

JUNE 1986



SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



JUNE 16TH — TEN YEARS OF STRUGGLE

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United Kingdom

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APARTHEID CANNOT BE REFORMED

P W Botha is caught in the cobweb of apartheid. The Whites are complaining that he is moving too far, and yet what he is actually doing is to mark time — to march on the same spot, not actually moving. If he is moving he is definitely not moving in the direction of the Black people.

He gets encouragement from his friends, especially Reagan and Thatcher. When Reagan attacked Libya one could not fail to notice the smile on Botha's face. Then the terrorists of this world met in Tokyo to discuss what they decided to call "terrorism." How cynical they can be! This happened after ordinary Libyan citizens were killed.

They keep on telling us about the importance of a peaceful solution to the question of apartheid — a "peaceful solution" when more than 1 000 people have been killed since August 1984. Many more have been arrested and gaol-ed. There are also people who voice concern for the safety of Whites in that "racial conflict." Hence the talk about "protection of minorities."

There is talk about a need for "power sharing" — what this precisely means nobody seems to know. This "power sharing" with the racists is supposed to be one of the conditions for "legalising" the ANC, and the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela is being made dependent on the ANC's renouncing armed struggle. They even question the alliance with the SACP and the solidarity we get from the

Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

All this is being said when reports from Lebowa describe the situation there as a "state of war," where people are daily confronted by helicopters, Buffels and Casspirs; where many people are fugitives from their own villages and live in caves in the mountains.

What our people are demanding is that troops must leave the townships, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, unbanning of all people's political organisations and the immediate recognition of SRCs. The people demand the lowering of rentals to a level people can afford and that electricity must be installed. This is to say nothing of the recovery of missing corpses and people.

What we are saying is that those who are interested in "solving the racial conflict" in South Africa should address themselves to these and similar questions rather than other irrelevant questions. The ANC calls for one person, one vote in a unitary South Africa. Apartheid cannot be reformed — it must be destroyed.

Sanctions will go a long way in doing just that. Not that sanctions will bring the apartheid monster to its knees. But they will definitely weaken apartheid and therefore make our struggle less costly in terms of lives lost and blood flowing in the streets of South Africa. That is why we say: **Sanctions now!** This will be a direct contribution to our struggle, and this is what the Black people in South Africa are calling for.

TEN YEARS OF SOWETO UPRISING

by Sello Moeti

The organisers, South African Students' Movement and its Action Committee had planned for a march from 12 points all over Soweto to converge at Orlando Stadium to protest and demonstrate against the forced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction for over half of the subjects to be learned. The slow march to Orlando took off well in many places with long snake-like lines forming by an estimated 20 000 students marching to Orlando Stadium where student leaders intended addressing them. The students never reached Orlando Stadium. On the way they were confronted by barricades manned by heavily armed police who tried to disperse the peaceful demonstration with teargas and, when that failed, opened fire, killing many, Hec-

tor Peterson being one of them. By the evening of that day, the fury of the community had set alight 20 buildings belonging to the Bantu Administration Boards, from beer halls to administration buildings. That was June 16th 1976. From that cold morning till today South African schools, indeed the whole country, has not known peace and will not know peace until Bantu Education is totally and completely destroyed with the system that created it.

Mama Stay Home To Bury Me

From that day onwards the battles which engulfed the whole country within days started raging. The SASM Action Committee was the planner of the march but as events overtook planning, a Soweto



Youth pay tribute to the soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung, executed by the regime June 9th 1983.

Student Representative Council (SSRC) was formed with representatives from each school in Soweto, led by Tsietsi Mashinini. The police and later the army went on the rampage killing thousands of people. Even the Cillie Commission, whose main objective was to whitewash the regime's bloody image, found that between June 16 and August the racist police had fired 16 000 bullets in Soweto alone, killing countless people, most shot in the back as the police tried to break the many demonstrations in and around Johannesburg. While spilling blood in the streets of Soweto, John Vorster met Henry Kissinger of the USA and Josef Strauss, in Bavaria, apparently to brief them about how he was handling the situation. His Minister of Police, James Kruger detained tens of thousands of people and about 21 000 appeared before the apartheid courts. Mapetla Mohapi, Steve Biko and others were viciously done to death in detention. Those killed include people who were killed by the Mzimhlophe hostel dwellers incited by the police. Many organisations were formed such as the "Destruction Committee" in an attempt to meet the violence of the regime with that of the students. Committees came and went, calling for a boycott here, a stay-at-home there.

If We Must Die — MK

The ANC immediately issued pamphlets calling for unity of the whole Black people, parents, workers and students in staging demonstrations, stay-at-homes and other popular ways of struggle. Umkhonto we Sizwe received the hundreds of angry young people who were suddenly thrown into the struggle, arming them politically and militarily. National fighters such as Solomon Mahlangu were to be produced from among these participants. By the end of the year the whole country was ablaze and the regime was trying to hold the lid down on the boiling situation by sheer brutal force. Umkhonto we Sizwe within months was deploying back into the country the people who went into it, now armed militarily. It was from this time onwards that the increased violence of the enemy was met with even more determination to struggle in general, and devastating blows by Umkhonto we Sizwe. June the 16th of 1976 marked a profound change in the attitude of the oppressed to the enemy's savage attacks. It is one of the significant developments after the June 16th Uprisings that

the enemy has started to taste blood in his mouth and smell his own flesh burning.

Death To Bantu Education

The immediate causes of the June Uprisings were the insolence, arrogance and complete disregard by the regime's Department of Bantu Education, then headed by Andries Treurnicht and others, the demands of the Blacks and the students in particular relating to the use of Afrikaans. While Bantu Education was by design and purpose to make Blacks a nation of drawers of water and hewers of wood, the forced learning of Afrikaans was the spark which opened to the world the whole rotten can of shortage of teachers, unqualified teachers, poor facilities, corporal punishment, overcrowding and other disabilities under which Blacks languished. But the bigger causes were always there. Bantu Education was in any case never accepted by Blacks. From its very conception right to its imposition the ANC had fought Bantu Education. 17 000 students stayed away opposing it in 1954 when it was introduced.

Black university students have been staging one boycott of classes after another, year after year protesting against the obnoxious system. The destruction of the African Students' Association (ASA), the formation of the University Christian Movement (UCM) in 1967, the formation of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and its influence in 1969, the advent of Black Consciousness itself, the numerous student sit-ins, and the boycotts of lectures of 1972 over the expulsion of Abraham Tiro, all these were struggles to change and alleviate the burdens on the shoulders of Blacks educationally. The countless organisations such as the National Youth Organisation (NAYO), and the African Student Movement which came into existence between 1970 and 1975 show the resistance to the educational system organised by apartheid for Blacks. Thus the massacre resulted from the ongoing struggle to eradicate bantu education. Demands which generations of Blacks have been making since the early 50s when H F Verwoerd declared "Natives will be taught from early childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics which it cannot use in practice?" Modern racists are not as honest as Verwoerd. They would have the world believe that

that same system is all right, all it needs is a whitewash job.

No Surrender, No Going Back

Since the June 16th Uprisings fighting between the Blacks and the regime escalated. Student-police and army confrontation became commonplace and the annual marking of the Uprising became a focal point of organisation for both students and parents, trade unions and mass organisations. With each passing anniversary of the Uprising, student leaders were being detained and killed, but more came forward, the demands of the students grew and the numbers



Joseph Mayoli a commander in the Mmadinoga Detachment. He came from Eastern Cape and fell in the Maseru attack by commando units of the SADF on 20 December 1985.

of those involved multiplied. The regime banned virtually all the organisations involved with the Uprising, 18 of them on the 19th of October 1977, but could not put down the fire. Other organisations were formed quickly thereafter, the Azanian Student Organisation (AZASO), the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), more militant, better organised involving even more people. Like the proverbial fool, the enemy has shot himself in both feet.

Death in Elsie's River

It was however to be in 1980 that the most widespread school boycotts among the Coloured and Indian communities were to take place. The enemy having had his plans to shunt the Coloureds and Indians into his schemes as junior partners frustrated, poured his venom on their children setting that sector of the population

alight too. From Elsie's River in the Cape, Coronationville, Lenasia, Bosmont to Eldorado Park in Johannesburg, Indian and Coloured students boycotted classes joined by students from universities and colleges demanding an end to apartheid itself. Everywhere the enemy was shooting and baton-charging the students, killing many.

By this time there had been a change of guard in Pretoria. Botha and his brass hats had taken over and were trying to whip every sector of the society into line to dance to their music. They were jealously eyeing the Coloureds and Indians as cannon-fodder for their schemes to entrench apartheid and devastate Southern Africa to create a haven for it. With amazing speed they managed to antagonise the whole people of South Africa and build the strongest unity ever seen among the oppressed. The so-called elections failed one after the other. Their tri-cameral parliament was doomed to failure. It is however in the educational field that the results of the last ten years can be seen.

BCM 10 Years After June 16th

Many political currents came into the organisations which have come to be known as BCM, be they Black People's Convention (BPC), South African Student Organisation (SASO), South African Student Movement (SASM), National Youth Organisation (NAYO) or Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC). Some of the members of these organisations were staunch ANC members, some African right-wing nationalists, African liberals with a strong bias towards moralising, intellectuals strongly influenced by the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement, PAC and other influences. In the words of Dan Motsitsi, a former leader of SSRC, "You would find all shades of opinion in the SSRC. The point was at that stage the issues were an affront to all irrespective of whether you were Black Consciousness or not. That enabled us to work together. But as time went on, we were aware of the different trends, when the contradictions between BC and progressives intensified. But progressive students were there in the SSRC — it was only a question of profile."

As the struggle intensified, so did the differences in BCM. The ANC stepped up the armed struggle infusing into the situation its experience, matured political outlook and tactics. That section among the BC whose outlook has

always been simplistic, liberal, albeit clothed in violent African nationalist language started to find the participation of MK and the ANC heavy going. Particularly frustrating for this group was the fact that the underground of the ANC was beginning to move; the old stalwarts reappeared on the political stage, with more adults getting involved in the struggle, people who knew the national leaders and were not to be taken in by refined arguments from whatever quarter. Strategies which were demanded by the situation were those of an armed propaganda nature, not introspection, explaining that we are disunited and oppressed. More and more they drifted into right-wing political positions which they had to cover up with ostensibly passionate left rhetoric (which on the face of it looks like the old PAC outlook) but is essentially Trotskyite in sound and reactionary in content. Its leaders believe that Blacks are a new clean slate on which they are to write and try out "new" theory of workerism.

Azapo, Azactu etc

The reorganisation of BCM organisations after the Boers banned them in 1977 was in itself a good thing. Indeed BC played a positive role in conscientising generations which came after the banning of the ANC. Unfortunately, generations of the right-wing of BC and reactionaries among the Blacks assembled in these organisations using whatever opportunity they could get to denounce the leaders of the people in jail, banned and banished. They wanted all organisations with the name Azania to oppose the Freedom Charter. While in the past organisations were screened for infiltrators, agents of the enemy, they now screened people for support of the Freedom Charter. While in the past many organisations were formed to unite the people and organise people in one sector, they now formed organisations with the expressed intention of splitting attention for the sole reason that the existing organisation supports the Freedom Charter.

They are persistently speaking about unity, while the people are uniting in action against the enemy. While the Blacks are locked in combat against the enemy liberating themselves, these groups are calling on the masses to leave their leaders, check the racial credentials of all freedom fighters and become "their own liberators" by following them. They are everywhere trying to split and divert attention from the attack on the enemy by staging small

miserable sideshows to denigrate and denounce the attack on the enemy. They are shouting with the enemy that certain individuals are charterists, agents of the ANC, Soviet puppets so on, despite the obvious benefit to the enemy in propaganda and targetting for attack.

They Hate ANC And Peoples Leaders

As they drifted into opposing the leaders of the people, more and more they found themselves becoming an extension of SABC taking anti-communism, anti-ANC propaganda, anti-Sovietism to corners SABC would not succeed in taking it. Everywhere they countered activities against the enemy with those they thought would attract attention to themselves, an old Trotskyite tactic, which has been exploited again and again by the enemy's secret services. This has been taken to such an extent that some of these groups are developing, like the security forces of the boers, a state of mind that can be called ANC phobia. Seeing the ANC everywhere.

Their old complaint was that the ANC did not organise June 16th, it is they who influenced the events that led to the Uprising, forgetting that what is important about June 16th Uprisings is what to do about the enemy once and for all. Not whose speeches the demonstrators had heard. This group has now swung to the left, leaving the revolution itself behind. The question of June 16/8

Whites which in the main was a sore point with them has been augmented with a claim that they and they alone are the custodians of revolutionary theory. They are the Marxists. They are now chanting quickly memorised slogans from Neville Alexander, who is zealously feeding them old Trotskyite nonsense on analysis and organisation. In a true to Trotskyite tradition only they and they alone are the left forces. The hostility of this group to mass political activity, (except such as can be used to prove support to their line) the armed struggle, the Freedom Charter, the SACP, the popular organisations of the people, their pathological hatred of the people's leaders and the SACP should in due course condemn them to the dustbin of history where they have chosen to go.

Black Trotskyites Are Reactionaries Too

The evolution of this group in the last ten years is both natural and instructive. It would have been very strange indeed if we did not have political



Richard Molokoane, (Barney), a commander in the June 16th Detachment who had taken part in many battles

of MK in the past 10 years. He fell on 28 November 1985 in what the enemy called a "violent shootout" in the Eastern Transvaal after an attack on Secunda oil refinery.

drop-outs, dropping from the masses, (partly a product of years and years of anti-ANC and anti-communist propaganda) made of the class enemy's ribs. Instructive in so far as it is bound to settle, at a cost though, once and for all the question of whether being Black, Trotskyite, articulate is a mark of revolutionary dedication. Or simply put, mixing Trotskyite analysis with its hollow, extremist, puritan, meaningless declarations with Black politics or right-wing African nationalism can replace the people's leaders and painstaking organisation of the people into the struggle. (An interesting thing is that Trotskyite groups all over the world are paying attention to BCM and the PAC. It looks like they have discovered a new clean slate on which to write the workerist theory).

Difference of opinion on the issues of the day among the people is healthy. The original BCM sprang up not to check the spread of communism, belief in the Freedom Charter or create new leaders for the masses. Its anti-racist positions are clear. BCM as it exists now is slowly carving itself a niche as a group which wants to replace the national liberation movement, both among the people and in the international community. It is lending itself to be used, and uses every opportunity to replace the national liberation and split the fire against the enemy targets by demanding political and diplomatic ammunition destined against the enemy, then firing into the air, in an attempt to attract attention or against

the ANC and its leadership. It is high time the innocent among the BCM, both inside and outside the country, take advantage of the tenth anniversary of June 16th and direct whatever venom they have against the beast of Pretoria instead of organising sideshows diverting attention from the march to victory.

Crisis In White Lives And Minds

While June 16th was a product of the struggle against inferior education, an issue in the broad anti-apartheid struggle, the Whites on the other hand were being pumped with Christian National Education, training them as a master race to occupy the highest ranks in the economy. The profound effect of the struggle that is raging since June 16th in the Black community could not but affect the Whites who are being dressed up as a master race only to find that they have neither the land nor the peace to practise their racial superiority engendered by Christian National Education. This racist-designed system aims at making law students pay much attention to commercial law but almost ignore the area that most affects the lives of the majority — pass laws and labour laws. It aims at making engineering and architecture students preoccupied with designing high rise buildings, rather than catering to the needs of sufferers from the severe housing shortage. Medical students study diseases of affluence and largely overlook the fact that the primary health problem in South Africa is malnutrition. While a man is supposed to be tall, rich, with a beautiful wife, a car and a holiday cottage the girls are supposed to be slick, blonde and beautiful dolls. The white community is so deeply engrossed in trivia that some medics blame this upbringing for a condition called anorexia nervosa increasing among high school girls.

The pounding blows which the Blacks are delivering on the White body politic could not but affect the White youth in his racist cocoon. The Afrikaner youth growing up in a particularly racist atmosphere is starting to feel the rumbling and is getting nervous and confused. As soon as he shows signs that he knows that he is being dressed up by Afrikanerdom to go nowhere, for the future of apartheid is not guaranteed, the Broederbond comes heavy on him. Even 12-year-olds now are in uniform drilling and identifying Blacks as the terrorists.

The Afrikaanse Studentebond broke away from the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) complaining that NUSAS was "too English, too imperialistic, too negrophilistic in colour as a result of the strong influence of socialistic international minded Jews ...". Now Afrikaner youth don't know how to break away from the straightjacket of Afrikanerdom, which intends sending them to their doom with apartheid. Since 1976 (more as crisis in the laager, rather than pure student politics) there have been attempts to break out of the clutches of the Broederbond. There have been questions about Nelson Mandela here and there, an attempt to form a different organisation from the Afrikaanse Studentebond; some have even tried forming a NUSAS branch in Afrikaner universities to their personal detriment. All the so-called "verligtes" can do for them is to show them the



Nomkhosi Mini (Mary), a member of Moncada Detachment and founder member of Amandla Cultural Ensemble. Fell in Maseru on 20 December 1985.

Inkatha youth wing to fraternise with, another way of making them look right back to the past. They hear the shaking of the world and the rumbling. But their parents tell them to put on their Sunday best, "alles sal reg kom", if only they are prepared to kill a few more Blacks, read the Bible more often, go to the border quietly and die a little for the volk.

Nusas, for its part, has come a long way since its inception in 1924. For quite a while now, Nusas has occupied a place where it can both observe that South Africa will never be the same again after June 16th 1976 while at the same time

serving the mainly English speaking White community with its liberal, but firm anti-Black views. While by its nature, being a student body Nusas is bound to move in different directions at different times and some of the time in two directions at the same time, it has in fact survived infiltration, sabotage provocations by the security police. At present, in fact for a while now, it has been drifting towards the organisations associated with UDF and is taking part in its activities.

Educational Issues As They Develop

The shooting of unarmed students in the morning of June 16th 1976 was seen from the Union Buildings as settling the matter with a firm hand. The regime's ministers had been so arrogant that they were sure nothing could move their supposedly strong government. The demands of the students after the shooting in Soweto, far from diminishing — increased. While originally the immediate issue was Afrikaans, the reaction after the massacres was to increase the participation of the community in the student issues and increasing them to include untrained teachers, lack of school books. The Uprising put an end to the so-called Urban Bantu Councils which were appropriately called useless talking shops. When the so-called firm hand tactics merely put the whole country in flames the regime renamed its institutions which were affected, mainly Bantu Administration and Bantu Education renaming them Department of Co-operation and Department of Education and Training respectively, shuffling their personnel around. When this would not do it launched a vicious campaign under Connie Mulder whose only achievement was to say as many meaningless things as was possible. When Botha and his brass hats gave him a nice kick on the backside he went into the political wilderness of Afrikanerdom where to this day (Andries Treurnicht who was with him in the department later followed him), he is believed to be still muttering things to himself. Only now Afrikaner maniacs, lunatics, drop-outs and turncoats from the National Party take him seriously.

Piet Koornhof proved to be even more given to saying nothing in the loudest ways. His strategy was to juggle around concepts and institutions, push for the independence of the bantustans and generally push the educational system into the hands of the puppets in the bantustans.

This strategy worked well in Natal where Botha's running dog, Gatsha Buthelezi, has been banning student organisations, expelling student organisers and leaders from their schools, attacking and even killing students in Ngoye. He was working very hard trying to create a no-go area for opponents of the Boers. But the students despite the cost to themselves and their organisations have not wavered. In Pietermaritzburg, Mphopomeni near Howick, Kwa-Mashu, Lamontville, Dundee, Umlazi, Klaarwater and Umbumbulu, students are setting up Student Representative Councils, forming regional bodies to co-ordinate their work and fight school fees demands, shortage of teachers and books from the Inkatha-run Bantu Educational system.

The same thing happened in Bophuthatswana where another lackey, Lucas Mangope has been killing people there, trying to put out the fires of the struggle on behalf of the Pretoria Boers. The formation of Congress of South African Students' (COSAS) and Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) was an advance in the struggle, taking up new issues in the ever changing situation. They spread student organisation to new areas despite detention, disappearances of their leaders, infiltration by the enemy forces and many other activities. They frustrated attempts by the racists to continue without June 16/12

making substantial changes to the education system. Above everything else, building on the experience of SASM, they placed the struggle



Linda Khuzwayo (Post) a member of the New Detachment. Finding his unit encircled in Ingwavuma in 1984, he brought the enemy fire on himself, saving several comrades.

against Bantu Education in the national struggle where it belongs, consolidating unity between students, civic associations, trade unions and the broader struggle against apartheid.

Bantu Education Is Dying

Since 1984 the issue of education has assumed an even higher profile in the political struggle by the people. Students have been killed, schools destroyed, teachers sacked, arbitrarily transferred, attacked, detained and even killed. Parents have had to watch their children come home from school with sjambok lacerations, buckshot wounds, plastic bullets and some never even to return from the SADF thugs lodged in the schools with armoured cars shooting whatever came within reach. Indeed those whom the gods want to destroy, they first make mad.

The formation of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC), rejecting Pretoria's mismanagement of the education system, and for the first time organising in order to design an alternative education system, was a sign of the shifting of power from Botha to the people. The demands of the SPCC were as follows:

- Re-erection of damaged school buildings
- Release of all students and teachers in detention
- Re-instatement of all dismissed, transferred and suspended teachers
- The withdrawal of SADF and SAP from townships and schools
- The unbanning of COSAS
- The recognition of democratically elected SRC's and at the time included the lifting of the state of emergency by March 31st and the postponement of the 1976 matric examinations.

The National Education Crisis Conference organised by the National Parents Crisis Committee held in Durban, which expanded the demands of the earlier SPCC, clearly put the perspective of the people that Blacks themselves must take practical measures to design their own education based on their needs. The campaign of Education Charter has been spread far and wide and regional conferences are held throughout the country, to popularise an alternative system of education designed by the community, students, teachers, parents and their mass organisations.

Charting Education Charter

The shift from trying to destroy Bantu Educa-



tion to taking up education and the formulation of Education Charter by the Black community was the culmination of several years of struggle during which the Bantu Education system was besieged. There was nowhere where there was a school without class boycotts of one type or other, no schooling term that did not have tens of thousands of the students boycotting classes at any one time. While the Department of Education and Training (DET) used to fire students and teachers at will now students are firing uncooperative teachers and principals. While the number of organisations that are being formed is unknown, it is COSAS and AZASO between them, using the experience of SASM before them, radicalised the whole conflict in the schools, firmly taking the question of education back to the parents involving them, as education came from society in the first place. They realised that no democratic education can come from an undemocratic system.

The student demands went something like this: Lift the ban on COSAS, recognition of democratically elected SRC's and the scrapping of the prefect system, an end to excessive corporal punishment, scrapping of age limit laws, free text books for all students, an end to sexual harassment of female students. DET must increase the number of qualified teachers, DET must end unreasonable suspensions and expulsions of students and teachers, DET must stop inviting the police, the security police and the SADF into school affairs.

Once Broederbond Always Broederbond

The response of the regime was typical. They blamed the whole problem on COSAS and UDF,

calling them agitators, closed schools, suspended teachers, and, instead of recognising the SRC which the students themselves wanted, the Department which had quietly slipped into the hands of Gerrit Viljoen, a blue-eyed boy of the strongman of Pretoria, proposed instead what he called Pupils' Representative Councils. He crowned it all by going back to the claim that Black education has been improved tremendously, reciting the usual claptrap of "substantial increases in the last budget for Black Education", when in fact the per capita spending for Whites was R1385, Indians R871, Coloureds R593 and Africans a mere R192. He is fond of saying, when speaking of budget spending for Blacks that for Blacks 30% more has been spent and only 10% for Whites. A kind of arithmetic where 10% of 2 000 is bigger than 20% of 200. That is why of the children who start school less than 10% reach matric at the end of 12 years, and these in many instances are not from the group that started 12 years ago.

Beyond The Crisis

The crisis in education is that of Bantu Education. The collapse of Bantu Education welcomed as it is, must be seen as the breaking of one of the chains the enemy has been holding us with under apartheid. That apartheid will not and in fact cannot reform itself is obvious. The designing of education to suit our needs, while engaged in the struggle, continuously under fire from the enemy from all angles is not going to be easy. We are bound to be for a while without a system despite having paralysed Bantu Education. And yet we must be literate, not only literate but must

be technically skilled enough to deal with the problems that are confronting us now and in the future. Revolution is precisely this, to destroy the old society and the building of the new.

Beyond the crisis of the racist regime and the collapse of apartheid lies the Freedom Charter. The democratisation of all aspects of society, and in particular the opening of the doors of learning to all.

Tokens, Tokens And More Tokens

Gerrit Viljoen has not only been inventing arithmetic. He, as a devout Broederbond member taking part in the concerted propaganda campaign to pretend the problems of the Blacks in general, and students in particular come from the ANC in Lusaka through COSAS, UDF and others. While in the last year 73 000 students sat for matric 50% of whom failed with only 11,8% getting university entrance he is talking of improvements in the situation. Manipulation of figures is only part of the story. The other is to build a few mixed schools, fully equipped, more often privately financed and fuss around them and pretend the millions of Blacks are refusing to go into these beautiful schools. Invariably these token measures are given maximum publicity, and the fact that Viljoen is fighting running battles with the English universities to "raise standards" in lieu of a quota, that is, saving him the embarrassment of having to state that their admittance of Blacks is tokenism, is never mentioned. Suffice it to say that as Botha crosses one Rubicon after the other, it was Viljoen who was to assure everybody that nothing will change in housing, education, and residential areas. The banning of COSAS by the racist regime is obviously a recommendation of Gerrit Viljoen who has been heaping abuse on it as supposedly the main cause of the student boycotts.

At this point, Blacks are working on the basis that education comes from society, and that the regime by its fascist nature has no way of bringing about democratic changes to the educational system and that therefore parents, trade unions, civic associations who are part of the struggle against the fascist system of apartheid as whole should take part in the designing, running and practice of education. The students must be part of this process.

ANC, June 16th And Youth

The criminal apartheid system imposed on the Blacks by the Pretoria boers, crushing our initiative, stifling cultural activity and development, throttling economic advancement, locking up the body politic in a sort of rigor mortis were torn apart by the June 16th Uprisings of 1976. June 16th was the culmination of the groundswell against apartheid. So deep was the change in the community that it affected virtually every aspect of the life of the country. It affected different organisations differently. It infused into the national liberation movement new energy and clearly identified the youth as the task force of the revolution, as the young lions who must stage the advance operations behind enemy lines while the main forces, the people, workers in their unions, the civic associations, the rural organisations, engage the main forces of the enemy and smash his grip on power. The youth fitted into the national body politic like a hand into a glove, showing that Black Consciousness was and still is part and parcel of the national liberation movement, not something out of it, in competition with and opposition to it.

Blacks need each other. The youth, parents, the trade unions, the civic associations, the political organisations of whatever hue, religious leaders and organisations, all need to act in unity and unite in action against the racist enemy. Anti-communism, anti-ANC, anti-Tambo, anti-Mandela, Anti-Sovietism are all the ideas of the enemy. It is he alone who spends millions trying to popularise them. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is one and the same thing. It makes the oppressed everywhere and anywhere blind. There is not and never will ever be a genuine freedom fighter who competes with Botha, Reagan, Thatcher in anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The same people who vilify communists are the same ones who hate Black liberation. They are the same people who are afraid of genuine Black advancement. The same people who hate Mandela, Tambo and Slovo are the same people who want to speak on our behalf without our mandate, the same people who want to split our organisations. Indeed anti-communism gives the oppressed political constipation and cancer of the guts and ultimately political death.

June 16th — A TURNING POINT

SOWETO

As part of the tenth anniversary of the June 16th Uprisings, Sechaba interviewed Thapelo Moloisi a member of the ANC who took part in the events of June 16th.

What did you see on June 16th happening?
Well, on June 16th I was coming from Diepkloof where I was a student doing Form II, Diepkloof Junior Secondary School. As I was coming I met a lot of people on the streets and there were a number of police, quite a lot of police moving up and down. Going out of Zone 2 Diepkloof, approaching Zone 1, students had manned barricades and they were stopping cars and so on. There was quite a lot of smoke from a number of buildings which were formerly owned by the City Council or the West Rand at that time, there were a number of Hippos; I remember at one time when I entered Orlando, when I was going home, I had to use a handkerchief on the spot. I saw somebody with a handkerchief over his nose, so when there was this teargas, and I didn't know what it was, I just followed him, imitated him and I took a handkerchief and I met people who told me to put this handkerchief into the water and to put it on top of my nose. So there were quite a lot of students there who had manned barricades and buildings were burning. There was quite a lot of smoke and police just approached there and there was this teargas coming from this shot by the police from the long trucks which they call Hippos, these police cars and so on.

In Diepkloof, particularly Zone 2, we were just told when we were busy studying when we were sitting there. The atmosphere was really otherwise, the situation was abnormal, there were no classes during that time and somebody just came and told us that we were sitting there when things are happening in Orlando West. So everybody was rushing to go and see what was happening. Already by the time we went out, a number of

students had already started in Diepkloof but this was along such Zones like Zone 5, not Zone 6 really, Zone 5 and 4. Orlando West was also affected. The students were manning roadblocks, some of them known to me, and I joined them and we started manning roadblocks and burning these buildings and so on but basically we heard about Orlando West where the students had climbed the hill; they say Orlando West Junior Secondary School was demonstrating there; we learnt later that the police had come earlier during the day and tried to disperse the students who were demonstrating, who refused to go to classes and were singing freedom songs. There was quite a lot of shooting on that day and we were told that Hector Peterson was killed.

The students had climbed a hill and there they were responding to the police who were trying to make them go to classes and they were throwing stones and such things. But we couldn't reach that place on that day because in Orlando it was very difficult to move in Orlando to Orlando West because there was a lot of activity and you just became caught in that activity without any question.

Just next to Orlando West High School there is a Junior Secondary School which was called at that time Phuti. That is where the whole thing started. That is where the police went to, where the uprising started in Soweto, in that part of Soweto.

The news — I think that came through people who were coming from Orlando West; some of these people may not have been students at that time but you will remember that just at that time when this whole thing started, it was very difficult for cars to move and for each car to pass the driver and even the people inside the car had to give a power salute or else they were regarded as collaborators or something of that sort.

So I think that in the process of this confrontation between the police and the students there were a number of people who could not proceed with their journeys and amongst these some reached the Diepkloof area perhaps 30 or 40, it might have been an hour after all these incidents started and I think that these are the people who started spreading this thing and of course what was happening also is that a number of students from Orlando West went to other schools which were nearby, like for instance Bele; you will remember that after Orlando, these areas were affected in the sense that they saw the demonstration before June 16th, and saw the boycotting of classes before June 16th and they were affected in that sense because these students from Phuti would actually go and address them about Afrikaans being a medium of instruction and then soon the students also became involved in that mood of defiance and they went to other schools, taking out students wherever they went and this affected the whole of Orlando West, going down to Orlando High, Silelekela Junior Secondary School, Bele, a number of higher primaries there and that up, up until Diepkloof where you found a number of students, including higher primaries, students were just told to go home, and very soon the police were already roaming the streets with these notorious cars, very terrible cars like Hippos. And this was enough to intimidate students. These activities continued because after June 16th, after the 16th on the 17th, we never went to school. In fact, that was the beginning of the spontaneous type of a boycott of classes. But one thing for sure is that a number of these incidents, events continued on the 17th, 18th; there was quite a number of burning of bottle stores, looting, like those shops next to Chiawelo which we used to call mchaina, which were owned by certain Indians and so on. They were looted. These activities continued even after the 16th. **Now comrade Thapelo, another question. Just give me your personal involvement in these activities?**

After June 16th, there was a time when we heard that there was a meeting which was held somewhere in Soweto, its venue was not disclosed and in this meeting a number of people, particularly students from different schools attended at this meeting and we understand the meeting was called by SASM to form a Soweto Action Committee. Thereafter this Soweto Action Com-

mittee became known as the Soweto Student Representative Council. Now the first time we heard formally of this was when one of the members of the SSRC came to our school and told us that he is representing the Soweto Student Representative Council and he would like us to elect two people, two students from school, Diepkloof Junior Secondary School. I was the first one to be elected and a certain lady who was doing Form III, Eunice. So we were told that the following day the SSRC was going to have a meeting somewhere at Morris Isaacson.

So the following day I came late at about 10 and I was told that the SSRC was around to pick up the two student representatives of our school and seeing that I was not around a certain guy by the name of Jerry was the one who was taken by the SSRC to represent our school. So he went there. So as from the period 1976 he was the one representing our school. However, during the process of this '76, I remember we were in touch with some members of the SSRC particularly from where I stayed because I was coming from Mzimhlophe, at that time so I was in touch with the representative by the name of Tebogo Mohapi who was representing Morris Isaacson. So he informed me that there was to be this demonstration which was to end up at New Canada.

This demonstration started all the way, you know, from C W J Central Western Jabavu, and all these areas from Morris Isaacson and so on, including this other school where Daniel Motsisi was a student Skanantwana. This demonstration included the whole of Soweto, rounded Soweto until it went as far as Orlando High and next to the stadium, that is where Tsietsi Mashinini, addressed the students, then he told them that we were going to town, we were going to register our protest in town and all the students were very anxious to do that. There was this mood of defiance. So along the way as we were going to New Canada, we came across hippos and we were told to make a sign of peace that we were not fighting with the police, we have got nothing to do with the police, but we are demonstrating our rejection of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Although of course a number of posters had such slogans like the Release of all Prisoners and so on.

So we demonstrated, we passed these hippos which seemed not to be interfering with us until such time as we reached New Canada and the

demonstration was stopped there. There the police had manned these barricades, they had made roadblocks and they started shooting at us. So we ran all over, we scattered all over to Noordgesig this Coloured township which is next to Orlando. So we scattered all over Noordgesig and so on and we were joined by the Coloureds as we were moving and from there I remember that demonstration was addressed by Winnie Mandela, Tsietshi Mashinini and so on but when the police started shooting everybody was running for dear life. But I remember that there was one thing that actually boosted the morale of people or the morale of students at that time, when police shot one student who fell down and there were these people who were carrying him, who just ran and picked him up to carry him away from the police. The police fired a teargas canister and there was a student girl, I would say she was about 16, who caught that teargas canister in the air, dumped it into the water, dipped it into a bucket of water and threw it back at the police and this really demonstrated the bravery of even young girls of about 15 or 16 who were involved in these activities. And then from then, I became involved in a number of activities that took place — I was just citing this one as an example. For that matter, there was a demonstration which was in town where we were told to go into town the following day; we were told . . . and a number of houses in the township were lit throughout the night where we were fixing up placards and so on and the following day we went to town unnoticed, through taxis and what have you, and from there we took the South African regime by surprise because they were not aware of what was happening and they just became aware when already the demonstration had assembled in one of the streets in town. We just gathered in any street, in groups of threes, twos and fives and as people were coming it became noticeable that there was something fishy — there were quite a number of people in town on that day but seemingly the police did not notice this because they only noticed this when already the demonstrators had assembled and they were marching along that street. It was a very big march and they only came late. They couldn't shoot nor could they use teargas so that they came with dogs and batons and they were sjambokking people. So these are the activities that I participated in.



Leo Meyer, member of the Mmadinoga Detachment. He too was killed in the Maseru raid on December 20 1985.

In 1977, for the first time I was elected as student representative at Diepkloof Junior Secondary School. I would say that this was immediately after the writing of examinations in 1977. We wrote examinations just around March, and this was despite the fact that the SSRC had sent a number of their representatives to different schools to convince the students and show them that the writing of these examinations was a betrayal to a number of students who had already died in the process of this rejection of apartheid in terms of Bantu Education, Afrikaans and so on. So I remember that's the statement that was issued by the SSRC at that time through their spokesman to the newspapers particularly *The World*; he said that Daniel Motsitsi had said that it depends upon the individual whether to write the examinations or not. So it was around this time, then, after the students went back to school and wrote examinations, that I was chosen thereafter student representative, representing Diepkloof Junior Secondary School. Of course, I was still together with Eunice as well . . . She was still there.

What happened to her? Do you still remember whether she came out or you left her?

No, Eunice remained behind.

You left in 1977?

I left in 1979. I think February 1979. Now you see, what is of interest is that in the process of my participation in the SSRC, I met all the people, in fact I came at a time (as I have already

mentioned), when Daniel Motsitsi was the new President of the SSRC. Up to the time when Daniel Motsitsi was replaced by a certain student who was called Sono. At that time I was still a member. Up to the time when the SSRC was banned in 1977 I was still a member. I remember when the SSRC was banned in 1977, we tried to continue to defy these banning orders. It was banned with all other Black Consciousness organisations, including the *Weekend World*, the October clampdown. We tried to defy the ban to continue operating as the SSRC but this was a disadvantage because it meant that a number of students who were going to be involved in the activities of the SSRC were going to face prosecution for being involved in the demonstrations, in the activities of a banned organisation. So we thought that we should give the SSRC another name and we said that it should be the Soweto Student's League. So it was on this basis that the Soweto Student's League was formed.

Did you become a chief still in the Soweto Student's League?

Yes, I was elected as a member and I was still representing Diepkloof Junior Secondary School at that time. The crux of the matter is that at that time even the very strength of the SSRC was reduced — very influential members of the SSRC were arrested on the 10th June 1977. More than 12 members of the executive committee of the SSRC were arrested at Diepkloof, Zone 6, Daniel Motsitsi was amongst them and this was the final crackdown and the SSRC remained with inexperienced members who had joined the council after 1976. We had no ties whatsoever with other student organisations that had existed prior to the formation of the SSRC, like for instance SASM, SASO, BPC and so on. But I must say that at this time it was very much difficult to address the students or to continue operating in the same old way of organising demonstrations and so on, because a number of students were killed in 1976. Hundreds of students were killed and you will remember that it was during this time that there were a number of secret graves discovered in Soweto and a number of people had disappeared who were not even in detention and so on. So, around this time the students really had tried all peaceful means, they felt that a new method should be adopted. They were sick and tired of demonstrating peacefully and they wanted

methods to change methods. They wanted the enemy to be confronted by physical force. They wanted to use violence, the use of violence against violence and then this made the work of the SSRC very difficult because despite the fact that we went to different schools the students were no longer prepared to demonstrate. Around this time that some of the members of the SSRC wanted to maintain in the first place their popularity as members, former members of the SSRC, they wanted to continue operating in the same old style, Tsietsi Mashinini style and Kgotso Seatlholo, all these leaders of the SSRC, that of conducting the press, issuing press statements and so on, and leading the students in demonstrations and at the same time, there were these other members of the Soweto Students' League who thought that we should now dissolve, or rather go underground and organise students for meaningful action rather than demonstrating in the streets. So there was this conflict within the SSRC.

Can you give a few details of how the SSRC worked during the time in which you were serving in it? How it mobilised the students and how it conducted its deliberations?

First I would say that as a representative of the council of the SSRC, representing a certain specific school, you were never told where the meeting would be held but you were told that on such and such a date there be a meeting and you must expect to be fetched at your school and they would give you time and just around that time they would come and fetch you maybe with transport and you would be taken to the venue where the SSRC were having their meeting. There you would find the SSRC which was composed of two to three student representatives from high schools and secondary schools in Soweto which roughly amounted to 40 in all. 40 schools, that is the high schools and secondary schools combined together amounted to 40. The SSRC would request the principal of a school, not request as such but inform him that the SSRC was going to have a meeting in that school and his co-operation would be greatly appreciated and the SSRC would then hold its meeting in that school, whilst other students were learning and so on and this made it very difficult for anybody to notice that this was a meeting of the SSRC because they would sit in exactly the same way

that the students would sit and the chairman would be the only person in front and issues would be discussed; developments in particular school problems of organisation and so on. This is how they used to hold their meetings and this is how they used to avoid detection by the police or by any outsider who could have noticed, that there was a meeting of the SSRC. And then, you wouldn't know, the executive committee of the SSRC was divided into departments, and once you in a certain department, you wouldn't know who in the other department, until you found yourself in a department and you are working within that department, you would only know members of that department. So there were quite a number of departments in the SSRC, and this was kept secret from the general membership. The executive committee would announce the existence of this type of department but they wouldn't define the role of these departments. This is how the SSRC functioned in terms of the departments and secrecy. I happened not to fall in any of these departments of the SSRC because they were minimised for the danger for security reasons and so on. The SSRC would go from there, after decisions, after the meeting was over; different representatives would go back to their schools knowing very well about the decisions of the SSRC and what to tell the students.

In this way, it was easy for the SSRC to maintain that dynamic contact with the students. Not unless there was any problems or request from the students primarily or in a number of instances where you found a member, a student representative of the school could not answer a number of questions which involve the policy and the activities of the SSRC, would the executive reinforce that representative with two others, from other schools, maybe from the high schools, to go and address the students on a particular issue. You remember in 1977, when the students of Madibane High School refused to be involved in demonstrations and there was a problem of the students saying that those involved in the SSRC are not students but were dropouts and what have you, they sent, people to address the students. I was one of them who was sent to address the students at Madibane High School and a certain guy by the name of Tebogo Mohapi was sent there to address them on the specific issue on the question of organisation and so on. One of the people who was sent there is one we called him

Yster, he has also left the country and is in the ranks of the ANC. So this is how then the SSRC would maintain its dynamic contact with the students.

Another member of the ANC, Lazarus Mphahlele was at the university of Zululand at the time and relates how the Soweto Uprising was seen from there.

:Comrade Lazarus, where were you on June 16th 1976?

On that day I was a student at the University of Zululand doing my law degree. I was a final year student when all the events of June 16th started.

Did anything in regard to the struggles happen at Ngoye particularly on June 16th?

To answer this one would have to sketch a little bit of a background the background of June 16th at the University of Zululand. At the time, I must say that the political involvement of the students was at the highest ever known in previous years. We were just fresh from the demonstrations against Gatsha Buthelezi when they were supposed to confer an LL. D degree on him. So it found us, with our political fervour at quite a high note. So immediately we heard the events of June 16th, immediately we heard that the police had started shooting, a number of us went to the SRC to prevail upon them to call a student body meeting to discuss the events of June 16th. The SRC did call that meeting which was on the evening of the 17th June where we gathered together in the main hall to discuss the events of Soweto and what should be our line of action as we expressed solidarity with the students in Soweto.

In the meeting, a motion was unanimously carried and then the following day being the 18th of June, it was then the day for action. We started the day with a march from what we call Freedom Square towards the Post Office. As we marched we were going to go past the administration building and some other buildings within the campus. A lot of activities of course took place during the demonstration- the administration block of the university was burnt down, a number of cars were damaged and some of the White members of the staff who were coming to report for duty on that day were attacked and they had

Continued on page 18.

Confronting teargas and bullets on campuses and in township streets.



YOUTH - MILITARY



Taking to the streets after a Release Mandela meeting held by the UDF in Claremont, Cape Town, March 1986.



WANT & FIGHTING



School students protest at the regime's policy of transferring progressive teachers: Duncan Village, March 1986.

Continued from page 15.

to run for their lives. Inside the campus there was a church building, built under the auspices of the Dutch Reformed Church. That too, was the subject of attack; its furniture was destroyed and burnt until the police came in and we were ordered out of the campus and we had to leave. That is basically what happened within the campus as a result of what had happened in Soweto. The university was closed indefinitely pending the investigations by the police. All students returned to their homes.

Now at my home town, there wasn't anything happening but in the surrounding areas, in the areas like Kwa-Mashu, there were a number of activities, a number of schools, a number of pupils came out in solidarity with the students of Soweto. A number of schools like Ohlange High School boycotted classes for some time. Inanda Seminary, too, was affected. If I am not mistaken, Isibonelo High School was affected and there were some even as far as KwaMakuta township where there was something that happened in the light of all the activities centering around expressing solidarity with the peoples of Soweto. Of course, all the time the police would be coming in to arrest what they called the ring leaders and a number of students in that area, in the area of Natal were arrested and detained for their activities in the June 16th events. I was also detained under Section 6 and placed under solitary confinement for something like six months.

The SASM was largely in the Transvaal, in Johannesburg, in Soweto to start with and there were very few branches, if any, at the time of SASM in the Natal area so when things started happening in Soweto a lot of students were in the dark as to the real cause of the clashes in Soweto. So that now you find that there was this lack of understanding really, understanding of the issues of what led to the explosion of 1976. So the combination of these two factors, Gatsha's reactionary role in the whole affair and the question of the students not being informed are the factors that led to Natal being relatively quiet.

Now how do you assess the June 16th events nationally, that is, now with a ten year perspective and the political development that you have

undergone as a result of joining the national liberation movement?

To me June 16th is very important day. Not because I belong to that stratum of the community called the youth but it has a lot of political significance both for the people within the country and for the organisation, that is, the African National Congress. For many of us, June 16th really put us within the activities, the real political activities. We had, of course, been active in the past but mainly our activities had been restricted to the school campus. We had not yet been touched by politics in the wider sense. Our outlook at the time was restricted only to school matters, food boycotts, what not and things like that. So because of the scale of the events of June 16th we found ourselves now having to broaden our outlook and that left a mark on a number of us and we realised the necessity to broaden our ambit of activity to even other areas of our lives.

Some, for the first time, even had the urge to learn more about the struggle, the history of our struggle and the organisations that have been involved in our struggle, in leading our people in struggle. Hence, a number of us, for the first time we came up against the history of organisations like the ANC; hence you find that a number of people who were involved in the events of June 16th at the time, have joined the movement both within the country and in its external organs. For the struggle as a whole, I think June 16th marked a turning point. It ushered in an era where South Africa never knew real peace. It ushered in an era where almost every year there was some form of activity or another which because of scale, because of its political content, had to be in the headlines of newspapers, had to be talked about in different types of the mass media and for the ANC as such June 16th brought about a strengthening of its army because you find that a number of those who were involved in the Soweto events and June 16th as a whole came to realise their inadequacies and had to look for an organisation which who could supply them with more technique which they would use in their fight for liberation. Hence a number of them came to join our peoples army, Umkhonto we Sizwe and even today the bulk of Umkhonto we Sizwe is still composed of those people who took part in the June 16th events.

ANC INTERNATIONAL

CUBA AWARDS PRESIDENT TAMBO THE ORDER OF PLAYA GIRON

On March 24th, at the Palace of the Revolution in Havana, President O R Tambo was awarded the Playa Giron Order. Comrade Esteban Lazo, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, said:

"There are times when revolutionaries need symbols to express their deepest feelings. By awarding the Playa Giron Order, first to Mandela and now to you, the Cuban Revolution wants to stress that the battle of the oppressed South African people against the repugnant apartheid system concerns all of humanity. We want to say that nobody can remain indifferent to the blood flowing heroically in the ghettos and outskirts of South Africa's cities. We want to say that what hap-

pens there concerns all of us and that part of our own freedom, dignity and independence are at stake there. What Cuba wants to point out to the dedicated ANC fighters, to all South African patriots, to world public opinion, with these awards, is that our people, firmly, militantly and unconditionally support all those battling against apartheid, that Cuba is committed, that Cuba is part of the struggle. We don't have the slightest doubt that the heroic path undertaken by the Black masses and all South African patriots is now irreversible; it will lead to the elimination of the racist system and will be crowned by victory sooner or later."

Comrade Fidel Castro, Commander in Chief and President of Cuba, pinned the insignia on President Tambo's lapel.



*Comrade O R Tambo receives the Playa Giron Award from Comrade Fidel Castro:
Havana, March 1986.*

In reply, Comrade Tambo said:

"We receive this high and honourable distinction, aware that it represents the confidence that the Communist Party, government and people of Cuba have bestowed on the African National Congress and the struggling people of Africa, and further, aware that on our home front we are also, through our actions, paying tribute to the memory of the heroes and heroines who gave up their lives in Playa Giron. We accept it, aware that it is tangible proof of the indestructible bonds of solidarity and friendship linking our peoples.

"It makes us extremely proud to know that this is the second occasion on which the ANC and our people receive this honour; the first was given to the great South African patriot, Nelson Mandela. We are particularly moved to receive this Order from the hands of the first combatant of Playa Giron, heroic son of the Cuban people, revolutionary and world statesman, Comrade Fidel Castro, our brother and comrade in arms.

"As we accept this high honour on behalf of the African National Congress and the revolutionary masses of South Africa, we are certain that:

"Democracy, peace and social progress will triumph throughout Southern Africa.

"Apartheid, racism, colonialism and imperialist domination in our region will be crushed, regardless of the wishes and actions of the forces of reaction.

"Revolutionary unity and solidarity between the South African and Cuban peoples, cemented in the same battle trenches against a common enemy, will grow more and more toward a new world order of equality among free peoples and peace among nations.

"On our own coasts, from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans, counter-revolution will meet its Playa Giron."

During their stay in Cuba, the ANC delegation, led by President Tambo, visited the Isle of the Youth, where they were welcomed by African and Latin American students who attend school there. They also visited the Hendrik Witbooi School, where most of the students are from Namibia.

President Tambo said the island was the only one of its kind in the world, an island shining with youthful exuberance, a place of physical, political, intellectual and academic growth and of growth of solidarity amongst peoples.

Addressing the students, President Tambo said that they were the hope of the African people's struggle, that they should work hard and take advantage to the utmost of their fortune, their good luck, their privilege even, of living and studying in the atmosphere of a socialist Cuba. He added that, on seeing their achievements and judging their calibre, he wished that all young people in the rest of Africa could be given the same opportunity.

Comrade Tambo also addressed a rally of solidarity with the South African people on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the expulsion of Pretoria's troops from Angola. He said the successful defence of Angola was a very important contribution to the struggle being waged today by the South African people. The struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid, which is a combination of the masses' political offensive, diplomatic struggle and armed struggle, has plunged the Pretoria regime into total and permanent crisis.

The Botha regime is unable to rescue the country from the quagmire into which he himself has led it, and every measure this regime takes serves to exacerbate the crisis. The falsehood of the so-called reform programme has been proved, and the racists' offer to negotiate is nothing more than an attempt to stay in power.

President Tambo also gave a press conference.

He concluded by saying that his stay in Cuba had been both fruitful and tremendously successful, and that he was taking with him the assurances of Cuba's internationalist support, which assumes many forms, each of them important because they add to the people's capacity to carry out a victorious struggle.



TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SADR

At the invitation of the Polisario Front, the ANC participated at the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). The ANC was represented by Francis Meli, member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, John Ngesi, ANC Chief Representative in Algeria and Ahmed Qono, ANC Chief Representative in Senegal.

The occasion, deep inside the Sahara Desert, was a colourful display of achievements in the

military, educational and social fields. Polisario has achieved more successes than is usually appreciated. The mere presence of so many foreign delegates at the celebration testified to the growing prestige of and solidarity with Polisario.

In his speech, His Excellency Mohammed Abdel Aziz, President of the SADR and Secretary-General of the Polisario Front, said:

"Ten years ago, this day at dawn of February 27th 1976, by proclaiming the birth of the SADF, our people chose the appropriate framework for the concretisation of their legitimate aspiration to liberty and independence, and exercised their inalienable right to self-determination and to build their state institutions."

The foreign delegates and their hosts saw the equipment captured from Morocco, and this included military equipment "made in South Africa." More than 750 000 people are forced to live in refugee camps in neighbouring Algeria. Morocco marched out of the OAU in 1984 because of the OAU's recognition of SADR. She has now increased her attacks on Polisario, extending its 1 000-mile 'defence wall' — consisting of sandbanks, trenches, artillery bunkers,

underground quarters for troops, observation posts aided with electronic detection and sophisticated radar equipment — further south into territory previously occupied by Mauretania.

The Polisario Front and its military wing — the Saharawi People's Liberation Army (SPLA) have been consistently attacking the Moroccan wall so much that Morocco finds it difficult to maintain an expensive army of badly paid demoralised soldiers.

The growing international support for and solidarity with the struggle of the Western Saharan people has led to the recognition of the SADR by 63 non-aligned countries. The role played by Algeria in supporting Polisario in its struggle against imperialist-backed Morocco is indispensable.

These successes, coupled with international solidarity, have made the people of Saharawi convinced that their 'desert guerrilla warfare' against Morocco will be victorious and the return of their motherland is inevitable. Their slogan, "All the homeland, or martyrdom," means just that, Comrade Mohammed Abdel Aziz told the ANC delegation.



Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, gets a standing ovation after addressing the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), Berlin, GDR, April 1986. Left to right: M Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED, and extreme right, Haile Mariam Mengistu, President of Ethiopia

A CASE FOR POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION

by Pheto Serote

"...In conclusion, Mr Chairman, I would like to say, in this year of the cadre, it has become even more imperative for us to be more united than ever and not spare an effort in our attempts to build a new man for the future South Africa.

Amandla! Maatla!

So ended comrade Jabu's reading of the message from the youth on the occasion of the 29th Anniversary of the South African Women's Day. He had quoted all the events that led to that march of about 20 000 women on Pretoria and had enriched his narrative with names of heroines known to all those assembled in the hall. So impressive was his speech that he received thundering applause which was immediately transformed into a resounding revolutionary song, with everybody rising, clapping their hands and stamping their feet to the rhythm.

Old Traditions Die Hard

Relieved to have reached the end of the day that started with Toi Toi at 5 a.m. and standing outside the Unit 3 Hall with the three other women for a short "social", Ma-Miya said she found it annoying to spend three hours in a hall where everybody else seemed to be enjoying themselves while she did not understand what was being said. Mam'Maureen said that she understood some of the things that were being said but she thought she had not been working hard enough on her English lessons, that Comrade Tweed had said that if they worked hard enough on their English, they would be able to understand the speeches in the hall. Thandi thought that the main disturbance came from the children who were running around, making a nuisance of themselves during speech time, and suggested that this matter be raised with the nursery school teachers to supervise the children during political meetings. Sis'Carol thought they were all being negative about a good meeting. After all, she said, it was better organised than the June 16th commemora-

tion. Her only criticism was that not all women wore their green and black uniforms and this showed that they did not have much "politics" in their heads.

The conditions that have produced Ma-Miya, Mam'Maureen, Thandi and Sis'Carol are well known to us all. In fact they are the same conditions that have produced Comrade Jabu. They are the conditions whose effects we are trying to undo with speeches, revolutionary songs, education and much more. If I were to be asked for a guess on the general reaction to the political meeting, I would say that most people would shake Comrade Jabu's hand and congratulate him for an excellent speech (ignoring, or at the most, commenting lightheartedly on, the desirability, more as a fashionable demand of progressive circles, of his use of 'chairperson' for 'chairman' and 'person' for 'man') and most people would ignore the above-named women because they do not have the halo of an excellent speech shining above their heads; all this, in spite of the fact that the South African Women's Day should focus on the contribution and achievements of the women in our struggle.

Women Must Move

I am not suggesting that, on this important day in our struggle, men should lay themselves at the feet of women in recognition of their effort. I am merely suggesting that when next we mark this occasion, we should think deeply about whether or not we in our movement are making enough effort to tackle the disabilities that have become part of life in more than 50% of the population.

Women who are freedom fighters, as I would imagine all women in Mazimbu are, are essentially not different from other women in the world. They are responsible, like other women in the world, for, among other things, producing human beings who inherit the fruits of the toil and carry on the struggles of their predecessors. The only difference is that they have consciously or unconsciously chosen the no-



Workers demonstrate against the bosses after a lockout, March 1986.

Women are in detention and the death cells, in Umkhonto we Sizwe and in all areas of the struggle for freedom.

ble course to fight for the freedom of their people and this does impose on them a certain responsibility. It means that they should work hard to liberate themselves of all those thoughts and practices that keep them in bondage, and begin to articulate the position of freedom. Only then can they, in nurturing the future generation, transmit to them, through caring for them, feeding them, playing with them and reproaching them, the ideals that they themselves stand for. But women do not reach this desired state automatically. Nor do they reach it through the inspiration of excellent revolutionary speeches but through experience in the pleasures and hardships of the course they have chosen.

It is obvious from the experiences that people have gone through in South Africa that Mazimbu cries out for positive discrimination in favour of the women. The unfortunate thing about using over-used terms is that you have to redefine them. So I will attempt to set positive discrimination in the context of Mazimbu. Sometimes when the term is used one gets the feeling that it refers to an activity that in a subtle way seeks to keep the status quo while giving the impression that

the inequalities are being redressed. I would hope that this is not the way the term presents itself in this article. For positive discrimination to be effective, it must have a purpose and an objective. For example, to offer English lessons to the women in Mazimbu, though it is necessary, will not on its own redress the injustices that they have suffered. We must define the objective of positive discrimination and once we have done that, this will change our attitude to women.

In Mazimbu we still have the same ills that have plagued our society and have relegated our women to the bottom of the heap. We still experience discrimination against women and women abuses such as wife-beating and general neglect of women as experienced by the women at Kate Molale Centre. Whenever we are confronted with the question of women we hasten to say that they have been provided for in the Freedom Charter and then point at the few who have been charged with the duty of leadership. We condone wife-beating and the abuse of women. We hope that if we ignore these abuses they will disappear as we become politicised; but will they? My guess is that they will not.

A Mother Of Mothers

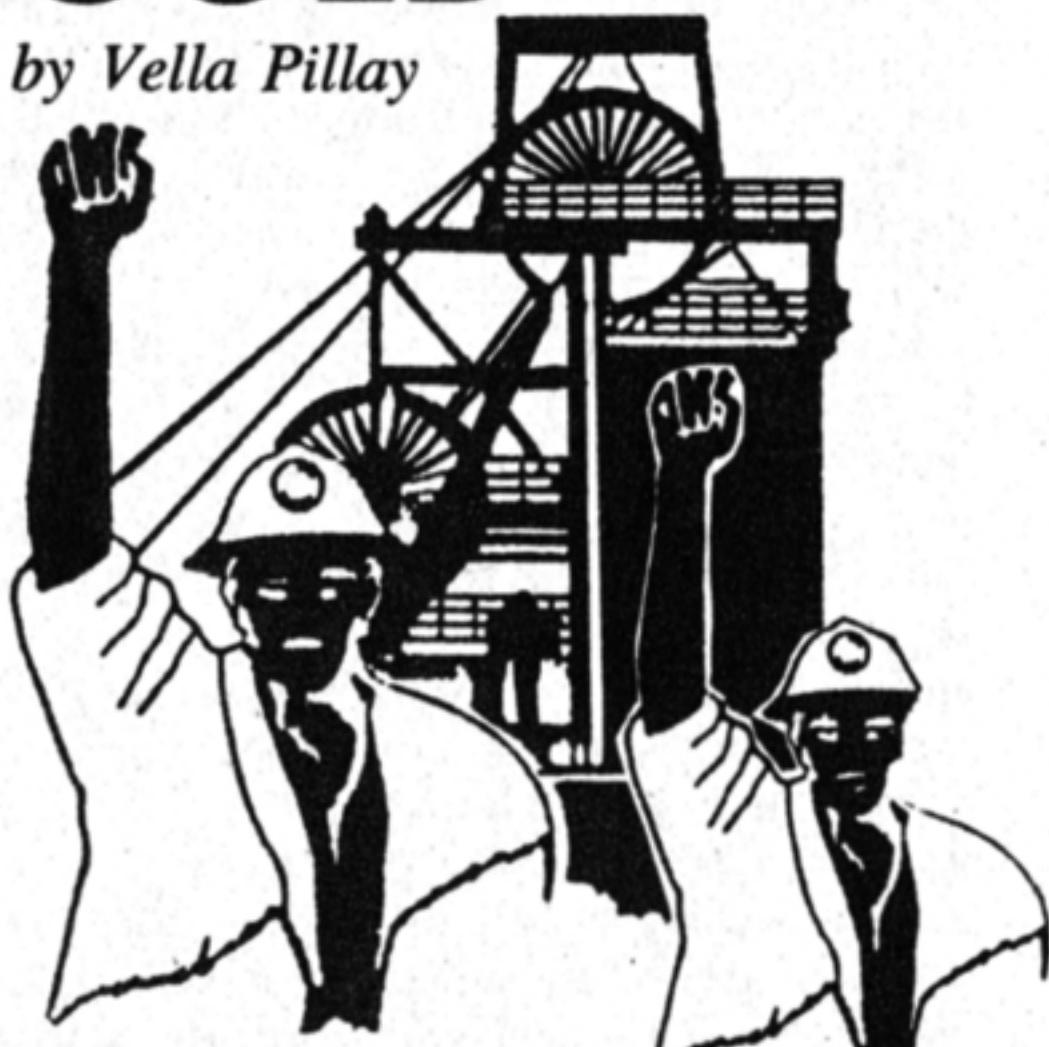
To go back to the case of Ma-Miya; for 15 years while her husband was on Robben Island, she cared for and raised their children. Shortly after he was released from prison, resolute and defiant, carrying on with his part in the struggle for the liberation of our people, he was killed by the Boers in the Maseru raid of 1982, together with his son and daughter. Out of this traumatic experience, Ma-Miya emerged as the pillar of support to the younger women in the group who had also had their husbands and children killed. By coming to Mazimbu, she has made a declaration of her position to our people and the world. I think it is unfair that she is excluded from so grand a celebration of her position. Though not suggesting that she be carried on people's shoulders and celebrated, I would like to suggest that only through seeing herself as part and parcel of this great occasion can she transmit the lessons

of her experience and its value to the children she has to care for.

Our women have valuable experience that we can draw from and use in the execution of our struggle. In spite of the crushing disabilities they have suffered, they have kept families together against odds, and they have nurtured children under conditions that negated life. This experience in the preservation of life could stand our movement in good stead. We must make a genuine attempt to open up educational opportunities for them and put them in positions that will require that they make decisions and give them a chance to implement those decisions. We must give them a chance to develop in the political life of Mazimbu and the ANC in general, the same confidence that has carried them through difficult times and then we will realise the real strength of our movement.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF APARTHEID GOLD

by Vella Pillay



Gold was discovered in the Witwatersrand of the Transvaal one hundred years ago this month. This article deals with the growth of the industry, and its place in the economy of South Africa today.

The discovery of gold, together with the earlier discovery of diamonds, did more to fashion the economic structure and the political development of South Africa and, above all, its unique cheap labour system, than any other factor in the history of that country. Gold and diamonds attracted every adventurer rogue from Europe, and in particular from Britain, to South Africa; the mining of these minerals in turn converted South Africa into a veritable "warren for the commercial hunting of black skins." There followed power struggles between the White settler land-owning class — mainly Afrikaners — and the British mining barons, wars and a sustained violence whose central object was the control and mobilisation of the labour of the Black man and the distribution of power in the South African state.

Cecil Rhodes, possibly the most well known of Britain's imperialist adventurers, working

closely with the Colonial Office in London, established the De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. to absorb, through cunning, duplicity and plain thievery, the thousands of individual diamond claims in the Kimberley area, thereby opening the era of deep level mining and the concomitant need to procure a guaranteed system of cheap Black labour.

In 1886, there followed the opening of the Witwatersrand gold mines — the largest concentration of gold reserves in the world. The same adventurers now floated gold mining companies on the London stock exchange, mobilising considerable sums of capital for investment on the Rand mines. This in turn unleashed an even more voracious demand for cheap labour. There followed a substantial inflow of immigrants from Britain and other European countries. Within a decade of the discovery of gold, the number of Africans employed on the gold mines rose from 6 000 to over 97 000. Between 1913 and 1980, White immigration rose by an annual average of 24 000.

Gold Mining and the Pass Laws

At the time of the discovery of gold, the Transvaal was effectively under the control of the Boer Republic led by Paul Kruger — an Afrikaner nationalist who was known for his frequent consultations with God. These consultations led him to proclaim that it was God's will that the mineral wealth of the Transvaal should remain in the hands of the White man. He accordingly enacted the infamous Gold Law of 1898, which confined that wealth, by licence, to White men, and established that the "Natives, Coloureds and Chinese" could work only in the service of Whites.

What is seldom reported is that the mining companies now organised in the Chamber of Mines had, through large-scale bribery and financial contributions to the coffers of the nascent Transvaal 'state,' sought and obtained not only the enactment of the Gold Law but the Pass Laws and a host of other regulations which served the profitable mining of gold. Out of these regulations the insidious system of migrant labour was born. That system provided for bonding the Black worker to the mining company for contractual periods, and buttressing the company further by an all-embracing Master and Servants' Act. In these senses, the Transvaal

Republic became partly an instrument of the gold mining industry.¹ Between the five years from 1894 to 1898, the gross profits of the mining companies rose from eight million to almost 16 million pounds sterling.

Settler Farmers and British Capital: The Carve-up

However, the mining companies, primarily representing British capital, became increasingly hostile to the power of the Afrikaner land-owning class, which dominated the government machinery of the Transvaal Republic. With support from the Colonial Office in London there opened a period of intrigue and deceit, leading to the Jameson Raid and finally to the Anglo-Boer War. That war, indecisive in its outcome, forced the British government into a series of compromises. Its essential purpose, however, was a manageable division, between British capital and the White settlers, of the political and the economic responsibilities for governing a united South Africa. This constituted the basis of the 1910 Act of Union, an Act which formalised the regime of White domination and race rule and ensuring the primacy of British capital in the exploitation of the country's mineral and labour wealth.

The 1922 strike of White miners put the final seal on the system of White domination by the creation of the industrial colour bar and the elevation of the White worker to a position of privilege relative to the Black worker in terms of job reservation, acquiring of skills and wage incomes. This construction was as much the responsibility as indeed the product of British imperialism as it was that of the Boer settlers. The formalisation of what was to become a century of agony and suffering by South Africa's Black population was thereby consecrated. To this day it has been the gold question which has played a major role in determining the political and social policies of South Africa.

Gold and the Apartheid Economy

While the gold and other mineral mining industry contributes only 18% of South Africa's gross domestic output, it nevertheless remains much the most important of the strategic and economic sectors of the country. The mining industry absorbs over 700 000 workers and of these over 90% are Black and some 60% are employed on the gold mining complex of the Witwatersrand

and the Orange Free State. The mining industry contributes over 60% of the country's exports, and gold alone represents some 40% of exports. Gold production is, as it has been, the principal engine of economic growth, and the dominating force shaping the dualistic structure of the apartheid economy and its unique system of labour mobilisation and control. Gold is the narrow base on which much of the country's industrial modernisation has developed.

The strategic significance of all this arises from what has been the specific nature of gold — the historic money-commodity which, by virtue of its scarcity and other properties, instantly commanded purchasing power in and across countries and has for a long period served as the main medium of settlement in international monetary relations. While several of these qualities of gold have been eroded as a result of the onset of the international monetary crisis in 1971, gold remains a significant monetary asset for central banks and a speculative commodity for international markets.

The total amount of gold produced in the world since recorded time has been estimated at 120 000 metric tons. Of this well over 75% was produced in the past century, mainly as a result of the large-scale gold discoveries in South Africa. The goldfields of the Witwatersrand, Evander, West Wits, Klerksdorp and the Orange Free State — extending in an arc of 300 miles — represent the largest concentration of gold reserves in the world. In the past 100 years South Africa has produced over 40 000 metric tons of gold or about 35% of all the gold that has ever been produced in the world. South Africa's gold production at around 700 tons a year (51% of total world production) has certainly given that country a commanding position in gold production and trade in the world as a whole.

The Power of Gold

South Africa's mining industry is large by any standard. There are seven interlocking mining (or finance) houses, controlling 38 mining companies, accounting for 100% of gold production. The industry has managing assets valued at over R5 billion, of which about 30% is owned by stockholders in Britain and the United States, and it employs some 400 000 workers drawn from throughout Southern Africa. Few industries in the world can boast of such overwhelming power

in the national economy, in the degree of capital centralisation and centralisation and in the command of labour. In 1983 the gold mining industry produced working profits of R4.7 billion, provided R2.3 billion in taxes to the state and paid out R1.7 billion in dividends to shareholders. The mere size and strategic importance of gold mining attests to its overriding influence over South Africa's economic and social policies, in shaping the structure of the economy and the system of mobilising, organising and controlling migrant labour.

The nature of this influence, and the position of gold mining relative to the overall economic developments are a matter of some controversy.² In the view of the author, the South African mining industry has been organised, and continues to be so, not so much on capitalist lines as on a specific colonialist-type basis. This is by virtue of the fact that its labour requirements have been organised not along market-based labour relations but through systems of quasi-forced labour in which the wage rate and terms of employment are largely predetermined by legislation and the monopsonistic role of the Chamber of Mines in the wage-determination process of the industry.

From this it is a short step towards defining the South African economic structure as an inverted pyramid: gold mining, given its strategic importance, has constituted the narrow base on which has developed an ever-widening edifice of secondary and tertiary economic activities and the regime of White minority power and privilege. Without a profitable and flourishing mining industry, producing substantial surpluses to support the edifice and foreign investors, the pyramid stands in constant danger of toppling over and putting at risk South Africa's unique path of industrial development.

In this fundamental sense, all South African politics since 1886 has been dominated by the gold question and through the gold question the wider question of labour mobilisation and the corresponding forms of the political, economic and social order this necessitates. It has been the interaction between gold mining, capital investment from abroad and the regime required to provide an organised stream of labour, that constitutes the central theme of South Africa's political history and hence the evolution of its social and political institutions and the distribu-

tion of economic and political power between the races and the social classes.

Wages Low, Profits High

True enough, the forces of industrial growth over the past 100 years increased the demand for Black labour, but this has never been allowed to undermine the labour flow to the mines and at wage levels which sustained the unique profit-wage ratio of the industry. Indeed, the aggregate profits of the gold mining industry have been consistently running at between two and three times its wage bill — an experience which is possibly unequalled anywhere in the world.

The ability of the industry and the economy to sustain such surplus extraction arose from the fact that for long the labour resources of the entire region of Southern Africa, going as far north as Malawi, had been brought under the sway of the Chamber of Mines. In 1906 only 22% of the labour requirements of the mines came from within the country, the rest coming mainly from Mozambique. Today about one half comes from domestic sources, and the rest from Lesotho. In the period from 1885 to 1946 the average annual cash wage of Black workers in the gold mines remained unchanged, and, indeed, between 1938 and 1948 had fallen by over 20%. Only after 1969, when the price of gold rose sharply, did such wage earnings rise; but these increases were systematically eroded by price inflation. Underlying this lack of any growth in the real wage level was the systematic efforts of the apartheid regime to produce a constant volume of surplus labour through the mechanism of the pass laws and the scheduled reserves of what is now called the 'bantustans.' The creation of this surplus labour force, a deliberate policy, was achieved by the desolation and ruin of African-based agriculture in the 13% of the land reserved for the African people.

These policies have not been without their problems. The first relates to the uncertainty of the gold price. That price was not determined by domestic costs of production but by the outside world, and in the period since 1971 the price has fluctuated widely. Today it remains at a low of around \$340 an ounce compared with \$850 an ounce in late 1979. The profits of the mining companies have nevertheless been maintained through a devaluation of the South African currency and tax concessions, but the costs of the devaluation and the concessions have to be borne

by the rest of the economy and these express themselves in chronically high inflation and economic stagnation.

Pressure from the Unions

For a time it was possible to overcome this difficulty by taking measures to minimise costs in the mining industry, that is, by cutting the African real wage rate, but this is no longer possible. The workers' strikes of 1973 led to growing pressures for the official recognition of organised labour in the mining industry, and there followed the recognition for the first time of the African Mineworkers' Union by the Chamber of Mines in wage negotiations.

Since 1982 the history of these wage negotiations has been marked by lock-outs, police intimidation and suppression, riots and fierce workers' struggles. It has also been marked by growing contradictions between the mining companies — between those willing to compromise in the face of the swelling social and political tensions in the country and those diehard enough to believe that the cheap labour system can be sustained. A third problem has been the increasing difficulties in maintaining the southern African region and its labour resources within the ambit of the mining companies. Today, it is only Lesotho which is a significant supplier of labour for the mines. Otherwise, dependence on South Africa's own increasingly unionised Black labour, very much more class-conscious and politically conscious, has become unavoidable for the mining industry. And this fact has begun to impose enormous pressures on the traditional profit-wage relationship ruling in the mining industry.

A Crisis on the Way

These problems do not as yet constitute a crisis for the gold mining industry, but they are well on the way towards being just that. The latest reports suggest that the National Union of Mineworkers has demanded a 45% increase in basic wages, which, together with other improvements in working conditions, will add an effective 60% on Black wages. The crisis would inevitably confront the mining companies with a painful choice: wage increases of this size can only be accommodated, in the context of the increasingly explosive situation in the country, by replacing the excessively highly paid White labour force through the ending of all forms of

job reservation, or alternatively by fighting the Black trade union with even greater coercive measures than we have witnessed in the past, and adding significantly to the forces of opposition and revolution against apartheid in the country.

For a century the gold mining industry has constituted the narrow base on which apartheid economy and its superstructures of White privilege and power have rested. That base has for long been held in place by the system of migrant labour and a panoply of laws and regulations designed to support a uniquely high rate of surplus extraction from the employment of Black labour in the mining industry. It has been this which describes the dualism in South Africa's political economy: a developed and modernising industrialism with extensive commercial and banking facilities standing in juxtaposition with and yet intricately bonded to a seemingly unchanging colonialist-type economic base founded on cheap labour. The gold mining industry constituted the epicentre of that base.

Today, this duality is confronted by problems, and indeed a crisis of unprecedented gravity. The revolt of the African people has imposed new and exceptional costs on the regime: vast sums have to be expended on the police and military forces and the burgeoning bureaucracies required to

manage the apartheid structures. These costs have eroded the surpluses extracted from cheap labour employment, and the South African economy has as a result sunk into a deep and unrelieved structural slump. This has been made all the worse by the rising tide of international sanctions and isolation.

For the African people the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 has been an unrelieved curse — the source of a prolonged agony which came to be institutionalised in the apartheid system. In the future, and in a free South Africa, gold mining can play a very different role — under effective social control it can be converted into one of the means for developing an all-embracing, socially useful economy and in which all the people can fully enjoy the fruits of their labour. The prospect is now not far off.

Notes:

1. For an excellent early history of the South African gold mining industry, see Norman Levy, *Foundations of the South African Cheap Labour System*, London, 1982.
2. Vella Pillay, *Apartheid Gold*, (United Nations) and Selim Gool, *Mining Capitalism and Black Labour in the Early Industrial Period in South Africa*, Lund, 1983.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrade Editor,

I am a student of history, and I would like to share some of my own views with you, the readers of *Sechaba* and Dr v.d. Heyden, on his article, *The Fighting Tradition of the Venda People*, translated from the German by Helga Ramsamy and published in the January issue of *Sechaba*.

I started studying history in Standard V in Venda, and I am now specialising in it, in the second year of a post-graduate course. Dr v.d. Heyden's article interests me partly because I once studied the problems it is concerned with when I was still at school in Venda, and partly because it is my well-considered opinion that the proud historical record of all our struggling South African peo-

ple, including the people of Venda, should be put straight. The article itself makes interesting historical reading, or rather gives an interesting historical account of events that led to the colonisation of the Venda people.

However, a number of things have got to be clarified. The first thing to note is that most Venda names in the article are so wrongly spelt that even a Venda-speaking person (one who speaks Luvenda) like myself can hardly recognise the names of people or places I would otherwise know very well. For instance, on p. 10, there is Tschakoma, instead of Tshakuma. This is not petty. *Sechaba* itself often makes serious spelling mistakes in the names of some people. I do not know whether this can be blamed entirely on

the source material, the White-dominated South African press. For example, *Sechaba* always spells wrongly the name of one Venda Communist activist who died in prison in 1967. In the Venda language his name is correctly spelt as Alpheus Mavhivha, but in *Sechaba*, the *Newsbriefing* and *The African Communist*, it is wrongly spelt as Alpheus Maliba. I am just illustrating the point here.

Thohoyadou's Sons

The GDR political scientist, Dr v.d. Heyden, writes on p.8:

"The feuds amongst the three chiefs, Makhado, Tshivhase and Mphaphuli, prevented a joint combat alliance of all the Vendas."

This is not entirely correct. The thing is, that after the death of Paramount Chief Thohoyandou (Head of an Elephant, which, in Luvenda means the utmost respect), the man who led the Venda people to the present-day land of Venda across the Limpopo River, a power struggle for succession developed amongst at least four of the senior sons of Thohoyandou — that is, Ramabulana, Tshivhase, Mphaphuli and Rammbuda, in this order of importance or seniority.

When Ramabulana won the power struggle and was installed at Dzata as the new Paramount Chief, his brother Tshivhase, left Dzata and fought his way against other tribes until he established himself at Mukumbani near the present-day Sibasa — which means Tshivhase, as wrongly spelt by the Boers. He thus became the second most important Venda chief — second only to Ramabulana insofar as he was the younger brother of Ramabulana, but by no means under Ramabulana or taking orders from him. (It is worth noting that in fact Tshivhase's real name was Luvhengo Mukhesi, and Tshivhase was simply a nickname meaning 'burning down other people's houses and crops.')

The third brother, Mphaphuli, established himself at a place known today as Ha-Mphaphuli, where the 'capital' of Venda, Thohoyendou, is situated. The fourth brother went further to the north-east, and settled at a place called Dzimauli.

The power struggle — rather than feuds — did weaken the unity amongst the most senior and highly respected Venda chiefs. The other factor that weakened the struggle was that the successors of Chief Luvhengo Mukhesi Tshivhase,

Chief Ligeigise Tshivhase and his own son, later Chief Ramaremisa, took the view that it was impossible to continue the war against the Boers' obvious military superiority (heavy field guns, cannons, rifles, and so on). They accepted that the war was lost — though temporarily.

Indeed, Chief Ramaremisa Tshivhase's successor, Chief Phiriphiri Mphaya Tshivhase (he ruled from 1930 till 1957) continued the struggle through forced removals of many Boer farmers and open defiance and non-recognition of the Boer Republic's authority over him and Venda as a whole. The Boers seized him and banished him to Pietermaritzburg in Natal, and later moved him to Johannesburg. Many Venda people went to the building in Johannesburg where he was held, and declared loyalty to him and performed Tshikona dance in front of the building. Tshikona is the highest Venda honour, equal, perhaps, to a military parade in front of a head of state, or a minister of defence taking the salute or being laid finally to rest.

Later, Chief Phiriphiri Mphaya Tshivhase was returned to his home, Mukumbani, though very ill, and died immediately after that. The cause of his death was never officially established, but many Venda people say he was poisoned during his detention. This is very likely, as we now know the enemy's record of dealing with prisoners and detainees.

Lion Of The North

I want to add that amongst the Venda people the Lion of the North is known in full as Makhado Tshilwavhusiku Ramabulana (Tshilwavhusiku means 'he who fights in the night'). He moved the capital (or chief's kraal) from Dzata to strategic heights overlooking Tshitandani (Louis Trichardt) known as Sunguzwi. In fact, Sunguzwi is part of the Soutpansberg mountain range. One night, he launched a surprise attack against the Boers, camping at a place now known as Tshitandani, and completely wiped them out. Literally, Tshitandani means hard, like a dry log or block of wood, and here it refers to the battle.

On p.10, Comrade v.d. Heyden writes, "He (Mokhedo) was succeeded by his son, Mphephu." I just want to point out here that some readers may not know who this Mphephu is that the author is talking about, for there have been two people named Mphephu — Mphephu George Mmbulaheni Ramabulana and Mphephu Patrick



King Sabata Dalindyebo Hamba Kahle, Qhawe Lama Qhawe

On April 6th, Comrade King Sabata Dalindyebo died in Zambia, where he had lived for the past six years.

Comrade Sabata, King of the Thembus, was born in Tyalara, Transkei, on November 25th 1928 — only a month after his father, King Sampu Jongilizwe Mtirara, had died. He was related to both Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and Chief Kaiser Matanzima, former 'President' of the Transkei. Chief Matanzima, however, is a deadly foe of both King Sabata and Comrade Nelson — his cousins — though at times he makes empty gestures to Comrade Nelson Mandela. Two of King Sabata's uncles acted as regents before he was installed as Paramount Chief in 1954.

With the aid of the racist South African régime, Matanzima worked hard to establish a power base. Pretoria was desperate to find a relatively 'competent' figure to make the bantustan policy work. King Sabata led protests to Pretoria, but despite the opposition Matanzima was elevated to the level of Regional Chief of Emigrant Thembuland. In 1961 he got a new office; Chairman of the Transkei Territorial Authority. In 1963, the Democratic Party led by Victor Poto, with the backing of King Sabata, won the first elections in the Transkei, thus defeating Matanzima's supporters. This was overturned. Matanzima was

elevated to the status of Paramount Chief. He was preparing for the final coup.

King Sabata used his traditional power base to mobilise his people for democracy, instead of collaborating with the minority white power-structure. As a leader of the Democratic Party — the main opposition in the Transkei — he was a symbol of opposition to apartheid.

He was hounded and harassed. At one time he was found guilty in the Transkei Supreme Court of "injuring and violating the dignity" of President K D Matanzima. He was fined R700 or 18 months in gaol. He has been convicted, fined and dismissed and replaced by his racist-regime-supporting half brother.

After the police raided his Great Place in 1978, King Sabata said;

"Since the early '60s, my close associates have been subjected to arbitrary action by the government to make me a lone voice in Transkei politics. I want the world to know that I have been persecuted for my political convictions since 1963, and have been ridiculed and humiliated even by junior chiefs who are government supporters. All along I have been quiet but now I cannot take any more."

He left the country on August 15th 1980, after being deposed by the Matanzima cabinet. As a

senior member of the ANC and leader of our people, he spent the last years of his life serving the ANC in Lusaka. At the Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC held in Kabwe, Zambia, last year, King Sabata inspired the delegates with his forthright eloquence and sense of humour, with his dedication and loyalty to the ANC and its President, O R Tambo, and to the struggle of our people.

Even after his death Matanzima could not pardon him. King Sabata's body became the subject of a legal wrangle. Matanzima defied a court order, arrived at the funeral home, snatched King Sabata's body and buried his political opponent, while the rest of the Sabata family stayed at home.

At the funeral there were present only bantustan leaders and about 300 well-armed Transkei soldiers and policemen. Busloads of people were going to be stopped — no one would be able to attend the funeral without a permit from the police — and roadblocks were set up in the Transkei.

In the Eastern Cape, King Sabata's followers, together with the Regional United Democratic Front, issued a statement paying homage to "Comrade King" and at a memorial service attended by more than 5 000 people in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, the Publicity Secretary of the UDF, Stone Sizane, said:

"King Sabata will always be hailed for his courage, dedication and commitment to the freedom of South Africa as a whole ... We will remember him as one of the martyrs for a free South Africa."

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Transvaal President of the UDF, was the main speaker at a memorial service for King Sabata held at Khotso House in Johannesburg. She said that the King had opposed the turning of South Africa into ethnic homelands:

"King Sabata refused to be a government puppet, and joined the ranks of the African National Congress."

King Sabata Dalindyebo will forever be remembered for his fierce opposition to apartheid and his fight against bantustanisation of the Transkei.

The National Executive Committee lowered the flag of the ANC in his honour, and said:

"The African National Congress announces with deep sorrow the passing away of King Sabata Jonguhlanga Dalindyebo of the Thembu.

"King Sabata succumbed to complications of diabetes and high blood pressure at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka, Zambia, at 19.15 hours on Sunday, 6th April 1986.

"Sabata Jonguhlanga, whose grandfather, Dalindyebo, was among the founding fathers of the ANC, was born in the Transkei on 25th November, 1928, the son of Jongilizwe Dalindyebo, head of the Thembu royal house of Ngangelizwe.

"He went to school at Clarkebury-Engcobo, and ascended the Thembu throne in 1955, taking over from the regent, Dabulamanzi, the traditional tutor of Nelson Mandela — Sabata's cousin.

"As Umkumkani waba Thembu — Paramount of the Thembu — he ascended the throne at the advent of turmoil for the Thembu and the South African people as a whole, when the apartheid regime was introducing so-called Bantu Authorities as a prelude to creation of bantustans and the mass de-nationalisation of vast millions of South Africans.

"Sabata vigorously opposed these schemes, becoming a member in 1962 of the Makhuluspan volunteers, organised by Walter Sisulu to mobilise the African people of the Transkei against the impending bantustans.

"His involvement with Makhuluspan, which had originally been a crime-prevention community organisation, was so effective that all the areas and chieftains but one, under his authority, refused to join the Bantu Authorities.

"Sabata's consistent opposition to the bantustan system led to his brief detention in 1980 and subsequent exile, where he continued in the ranks of the ANC to work for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

"The African National Congress, on behalf of the struggling people of our country, dips its banner in honour of this stalwart, yet humble, son of our people, who, in spite of being dogged by illness, fought to his last breath for the unity and freedom of all the oppressed.

**Hamba Kahle Mhlekezi
Phumla Ngoxolo Jonguhlanga
Amandla!"**

Ramaano Ramabulana. In fact, the author is referring to the former. The latter is the current 'president' of Venda, who can't lift a finger to oppose the Boers. Until recently, he was the most highly paid stooge of Pretoria — now it is Matanzima's turn. I have seen him and listened to him speak between 1965 and 1978. I am sure that politically he will remain a perpetual child.

After the death of Chief Phiriphiri Mphaya Tshivhase in 1957, his son, Prince, became the new chief. Like his father, he was defiant and militant. Unfortunately, he was killed in 1968, after about 17 months in office, in a car crash. The Boers managed to recruit one of his brothers, formerly acting chief Alfred Alidzulwi Tshivhase, to serve in the Venda 'government' of Mphephu, in order to defuse tension between the sell-out P R Mphephu and the militant Tshivhases.

Unfortunately, Chief Prince Tshivhase died when his son and heir-apparent was hardly ten years of age. This young boy was finally installed as Chief Kennedy Tshivhase in 1970, assisted by his uncle, Shavhani. Meanwhile the Boers were building up, or boosting, Chief P R Mphephu, and declared him the "only Paramount Chief of all Venda Chiefs," and, of course, "President of the Republic of Venda for life."

Mphephu: Pretoria's Running Dog

In Venda there are now 25 chiefs, and well over 90% of them pledged support for the determined move by the Venda Independence Party (VIP) to oust the hated Patrick Ramaano Mphephu. In 1973 the VIP (Venda Independence Party) won 13 out of 18 contested seats of the Venda Assembly of 60 seats; 25 members were ex-officio MPs — those are chiefs; the rest were appointed headmen or 'commons'. The VIP was assured of the support of at least 42 of the 60 members, but a combination of bribery and blackmail (remember the monkey suits story!) secured for P R Mphephu 42 members' support. This is how P R Mphephu's Venda National Party (VNP) has remained in power until today. Now we all know the fate of Isaac Tshifhiwa Muofhe (he was murdered by the so-called Venda security forces commanded by Brigadier

Tshikhakhisa Mulaudzi). We also know of the torture of progressive church leaders like the Rev. Maanda Tshiuda Tshenuwani Farisani, the dean of the Lutheran Tshipembe (Northern Transvaal) diocese and others.

In my opinion, Chief Phiriphiri Mphaya's cousin, the late Josiah "Josias" Phiny Mutsila — he died January the 27th 1977 — and the late Baldwin Mavhungu Mudau — he died December 31st 1980 — who founded the VIP in 1973 were not necessarily reactionary. When they formed the VIP, they were of the view that it would be highly irresponsible and politically short-sighted to leave Venda bantustan politics exclusively to the Venda chiefs (as Dr M C de Wet Nel, M C Botha and B.J Vorster clearly wished) further to confuse and divide our people. The two men, B M Mudau and J P Mutsila, leader and deputy leader of the VIP respectively, tried to activate and interest our people in politics and scored landslide victories in all elections held in Venda.

In conclusion, I want to express the wish that the GDR historians and political scientists will continue to do research and publish articles on problems raised in this article by Comrade Dr U v.d. Heyden. In fact, as far as we know in Venda, Berlin has had historically the longest and strongest ties with Venda (through the Lutheran Church and missionaries) of all the cities in Europe. After all, the German Lutheran Missionaries are the ones who studied Luvenda (the Venda language) and made it a written language in the 1870s. Up to now there are German Lutheran church leaders, who work at Tshakhuma and also at Beurter Mission, who know Luvenda very well. Others, like a certain Landmann I met in Venda, have since returned to Berlin. So there in Berlin must be a lot of source material to study the customs and other aspects of the life or history of the Venda people. I have no doubt that this can only advance our struggle in South Africa!

Your comrade
A N Budeli

Patrice Lumumba University
Moscow
March 1986

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Published by the

**African National Congress of South Africa
P.O. Box 31791, LUSAKA, ZAMBIA
Printed by the Druckerei 'Erich Weinert',
2000 Neubrandenburg, G.D.R.**

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LEADERS
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and all POLITICAL PRISONERS

