite a very strong protest by the Swazi Government and a demand for the return of these two men, it is needless to report that the South African racists have refused to return these two ANC members to Swaziland.

This is yet another instance of Pretoria's violation of the sovereignty of an independent African state and of their contempt for all the tenets of international law.

Mr. Chairman, the catalogue of factual developments portrayed above is far from being exhaustive. And if it gives a gloomy picture, it is because we have not yet dealt with the revolutionary situation prevailing in the country - the situation that makes the upsurge raging in the cities and countryside an irresistible force that is progressively assuming an organised form of resistance. The ANC, like never before in its long history of relentless struggle, is confident of victory.

Its policy of striving for the unity of all the African people, all the oppressed and struggling black people remains the main *raison d'etre*. In spearheading the broad united front comprising the coloureds and Asians as the African people's comrade-in-arms, the ANC is making steady and unimpeded progress towards the consolidation of its revolutionary base at the mass level. The strength of white democrats who together with the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Coloured People's Congress accept the leadership of the ANC on the basis of the Freedom Charter, is growing at a rate alarming to the enemy.

Mr. Chairman,

Over a decade ago, Vorster boasted that the back of the ANC and its allies had been broken and that all that remained was for the fascist storm-troopers to "mop up the remnants" of the ANC, but these trials have revealed once more that the ANC fights on and will not be put down after all these years of special branch informers, torture and murder of its members. Jimmy Kruger, racist Minister of "Justice" and Police, claims that detainees alleged to have committed suicide in prison were carrying out the ANC directive - to die rather than to reveal information. These facts prove that the ANC is very much present inside South Africa and its unquestionable role behind the so-called spontaneous uprising - claims from which the ANC has to date abstained. Yet further proof, if this is still required, of the leadership role of the ANC in the revolutionary struggle of our people is the extension of the terms of reference of the Cillier Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the Soweto "disturbances" to include an investigation of the role of the ANC before, during and after the Soweto uprisings.

Several other trials, too numerous to catalogue here, are being conducted all over the country. These trials, together with the thousands of prolonged detentions all reflect the high level of political consciousness of the oppressed people of South Africa.

BANTUSTANS

The position of the ANC and the overwhelming masses of our people with regard to the racists' Bantustan policy and the so-called "independence" of the Transkei, is well known.

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We seize this opportunity to salute the highly commendable stand taken by the African countries in not only refusing to be duped into endorsing a programme designed to ensure tribal fragmentation and fratricidal conflict to the benefit of white supremacy but also torpedoing this diabolic scheme at the United Nations. The African group-sponsored resolution declaring the Transkei so-called independence invalid and calling on all UN member states not to accord its recognition is an extremely important diplomatic defeat for the Vorster regime. However, we would like to draw the attention of this Committee to the sinister manoeuvres being carried out in a vain attempt to prop up this still-born apartheid creation. These range from investments to military cooperation. The United States army magazine "Military Review", for example, states that there are serious moves in the Pentagon to establish an American naval base in the Transkei and that the Transkei could be a loophole through the arms embargo against South Africa which is likely to continue.

Furthermore, there are persistent reports that units of the so-called 1st Battalion of the Transkei were used in the massacres throughout South Africa and are presently participating in the war in Namibia under the overall command of Brigadier Laurens Oosthuizen, an armoured corps specialist, who has taken over the "South West Africa Command" from the 1st January 1977. To this should be added the closure of the Lesotho border by the Pretoria regime using the Transkei as its catspaw.

Mr. Chairman,

In reiterating our appreciation of the firm stand taken by the African countries in opposing the apartheid regime's Bantustan programme, we appeal for permanent vigilance in this regard. The Vorster regime views this as of crucial importance for the perpetuation of the status quo in South Africa. The ANC on the one hand ranks the defeat of this operation as one of the top priorities to ensure a relatively speedy overthrow of the apartheid regime and the seizure of power by the people in the whole of South Africa. The collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire upset Vorster's strategy which was based on Mozambique and Angola serving the role of protective belts. Aware of the changed balance of forces, favouring the ANC thanks to its close and traditional alliance with FRELIMO and MPLA, the regime is bent on the establishment of Bantustan puppet states to serve as buffer zones in its defence. This sinister scheme must be exposed, condemned and defeated in every turn. It is for that reason that we salute the stand taken by Lesotho and the African countries in taking the closure of the Lesotho border to the Security Council and condemning South Africa for this act. The urgent international assistance to help Lesotho offset the economic losses incurred and to help her resist being coerced into recognising the Transkei cannot be over-emphasised. Moreso because this is a test case and a prelude of similar methods to be used against Botswana and Swaziland in the future. The so-called independence of the Bophuthatswana announced a few days ago as scheduled for the 6th December 1977, calls for similar measures that were taken in the case of the Transkei. We humbly propose that this committee recommends such measures to the Ministerial Council, thus providing for a mandatory non-recognition resolution by the Summit as was the case with regard to the Transkei. This, we suggest, should be formulated in the manner that would enable the African group at the UN not only to foil the desired recognition but also to campaign against the activities by certain Western countries who use the Bantustans to pump massive foreign capital investment into South Africa as well as consolidating military collaboration with this regime in defiance of the OAU, the Non-Aligned and the UN resolutions.

SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY PREPARATIONS

South Africa's budget for defence is likely to soar from R 1,300m. in 1976 to R 2,00m. in 1977, which means that if the Government's total budget remains the same, over 30% will be spent on defence. Director-General, Resources, Major-General Neil Webster says that an "Afro-Communist" onslaught on South Africa was no longer a remote possibility but an unpredictable practicability. Therefore the Permanent Force would have to be more than doubled in strength as soon as possible. Moreover, the Minister of Water Affairs, Mr. Braam Raubenheimer, has given a clear indication that the racist Cabinet was thinking along the lines of South Africa going to aid Rhodesia if "Russia or Cuban forces join the freedom-fighter war". South Africa regards this threat as being so serious that it will consider mounting a counter-operation in support of the Rhodesian "even bigger than (their) intervention in Angola".

Other military preparations include:

The "Reaction Force", which has been specially created by the South African Defence Force for the rapid concentration of forces for an airborne assault followed by a rapid withdrawal, is a highly trained strike force of Army parabats and Air Force helicopters on a round-the-clock standby. Ground force parabats and helicopter pilots of the Reaction Force live in tents around a helipad where Puma and Alouette helicopters wait in readiness. They can operate in all weathers.

The First South African Women's Air Force squadron has been established. Number 114 Commando Squadron will be based at Lanseria Airport and will consist of 20 pilots and 5 observers. Members will be trained for casualty evacuation and communications flights. Major J.B. du Preez, a permanent Air Force officer, will command the squadron. Meanwhile, the first two white women to train as fighter controllers received their commissions during the first week of January 1977. Their job is to guide fighter planes to the enemy target and then help them to return safely.

A women's corps is to be formed in the South African Army early this year according to Defence Minister, P.W. Botha. 500 women would be trained annually at the Civil Defence College in George, Cape, which would be expanded and renamed the Army Women's College.

A report by counter-information services exposes the part played by British firms in the arms build-up in South Africa. Within weeks of the June uprising, Imperial Chemical Industries injected £ 26 m. (pounds sterling) into its South African subsidiary, A.E. & C.I., which supplied the teargas used by the police. Racal Electronics - half of its production of radio manpacks, monitor and surveillance equipment is going to the armed forces. Plessey is said to be supplying the technical expertise for a South African manufacturer of integrated circuits, invaluable from the point of view of defence strategy enabling the regime to produce its own anti-tank guidance systems.

Marconi is building the backbone of a computer-controlled military communications system.

Yet a further development in the growth of the military/industrial complex is the intergration of different departments of Government for "defensive" purposes.

The Nationalist MPC for Eshowe, Mr W.J. Heine, has called for compulsory civil defence training at school level, leading to compulsory training for school-leaving girls. A co-ordinated plan involving the Natal Education Department and the Natal Command of the South African Defence Forces making cadet training in schools compulsory is already well advanced.

Whilst Mr Robert Power, Chairman of the S.A. Security Association, disclosed (Rand Daily Mail - 27th November 1976) that the first course in "anti-urban terror tactics" for civilians will be held in 1977. One-day workshop sessions "sabotage, strikes, riots, fire defence, psychological terrorism and intimidation by violence".

Rear-Admiral Ronald Edwards, who has recently been promoted to Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel at GHQ, proposed that the Civil Defence Act is to be amended to bring about decentralisation and make civil defence the responsibility of the local authorities. He stressed that the provincial and local authorities should be ensured of manpower and proposed the drafting of "malcontents into some form of service which their own actions are threatening with disruption". This really means that conscientious objectors, the unemployed and others will be subject to forcible enlistment into civil defence organisations in the cities.

NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

Lt-Gen Bob Rogers, Chief of the Air Force, stated that the S.A. Air Force strike aircraft would soon be equiped with a new missile, developed exclusively by S. African technologists, but he would not comment on whether it was intended for air-to-air or air-to-surface use. However, during the last sitting of Parliament, the Minister of Defence announced that S.A. scientists were working on an improved air-to-air missile.

The total order for the tropospheric scatter communications equipment to be supplied by Marconi (the British Company) to South Africa will exceed R 29 million and will provide a sophisticated army and telecommunications system with 20 terminals and 10 links connecting S.A. with Namibia. Of the tropospheric scatter links, 5 are to be located in S.A., 4 in Namibia and 1 bridging the two.

IMPERIALIST ARMS FOR THE RACISTS

1. Israel is re-selling patrol boats and guided missiles acquired from the USA to S.A. and Chile.
2. The nuclear conspiracy between West Germany and South Africa as well as French nuclear reactors to S.A. has already been dealt with by the ANC.

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR ANC AND ITS ALLIES

The ANC is strengthened in the knowledge that the OAU, the socialist countries, the non-aligned movement and the democratic forces in the imperialist countries have continuously demonstrated their resolve to support the legitimacy of all forms of struggle including the armed struggle waged by the ANC. Some of the most recent manifestations in support of the ANC and its allies are:

1. Resolutions adopted at the 13th OAU Summit, the Conference of the non-aligned states and the United Nations.
2. Emergency international solidarity conference in support of the struggle of the people of S.A. in Addis Ababa, attended by delegates from 87 countries, revolutionary parties and progressive organisations who paid tribute to the courage of the S. African people and pledged support for the struggle under the leadership of the ANC.
3. January 17th-22nd, "Week of Action of the World Trade Unions against Apartheid" organised by the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), as well as SACTU, WFTU, WCL, ICFTU and supported by the UN Anti-Apartheid Committee.
4. January 31st-February 2nd 1977 "International Conference on Solidarity with the workers of S.A. in Luanda", organised jointly by the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA), the OATUU and WFTU.
5. WPC/ANC Conference to be held in Lisbon in May.
6. June 1977 - Second International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid to be held in Geneva to review the results of the 1st conference held in June 1973 and to initiate new actions against the fascist regime.
7. The AACC/WCC (Programme to Combat Racism) consultation with liberation movements in Southern Africa, Kitwe, Zambia.

CONCLUSIONS

1. With the relative and absolute deterioration of the socio-economic condition of the oppressed people, the rapid growth in unemployment, inflation and general economic recession, the growth in the revolutionary mass struggle and the growth in the stature and authority of the ANC, both amongst the masses of the oppressed people and internationally, the frantic war preparations of the enemy supported by international imperialism (the multinational companies) the year 1977 must mark a further and more decisive onslaught against the racist regime.
2. A more concerted campaign must be developed against the political, military and economic support of the USA, UK, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan, and particularly against the multinational corporations, some of which we have mentioned above.

Thank you.