

MAYIBUYE NUMBER 3 1982, YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION.

Journal of the African National Congress

# UNITE AND FIGHT FOR REAL PRESS FREEDOM

"The Guardian is first on the Nationalist Party's list.
will fight for its own life. But the battle now joined
means more than the struggle of a single newspaper to

means more than the struggs survive. It means that the whole principle of the Freedom of the Press is menaced openly, insolently, by men who have no respect for freedom; men who are dyed with the deepest stain of Nazism, dictatorship and the evil doctrine of inequality."

These words appear in The Guardian of Thursday the 18th of October, 1951. The fascist Nationalist Party regime had just started to flex the muscles of its destructive paw to attack with unparalleled viciousness the freedom of thought and expexpression in our land. The notorious Suppression of Communism Act had already larted taking its toll of

democrats, the best sons and daughters of the South African people.

#### Guardian Banned

On the 18th of May, 19-52, The Guardian was banned by a government proclamation under the pretext. that it was an organ of the Communist Party. Everything The Guardian said in its defence and in the defence of the last vestiges of the freedom of the press in South Africa was ignored by the fascists. Despite the ban, the democratic press did struggle on. Under the difficult conditions of police harrassment, bannings of patriotic journalists and of the newspapers themselves, New Age, Spark,

Contact and Forward emerged and continued to echo the voice of the voteless majority. In 1963, with the banning of Spark and Fighting Talk, the last vestiges of the freedom of the press died a bloody death in South Africa. It became and remains still an ideal for which all patriots fight, an ideal which can only be fully realised through the destruction of the fascist regime and its replacement by a government of the people.

#### Democratic Press

In commemorating these tragic events all patriots are inspired by the fact that the truly democratic press did not perish at the hands of the fascists. It has not only survived the regime's blows, but has continued to develop over the past 19 years in

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scope and depth, efficiency and popularity. This it has achieved underground—Vukani-Awake, Workers' Unity, Mayibuye, Voice of Women, Forward (Youth), Inkululeko, the African Communist and many more. Along its path, the democratic press continues to mobilise millions into the ANC underground, into Umkhonto we Sizwe and for a clearer understanding of the situation obtaining in

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Touche presenting the flag of democratic S.A to President Machel at the 14 February, 1982 rally. See MAYIBUYE Supplement

## Maputo Summit:-

To reinforce united action!

Below we reproduce the communique released after the meeting of leaders of the frontline states—United Republic of Tanzania, Republic of Zambia, People's Republic of Angola, Republic of Botswana, People's Republic of Mozambique and Republic of Zimbabwe—and the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organisation.

The Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States and the Presidents of SWAPO and ANC (South Africa) met in Maputo, the People's Republic of Mozambique from the 6th to the 7th March 1982, to analyse the current situation in Southern Africa.

The Frontline States summit noted the ever-increasing aggressiveness of imperialism perpetrated by the fascist regime of South Africa, its instrument of aggression. The invasions and military aggressions, the utilisation of armed bandits and agents, the acts of sabotage and economic blackmail, the massive and subversive propaganda campaigns conducted by South Africa are proof that there is currently an undeclared war situation engendered and supported by South Africa.

#### Development Plans

These manouvres are aimed at increasing our dependence of South Africa, for stalling the harmonious application of our development plans and delaying at all costs the independence of Namibia and preventing the liberation of the South African people.

The occupation of areas in the southern part of the People's Republic of Angola by the Pretoria fascist forces and the attempt to promote the UNITA puppets aims at creating an international precedent which could be made applicable to any of the countries in the region. The African people have a right to expect a vigourous reaction from the international community which should condemn and demand the immediate cessation of this intolerable violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of a member state of the OAU and the United

The Frontline States Summit noted with satisfaction that as a direct response to the ever-increasing acts of repression and crimes commited by the Pretoria regime, the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO are intensifying the liberation struggle in the country and

that in South Africa under the leadership of the ANC, the people through strikes and armed actions are vigorously rising against apartheid.

#### Reinforce Co-ordination

The Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States decided:

- To reinforce their coordinated action of defence in order to stop the racist regime of Pretoria from continuing its acts of military aggression and economic sabotage against the free and independent states of the region and force it to withdraw its occupying forces from the People's Republic of Angola.
- To reinforce their bilateral and regional cooperation in the diplomatic, economic, military and information fields.
- To intensify their material and diplomatic support for the liberation movements— SWAPO of Namibia and ANC of South Africa, so that they can intensify the armed struggle for the attainment of national independence for their peoples.
- To demand the integral implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 (78) in order to accelerate the withdrawal of the South African occupying forces and the holding of free and fair elections leading to real independence in Namibia.
- To salute the government of Seychelles for the defeat inflicted on the mercenary band sent by the South Afri-

can regime to carry out a coup d'etat in that country.

- To condemn the support granted by western powers to the apartheid regime through the sale of arms, the financial and economic leverage, the transfer of technology, including nuclear technology.
- To undertake actions at the level of international organisations and other fora with a view to mibilising support for the struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples as well as denouncing, condemning, and isolating the South African apartheid regime in all spheres.

#### New Phenomenon

The Heads of State and Government of the Frontline countries condemn the new phenomenon employed by South Africa which consists in preparing, financing and training armed bandits to destabilise the independent Southern African countries.

The Heads of State of the Frontline countries warmly congratulated Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe for having successfully foiled the attempts at destabilising peace and security in Zimbabwe.

A LUTA CONTINUA! Maputo, March 7, 1982.



LISTEN' TO

#### RADIO FREEDOM

Nations.

VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

Radio Tanzania

External Service, Dar es Salaam, on:
15435 KHz, 19mb shortwave; 9680 KHz, 31mb shortwave
Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays at 8.15pm (S. A. time)
Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays at 6.15am (S. A. time)

Madagascar 6135 KHz, 49mb shortwave and 5010 KHz shortwave, 7.30 - 9.30pm daily.

Ethlopia 9545 KHz, 31mb shortwave; 9.30 - 10.00pm daily.

9580 KHz, 31mt shortwave, Monday-Friday 7.15 — 8pm, Wednesday 10.00 — 10.30pm, Friday 9.30 — 10.00pm, Saturday & Sunday 7—8pm, Sundays 8—8.30am,19mb,17895Khz

40 and 30mb, shortwave; 27.6mb on medium wave 7.30pm (S. A. time) HELP SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF THE ANC!

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STICK IT ONTO A PUBLIC WALL OR BUS

\*DISCUSS THE ISSUES RAISED WITH THE PEOPLE YOU MEET AND YOUR FRIENDS.

BE CAREFULIIL

# Rabie: The SS Commission



The Rabie Commission's report on 'security laws' has once more demonstrated the utter futility of relying on racist commissions for any improvement in our conditions.

Like all previous commissions, it predictably recommended the tightening of the fascist 'security laws', through the introduction of harsher repressive measures and, for international consumption, decorated the recommendations with a few deceptive 'improvements'.

As in the past, an attem-

pt is being made to lelude the world into believing that there is peace and stability in the country. In order to lend credibility to its claims that the recommendations are for the good of the majority of the people, the commission claims that the African National Congress enjoys minority support inside the country. However, Rabie and his commissioners do admit that South Africa is in a state of war and that this will intensify in the "forseeable future".

There would be no fear of the war intensifying if there was no force to see to its intensification. That force is the majority of the South Africa people led by the ANC. It is thus with this knowledge that the racist commission declared as esse-

ntial the preservation of many of the present 'security laws' such as the Terrorism and Sabotage Acts and the consolidation of the rest into three main acts.

#### Typical Fashion

In typical fashion, the commission gives reasons which sound humanitarian for recommending more fascist methods of fighting against the liberation movement. For instance, it says that new definitions must be given to "communism, terrorism, sabotage and subversion in order to protect innocent people". In the same breath, it calls on the fascist regime to legislate that anyone who fails to inform on his friends or relatives whom she/he suspects to be engaged in the above activities should be charged for the same activities. As a result, more and more innocent people will be harrassed, detained, imprisoned and murdered.

While the fringes of the

Continued on Page

### A HISTORIC PACT

Below we reproduce the famous "JOINT DECLARATION OF COOPERATION" adopted by the leaders of the ANC and the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses on March 9th, 1947. The conclusion of this Pact of Unity marked a very important step forward in the consolidation of the unity of the oppressed people and the entire democratic movement of our country. It also contributed greatly to inspire the mass struggles that erupted after the adoption of the Programme of Action in 1949. In this Year of Unity in Action, 35 years after the signing of the "Joint Declaration of Cooperation", we must all work to safeguard the great achievements of united action that grew out of the Xums-Dadoo-Naicker Pact. We must build on these achievements to ensure that the 25-million black oppressed together with their democratic-minded white compatriots, act as one solid army of revolution to defeat the racist regime and restore power into the hands of the people.

This Joint Meeting between the representatives of the African National Congress and the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, having fully realised the urgency of co-operation between the non-European peoples and other democratic forces for the attainment of basic human rights and full citizenship for all sections of the South African people, has resolved that a Joint Declaration of Co-operation is imperative for the working out of a practical basis of co-operation between the National Organisations of . the non-European peoples.

This Joint Meeting decla-

that for the future progress, goodwill, good race relations, and for the building of a united, greater and free South Africa, full franchise rights must be extended to all sections of the South African people, and to this end this Joint Meeting pledges the fullest co-operation between the African and Indian peoples and appeals to all democratic and freedom-loving citizens of South Africa to support fully and co-operate in this struggle.

- 1) Full Franchise
- 2) Equal Economic and Industrial rights and opportunities and the recognition of

African Trade Unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

- The removal of all land restrictions against non-Europeans and the provision of adequate housing facilities for all non-Europeans.
- The extension of free and compulsory education to non-Europeans.
- 5) Guaranteeing freedom of movement and the abolition of Pass Laws against the African people and the Provincial barriers against Indi-
- And the removal of all discriminatory and oppressive legislations from the Union's Statute Book.



Dr. Dadoo and Mandela during the Defiance Campaign in 1952.

This Joint Meeting is therefore of the opinion that for the attainment of these objects it is urgently necessary that a vigorous campaign be immediately launched and that every effort be made to compel the Union Government to implement the United Nations' decisions and to treat the non-European peoples in South Africa in comformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

This Joint Meeting further resolves to meet from time to time to implement this declaration and to take active steps in proceeding with the campaign.

MARCH 9, 1947.

# ght for real Pres

our country and of the way

The fascists were never satisfied with the outlawing of the truly democratic press. Since 1963, Pretoria has acted many a time against newspapers that sought to express the aspirations of the people and to report truthfully about their plight. Pro Veritate, Varsity, The World, Post and many other newspapers and magazines have been silenced; scores of journalists have been detained, tortured, imprisoned, banned and banished. As The Guardian stated more than 30 years ago, the battle for its survival meant "more than the struggle of a single newspaper to survive". It is a battle against fascism, a battle for the freedom of the people.

Having outlawed the popular press, suppressed the legal press through its stringent 'security' legislation from reporting objectively about the situation in the country, the Pretoria regime's appetite for total control remains insatiable. Like all fascists they brook no opposition whatsoever, however limited it may be. As a result they set up the Steyn Commision whose findings have been used to draft the notorious bill against the press.

#### Attractive Phrases

Clothed in the most attractive of phrases, the bill essentially aims at ensuring that all newspapers and magazines support the 'total strategy' concept and practice against the people. Pretoria aims to achieve this by putting the media in its entirety under statutory control.

The proposal for what the Commission calls a "Black. press" to play the role of publicising the views of the

> THE WORLD ... THE POST.

"moderate majority", "owned very much remiby blacks" nds us of Pace, the attempt to buy Drum and other newspapers and magazines both at home and abroad. As the Sowetan asked in its editorial, "Does the commission really believe that blacks are so dumb that the government can determine for them which newspapers to read?" The black community knows fully well that newspapers which reflect their aspirations are banned; that journalists who stand with the people are harrassed. Indeed, the true "black press' is the democratic press that has been forced to function underground; the press which propagates the ideas of liberation with which the black majority and a growing number of democratic whites identify and are struggling for.

#### Struggle Intensifies

This is the struggle which the people have intensified on all fronts and shall continue to intensify until final victory. If there is much that has incensed the regime in the legal press, it is the limited coverage that these newspapers have given to this objective situation. Journalists, like the rest of the South African people are affected by fascism in South Africa, and many of them realise that it would be criminal to close their eyes to this reality. However, we say "limited coverage" because what the legal press has so far reported upon is just the tip of the iceberg, restricted as the journalists are not

IF GOVERNMENT REFUSES NATIONAL CONVENTION

Mass Demonstrations On Eve of Republic





NEW AGE-amongst the last of democratic newspapers to operate legal Banned for reporting truthfully about the situation in the country.

during the mass uprisings in 1980, and the regulations prohibiting newsmen from reporting on the activities of the ANC and the people's army without police approval are just a few examples. On the other hand, the legal

press acquiesced to the regime's pressures as far back as 1962, to form a National Press Union-an association of newspaper proprietorswith its own code for selfcensorship.

What we learn from the





# Freedom!

pending clampdown on the press is that it does not pay to appease the devil. The regime has never, and will never be satisfied with mere docility; it wants overall control! Its abject failure to bribe journalists, buy influential newspapers or set up its own English- and African-language press as exposed in the reports about the so-called Information Scandal, has led the rulers to adopt open vicious methods to achieve this end. The struggle of the people for freedom has reached the level at which the regime can no conceal the iron fist the velvet glove.

Threats and Actions

It is important to note that all the threats and actions against the press come at a time of mass upheavals by the people against the oppressor. The fascists are fond of claiming that these actions show that the press is fanning the fires of opposition. If the press could keep quiet, the fascists argue, then there would be no trouble in implementing the 'separate-development policy'.

Anti-Press Bill

The anti-press bill and the findings of the Rabie Commission on 'security' (which we discuss on pages 3&5) constite a tacit admission on the part of the regime that South Africa is experiencing more than just "a low-intensity conflict" but a real people's war which has intensified in earnest. Such was the experience of the people of Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Vietnam and other countries where all mention of resistance in the legal press were official communiques about 'intimi-



dation', 'agitators', 'terrorist kill-rate', etc. This experience has shown that any attempt to keep the people blindfolded is doomed to failure, especially with regards to the oppressed and struggling people. It only serves to increase the insecurity of the rulers' supporters and their shock when the eventuality of defeat comes.

Broad Movement

The broad mass movement which has emerged to oppose the anti-press bill is a positive development which should be strengthened by all patriots. We must all act in unity to defeat this fascist law. Under fascists mobody except the fascists and their supporters is immune from attack. We have learnt from experience that 'playing it safe' only compounds the problem for it allows the rulers to act more freely and viciously.

Total Strategy

Those who stood by silently when The Guardian was banned must surely realise now that to keep quiet or to give up the struggle after a few half-hearted protests, is to agree to be co-opted into the racists' 'total strategy'. It is no longer possible to sit on the fence.

Let us mobilise the massof the people to demand and fight for real freedom of the press; for the lifting of bans on all proscribed newspapers and journals; for the right of the people to know the truth about what is happening in their country and the world around them; for the immediate and unconditional release of all imprisoned, detained, banned and bannished media workers; for the repeal of all legislation designed to hamper the gathering, reproduction and dissemination of information.

Unite and Fight for REAL PRESS FREEDOM





apartheid laws can be trimmed, the core will always remain the same. Despite the demand of the majority of the people for an end to detentions, Rabie recommends that detention without trial should continue. To soften the blow, the commission then recommends a few "concessions":

Detainees may be visited every fortnight by relatives, a surgeon and a magistrate. Ironically, Dr Neil Aggett's murder took place after he had been visited in detention. This was conclusive proof that these "concessions" were merely aimed at white-washing the inhuman apartheid system. It is common knowledge that the regime's surgeons and magistrates care nothing about the treatment of detainees and that they have always been used to cover up the terrible treatment meted out against the detainees. The "concession" granted after the murder of Neil Aggett that relatives could visit the detainees has shown that Rabie's recommendations count for nothing. The relatives were not allowed to discuss the conditions in detention with the detainees, and certain detainees, like Rita Nzanga and C. Sols were not allowed to see their relatives. Further, many detainees-mainly trade unionists who include Thozamile Gqweta, President of SAAWU and its Secretary-General, Sam Kikine-are recieving medical and psychiatric treatment as a result of torture.

While all racist laws are an open intimidation to stop us fighting against oppression and exploitation, the Rabie Commission purpots to protect us from intimidation through the proposed Intimidation Act. This Act is aim-

# RABIE Commission

ed at our trade union and other movements which have led and continue to lead us in actions that have rocked the apartheid system. Not a single strike, not a single anti-rent struggle by us has . been attributed to our united will to fight oppression. Imaginary 'agitators and intimidators' are always blamed for our united actions. The heavy fine for 'intimidation' will ensure that workers' and other leaders are imrisoned. It will be an offense, for example, to dissuade the unemployed from taking over their colleagues' jobs.

Whatever facelifting has been done to the laws must not decieve us into believing that there are now fewer laws that we have to contend with. At the base of the report is the determination on the part of Pretoria to strengthen its fascist rule. Now is the time to intensify the fight against detentions. Already, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee has started a campaign to fight for the release of the detainees.

Short-term Demands

Short-term demands that detainees should be allowed visits by independent medical doctors and where required, by psychiatrists appointed by the relatives should recieve the support of all patriots. We must organise demonstrations, meetings and other actions to protest against detentions and to demand the release of all patriots in enemy dungeons. We must strengthen the existing support committees and form such committees where there are none!

As our vanguard movement, the ANC has always stated, the racist regime is not capable of changing on its own. Our own struggles will bring about change—the future South Africa without the tragic deaths of patriots like Dr Aggett, Muofhe, Biko, Mdluli and many others!

Fight for the Release of All Political Prisoners!!

# Force the exploiters out!

On January 11th and 12th, the United Nations was a venue where another seed of Unity in Action was sown. It was the launching of the Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against Apartheid South Africa, declared by the United Nations General Assembly.

This historic gathering was addressed by the Secretary-General of the UN, His Excellency Dr Perez de Cuellar and the President of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo.

The struggle for the destruction of the apartheid regime assumes many forms.

The enemy acquires part of his strength from those who invest in South Africa, thereby bolstering and defending apartheid. To overthrow that regime we must weaken the enemy. We must cut his supply lines to facilitate his downfall. Sanctions are meant to serve this purpose.

The task of imposing sanctions falls on those who collaborate with the apartheid rulers. Our friends abroad are making sure that this task is fulfilled. We also have our part to play, to ensure the total isolation of the fascist regime and its puppets.

#### International Community

The international community fights that oil should not be supplied to the racists. We must therefore refuse to unload the tankers that bring oil in violation of the will of the majority of mankind. Oil fuels the military machine of apartheid.

Sportsmen and women come to South Africa much against our will and of those who support our struggle. We must refuse to watch sporting events that are meant to promote apartheid.

BRITISH BUCCANEERS BOMB ANICOLA

Our own sportspeople must refuse to compete against these foreign mercenaries who are enticed to come to South Africa with large sums of money.

Musicians and entertainers have been asked not to come and entertain racism and fascism—yet they stream into South Africa. We should not patronise their shows. They must be boycotted. We must review our experience of the past campaigns and on that basis launch a programme of united attack involving the

On many occasions our international supporters have rallied around campaigns originating from our actions inside the country, for example, the British workers' support for the Wilson-Rowntree boycott. We must also take up issues which our friends have identified for action, for example, the Dutch campaign against the Shell oil company and others.

The enemy is using foreign entertainers, sportspeople etc, to try to legitimise the. Bantustans. That is why these people flock to such places as the so-called Sun City in Mmabatho. By our actions we must drive these bed-fellon political activities, police and army vehicles and so on.

The cholera outbreaks are not a result of sanctions. Forced removals, deaths in detention, hunger, unemployment and disease are the products of apartheid—they have not been, and cannot be eradicated by the international



Workers of the British Leyland subsidiary on strike. We have it within our power to force the foreign exploiters out!

whole democratic movement of our country. Our musicians and entertainers should tell these other foreign mercenaries that their services are not needed.

Our actions at our workplaces will strengthen the actions taken by the international community for sanctions against apartheid. Investments from the capitalist world will continue to flow in as long as the situation in the factories and mines guarantees safe and huge profits for the exploiters. Let our actions make it unsafe to invest in the apartheid economy and help force the investors to withdraw. We must reject the "codes of conduct" and the "Sullivan code" which seek to dilute our militancy and safeguard the ammassing of huge profits, Light Car

ows of our oppressors out of even such places.

The Pretoria regime knows that its total isolation would spell its doom. Therefore it fights using all means to ensure that it is not isolated.

#### Extremely Vigilant

We have to be extremely vigilant. We will continue to hear the old cry from the enemy of the oppressed that sanctions will hurt the black people most and that the neighbouring independent African states will suffer!

The truth is that apartheid is destroying, not only hurting us, with the strength it derives from those who supply it with the technology to manufacture deadly weapons, the computers to make pass laws effective, sophisticated devices for spying

exploiters who invest in South Africa.

The apartheid system also means death and destruction throughout Southern Africa, in Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Botswana, Seychelles and Madagascar. Sanctions against the Botha-Malan regime are intended to reduce the capacity of the apartheid regime to carry out these murderous campaigns and to bring an end to its terrorism.

The call for the international isolation of the Pretoria racists was first made by us when the late Chief Albert Luthuli addressed the world in 1959. Let us back that call by joining with the rest of the world in united action for the total isolation and destruction of the apartheid regime. in South Africa, the primary consideration of the mining capitalists was the extraction of huge profits.

They paid the workers lowwages and forced them to work for long hours. White workers organised trade unions and fought for higher wages and better conditions of employment.

Black workers who were forced to go to the mines by the conditions of hunger. landlessness and taxation, were paid a small fraction of the white workers' wages. This was largely due to the fact that they were not as yet familiar with working organisation and had

them.

In pursuance of high profits, the Chamber of Mines had always attempted to replace the relatively expensive white labour force with cheaper labour. In 1907 the Chamber attempted to introduce Chinese indentured labourers to serve as cheap labour, but were defeated by the white workers who. went on strike. In June 1913 when they tried it with black workers, the white workers again went on strike and were brutally suppressed by the armed forces which were, and still are at the beck and call of the exploiters. Thus, from the very beginning, white workers saw their aspiration for bet-

r living and working connitions as one that could be achieved and secured by the exclusion of black workers from skilled jobs. This struggle reached its high point in the general strike of 19-22 which has come to be known as the Rand Revolt.

This year marks the 60th anniversary of the Rand Revolt. On this occasion SA-CTU pays homage to the pioneers of the democratic trade union movement such as Gana Makabeni, James La Guma, Bill Andrews and others for their invaluable contribution to the emergence of the militant trade union movement of today.

Faced with the economic crisis which afflicted the capitalist world in the early 20's, British exploiters cut the wages of the miners in Britain. This cut down production costs and resulted in the undercutting of South African coal.

In 1921, the South Afri-

on of huge profits.

can-based mineowners reacted by cutting the wages of the workers and retrenching white semi-skilled workers in favour of cheap, defenceless black labour. In the negotiations that ensued, the white Mineworkers' Union failed to persuade the bosses

to reverse their decision. As a result, the MWU called the miners out on strike on January 1st, 1922. Many white workers in the Reef joined in, and on March 7th the same year, a general strike was called, and the conflict precipitated into a general revolt of white workers. The Afrikaaner workers who had come into the mining industry as strike-breakers in 1907, but had loyally supported the 1913 strike, formed the bulk of the pickets in 1922.

Revolt

te aim as the settting up of a white republic and solicited support from abroad under the slogan: Workers of The World Unite For a White South Africa. The strikers considered black miners their secondary enemy and therefore scoffed at all suggestions by democratic, antiracist trade unionists for unity in action against the common exploiter. Black miners continued production and the dismayed strikers assaulted them.

Whilst the revolt challenged the power of the state, its content was, by and large, inimical to the interests of black workers. That is why revolutionary trade unionists incessantly called for a better understanding of the forces at play; for the solidarity of labour against the common enemy, irrespective of race or colour. However, whilst these democratic trade unionists managed



Workers outside a courthouse: The Revolt had a strong racist content

From Boksburg to Randfontein the whole Rand was ablaze. The workers formed 'commandos' to defend their pickets in Fordsburg, Jeppestown, Booysens, Benoni, Brakpan and Randfontein. Police stations were burned down, policemen disarmed and kept prisoner in their own cells. In those seething battles there was an estimated loss of 300 men on both sides. Because the workers were poorly armed and lacked any coherent plan, the . strike was finally suppressed. Three of the arrested strikers were later executed.

Like all white workers' strikes before (and since) the revolt had a strong racist content. Whilst they borrowed a great deal from revolutionary working class slogans, the strikers saw their ultima-

to prevent capitulation during the early days of the strike, they did not sufficiently mobilise black workers to take advantage of the crisis.

The bulk of the white miners aligned themselves with the increasingly rightist Labour Party and the fascist Nationalist Party. Though the strike was viciously suppressed in 1924, the Industrial Conciliation Act was passed which, apart from suppressing strikes, placed white workers in a snug position of privilege. The gap between the black, and white sections of the South African working class was further widened. Today, white workers are comfortably barricaded against any "swartgevaar". Assured of fair-sized crumbs from the super-exploiters' table,



Police guarding a power station during the Revolt.

white workers such as Arrie Paulus and his followers are active defenders of fascism.

Black workers have always struggled against the colour bar in the workplace. We have rejected the schemes of the regime and the exploiters of fragmenting the handful of skilled jobs now 'opened', changing their names, etc, in order to pay us less. We demand that blacks be allowed to become inspectors, boilers, crane-operators...in the mines, train drivers etc, not because we want to undercut the white workers, but, as we have always said, we demand equal work and equal pay for such work!

Similarly, our democratic trade unions reject racism of any kind, whether it comes from the fascist state or white workers. It is after all in the long-term interests of the white workers to join in the fight for a free and democratic South Africa in which all the roots of their fears—social, political, economic and otherwise, will be destroyed.

As for us, black workers, the Rand Revolt 60 years ago taught us that we should depend on our own united strength to raise our wages, standard of living and to attain the final goal of liberation. Black workers are the leading force of this struggle for freedom. Yet, fre-. edom cannot be attained without the active participation of all the sections of the oppressed people on all fronts. In this Year of Unity in Action, SACTU calls on black workers to strengthen the bonds of unity amongstthemselves and with students, teachers, nurses and so on, including democratic whites for the ultimate destruction of racism.

An Injury to One is an Injury Injury to All!

# Rents: Time for definite action!

"The time has come to unite for definite action!"
With these words, a leader of the Cape Areas Housing
Action Committee summed up the mood of the people
in the Western Cape townships who were saddled with
rent increases on January the 1st.

The occasion was a meeting of more than 4 000 residents in Mitchell's Plain who had gathered to protest against the increases. Although the meeting took place 10 days after the announcement, it was not the first act of protest. More than 33 000 residents had already signed the petition organised by CAH—AC to protest against the rent hike.

#### Large Attendance

The significance of this development lies not only in the large attendance at the-protest meeting. Neither does it lie only in the unanimity of views amongst the participants. CAHAC, which represents more than 32 civic organisations in the Cape successfully organised the people not only to register their opposition to the increase, but also to share views on what actions to take to defeat the enemy's attempts to fatten his coffers at the expense of the people. Significantly, the Housing Action Committee and the people are correctly putting to good use the experience that all of us have gained in struggle, and that is that the anti-rent struggle is not a local issue but a national one, All over the country in the black townships, the rent struggle has become an important issue around which millions are rallying. Represented at the meeting in Mitchell's Plain were trade unions, the Moslem Judicial Council and the Port Flizabeth Black Civic Organisation. The participants, noting this significant achievement of securing the involvement of many democratic organisations, called for the further broadening. of this front to encompass all the oppressed and demo-

cratic forces of our land.

The participants at the meeting unanimously resolved that a boycott of the increase was one of the most effective ways in which they could challenge the oppressors and the exploiters. Calls were

made to fight this issue also at factory-floor. However, the people did not allow their anger to cloud their objective assessment of their organisational strength. Since mass action on this scale requires intensive mass mobilisation, the meeting had to soberly answer the question, whether the democratic organisations had sufficiently mobilised the people for such action. It was therefore decided that the boycott should be deferred to a later date.

Yet, were the actions undertaken thereafter, sufficient to galvanise the people to action? The methods of mobilising people for action are many and varied, but at all times it is absolutely essential that the people themselves participate in deciding on the course of action to be taken. Meetings have to be held at the lowest organisational level possible to ensure that the maximum number of residents freely express their opinions on the issue facing them as well as the actions to be taken. This would help not only to strengthen the people's commitment to the actions thus undertaken, but also to secure from the people, organisers, propagandists, etc for the campaign. In Soweto, for example, where a campaign of this nature failed to take off the ground, the res

idents, in reviewing this failure, emphasised the need for the active involvement of the lowest units of the civic organisation in the mobilisation of the residents. [The Day of Action organised by CA-HAC in many localities for demonstrations against the rent increase constitutes a correct step in this direction. The wide participation of residents in the actions planned for this day shows that the people are determined to act in unity to defeat the enemy.'s scheme.]

#### Fascist Minister

Related to this, is the question whether it was correct for CAHAC to request for a meeting with the fascist minister of 'community development'. As the secretary of the Housing Action Committee pointed out after the refusal by the racist minister to meet their delegation, earlier deputations from Scottsdene and Macassar were sent from pillar to post in the same manner. Eventually they achieved nothing. As such, the masses of the people were left seething impatiently in anticipation whilst the racists deliberately delayed their negative reply to the demand for the lowering of rents.

#### Own Strength

If anything, the refusal by the fascist minister to meet the CAHAC deputation shows once more that we should depend on our united strength to ensure the betterment of our conditions of living. It is only in united action that we can force the racist state to lower our rents and provide better and cheaper housing and services.

#### Rent Increases

The meeting to protest against rent increases on January 10th constitutes an important milestone in the struggle for low rents and better services in the black townships. The unity shown by the residents and their representatives even beyond the confines of artificial township and colour barriers is achallenge to all civic organisations and residents across the length and breadth of our country. The only fitting manner in which we can respond to this challenge is by strengthening our civic associations, forming such associations where there are none and transforming the call iss ued at Mitchell's Plain for country-wide unity against high rents, into meaningful action.

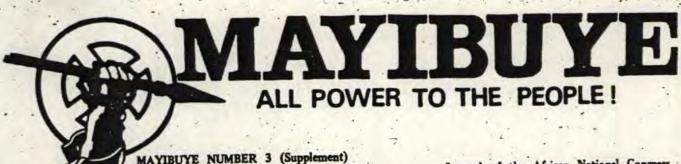
#### Defiance Campaign

As one speaker at the meeting noted, 1982 is the 30th anniversary of the Defiance Campaign launched by the Congress Movement to challenge the unjust laws of the racist regime. Let us commemorate this great event by acting in unity for a South Africa in which 'there shall be houses, security and comfort!'

Unity in Action is Our Battle-cry!!







MAYIBUYE NUMBER 3 (Supplement) 1982, YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION.

Journal of the African National Congress

# Victory is within our grasp!

Comrade President Samora Moises Machel, President of the FRELIMO PARTY, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique,

Comrades leaders and militants of the FRELIMO PARTY, Comrade Sansao Muthemba, Secretary—General of AMASP, Comrades Representatives of the national liberation movement and other fraternal forces,

Heroic residents of Maputo and citizens of the People's

Comrades,

We salute you all today on behalf of the ANC, on behalf of the commanders and fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe:

Republic of Mozambique,

We salute you in the name of the workers, the women, youth, peasants and all the oppressed masses and democratic forces in South Africa. We greet you in the name of the heroic fighters held in the fascist prisons of racist South Africa.

We greet you in the Year of the 70th Anniversary of the ANC, the Year of Unity in Action:

We salute you in the name of the fallen heroes of the South African struggle; we remember especially the victims of the Matola raid at the beginning of last year.

It is that raid which has brought us here today—that raid which insulted the sovereignty of the Mozambican people, defiled their national dignity, violated their territorial integrity and challenged the very concept of African independent statehood.

It is something more than the Matola raid which brings us together on this occasion. For a people engaged, day and night, in a continuing struggle against a brutal enemy, the great question is not that there has been an attack an invasion, a massacre or any other crime committed against the people. The great question is the nature of

PRESIDENT O. R. TAMBO'S ADDRESS AT THE

MASS RALLY AT BAIRRO DE LIBERDADE IN

MAPUTO ON THE 14th OF FEBRUARY, 1982.



Presidents Tambo and Machel at the rally on 14 February last year. "...what in the future we shall together perhaps observe as the Day of Friendship between the Peoples of Mozambique and South Africa..."

our response to that crime.

The history of Mozambique, especially in the past two decades, has been a history of atrocious crimes committed by colonialism against the Mozambican people-against FRELIMO. The People's Republic of Mozambique is a creature of the correct responses which the Mozambican people under the leadership of FRELIMO made to the massacres, murders and destruction perpetrated by Portouguese fascist forces.

#### Celebrated Leader

We are here today because, exactly a year ago this day, at Praca de Independencia in Maputo, the celebrated Leader and Commander of the heroic Mozambican people, comrade President Samora Machel, responded to the Matola raid by summoning his people back to the war trenches they had known since September 25, 1964; back into battle, for the defence of their motherland, their sovereignty, their territorial integrity, their national dignity; for the defence of the gains of the Mozambican revolution-the gains of the. African revolution: for the defence of their internationalist essence and their Socialist future-a future of which the victory of the struggle led by the ANC and SWAPO against the Pretoria fascists is an integral part. And we now know that the Mozambican

people, from the Rovuma to the Maputo rallied to FRE-LIMO's call with their knobkerries, pangas and other weapons. When the raiders reappeared at PONTO D'ORO, the people plunged their pick-axes into the skulls of the fascist intruders.

Your response—the response of a nation forged in the furious furnaces of two brutal wars—had a dynamising impact throughout Southern Africa, and throughout the continent. It was an act of mobilisation of the international progressive forces for resolute struggle against apartheid colonialism and fascism.

You rivetted the 35 mill-Continued on Page ii ion people of Mozambique and South Africa together and joined them in solid unity with the peoples of the rest of the region in their determination to rid our continent of this painful and dangerous plague.

By your responses, you paid a glorious tribute to the fallen heroes of our common struggle, and especially to the Mozambican heroes, who with their blood and their lives, strengthened FRELIMO, created the Mozambican nation and became our inspiration and our strength.

Nothing today unites people more than the criminal nature of the racist minority regime. From the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic; from the Southern tip of our continent to the Mediterranean; from Africa to every continent on the globe, mankind differs about countless issues But, about the Pretoria apartheid regime, there is one unanimous judgement-the regime is an international criminal, guilty of a heinous crime against humanity, a crime of which the people of South Africa and Southern Africa are the first victims.

#### One People

We are one people today. This means we are recapturing our glorious past. We are one people. History put us together on this continent from time immemorial. We evolved together, shared a common African culture, traded with one another and dealt each with the other as human beings, whether in times of war or in times of peace; whether in circumstances of hunger or in conditions of plenty.

Then came the colonialists. Despite the heroic resistance of our forebears, from
the Cape of Good Hope to
the North of Africa, the colonialists succeeded to transform us from a free people
into a subject people. They
became our masters and
made us respond to their
commands with "Ja baas, Ja
baas."

To perpetrate our subjugation, they divided us. We ceased to be one people. We became foreigners to one another, living in Portuguese East Africa, British Rhodesia, German East Africa, British Natal, Boer Republics. This was the pattern throughout

the continent. Africa became British, French, Portuguese, Belgian, Dutch, Spanish, German, Italian.

Not only had we ceased to be one people. The very earth that we walked, the soil that gave us life and that in its depths afforded refuge to our ancestors, had itself ceased to be African.

In their eagerness to plunder, divide and oppress, the colonialists and the racists failed to notice that they were creating new conditions for our oneness, for unity. Together we had become the dispossesed, dispossesed of our independence and of our countries. Together we had become beasts of burden working for the enrichment of a colonialist and racist minority. Apparently divided by frontiers which the colonialists had drawn across the face of Africa, we were in fact united by the fact that we had become, together, the oppressed, the exploited and the dispised. And we had become the oppressed, the exploited and dispised through the same system of imperialist domination and colonialist occupation.

It was in the course of the struggle against this system that we re-created our oneness on a much broader scale and at a qualitatively much higher level. We became part of a powerful and ever growing movement of peoples fighting colonial domination, fighting all oppressors, exploiters, fascists, racists and Zionists. We became one mighty army of revolution fighting in various detachments on many fronts throughout the world-an army of comrades.

#### Eduardo Mondlane

Eduardo Mondlane worked with Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu to strengthen the ANC, not as strangers but as comrades committed to a common cause—the liberation of Africa, the liberation of mankind.

Likewise, it was as comrades-in-arms that the commanders and combatants of FRELIMO and the ANC trained, worked, ate and sang together in Algeria, Tanzania and elsewhere. It was because of that comradeship that commanders of FRELIMO and Umkhonto we Sizwe found themselves in the war zones of Cabo Delgado and Niassa in 1967 and Tete in

1970, where the ANC commanders were learning from the experience of their comrades-in-arms.

That same comradeship found the Mozambicans fighting with MPLA in defence of the newly independent People's Republic of Angola in 1975/76, and joining the Zimbabwean people in their liberation war against the Rhodesian and South African regimes.

#### Colonialists Defeated

And so here we are today, Comrades: British, French, Belgian, Portuguese and other colonialists have been defeated; and yet an intense struggle is being fought by Mozambique and other independent states of this region—a struggle on three courageous fronts:

 a) against underdevelopment and for social progress,
 b) against the colonisation and occupation of Namibia
 by the Pretoria regime and for the independence of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO,

c) for the liberation of the people of South Africa from apartheid colonialism.

On all these three fronts the Pretoria regime features in a central role. It is fighting against the economic independence and development of the African countries; it is defying Africa and the UN and the whole international community on the question of Namibia, and adds to its defiance by spreading death and destruction in Namibia and Angola, and defiantly occupying Angolan territory; it murders, massacres, tortures and engages in kidnapping its opponents in South Africa while harrassing killing, destabilising and organising coups d'etat against African states.

And with respect to these three fronts, like the racist regime, the people of South Africa led by the ANC and its allies also feature in a central role: The overthrow of the Pretoria racist minority regime will thwart the designs of imperialism in this region and usher in an era of rapid internal reconstruction under conditions of peace and security.

The South African struggle is, therefore, as a matter of objective reality, a struggle of the people of Southern Africa, together and as one force spread across the continent from the Atlantic to

PATRIOTA
MOCAMBICANO!!!

PREPARA-TE!!

VEM AÍ O BOER AGRESSOR!

Morambican poster calling on the population to prepare to resist South African aggression after the SA army attacked ANC residences at Matola, near Maputo in January 1981.

the Indian Ocean, fighting in closed ranks with the rest of Africa and the progressive world. But the leading role must be played by us in South Africa.

The year 1981, the year of Matola, the year of prolonged occupation of Southern Angola by South African fascist troops, the year of nation-wide mobilisation of the Mozambican people against the racist regime—the year 1981 has also been the year of heightened struggles in South Africa.

Umkhonto we Sizwe spread its assaults across the length and breadth of South Africa: in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Elliot, Durban, Johannesburg, Sibasa, Ermelo and many widely dispersed points in the countryside. But they concentrated on Pretoria, the fascist capital from where the raids, invasions, killings and bandit armies are controlled;

-Pretoria, the heart and the head of the heartland of racism, the bastion of colonialism;

Pretoria, which in 30 quick years has already killed countless thousands of people in Southern Africa, including thousands murdered and massacred children.

The working class, particularly the Black workers, have discovered their power. The youth, women, the masses in Bantustans, the entire oppressed and democratic forces have reached a striking level of mobilisation.

Around the ANC, the South Africa of tomorrow is crystallising out; the South African nation of the approaching future is being forged in struggle-it is non-racial; it is committed to total liberation, is therefore opposed to oppression, exploitation and racism; it is anti-imperialist; it is committed to democracy, peace and friendship among peoples; a South African nation, comprising peoples whose origins are traceable to many continents like the Mozambican nation, which was born in struggle.

This year, 1982, we are determined to achieve a much higher level of unity through action and unity in Action.

The fact that the ANC has battled for liberation for 70 years points sharply to the indisputable fact that the colonialists and racists in South Africa have long overstayed their time. The ANC and its allies, the masses of the people in South Africa, have it as a duty of the utmost urgency to greatly intensify the struggle and advance towards victory.

In doing so we shall be alive to the fact that imperialist powers are in active alliance with the Pretoria regime. We know, too, that among the defenders of colonialism, racism and the enslavement of people, there are black slaves in the pay of the master-traitors to the cause of human dignity, independence and freedom.

The Matola raiders included black traitors who were frequently heard saying, "Jabaas, Jabaas". There is no shortage of traitors.

#### Bantustan Puppets

Bantustan puppets are working feverishly to keep our country balkanised, our people divided and landless. But today some of them are beginning to burn in the furnace of their treachery. In the Ciskei, the Sebe brothers find themselves confronted by the unflinching hostility of the people, as do the Matanzima brothers in the Transkei. The whole bantustan programme is meeting growing and intense resistance from the people.

Mphephu in Venda is replying to the people's resistance strictly according to the instructions that his masters have given him. He is assas-

Charles and Carlotte

sinating our people. Others he detains and tortures mercilessly. And now he has falsely charged innocent ministers of religion with an attack on his central police station, an attack he knows very well was carried out by a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Blinded by fear, Mphephu is perhaps no longer able to distinguish between the Bible and the AK47!

Black mercenaries in South Africa are being recruited to serve under the fascist army. These are part of a full set of bandit armies, such as the depraved UNITA mercenary group, who are trained, supplied and directed by the regime to spread terror, insecurity and destabilisation in the independent states of Southern Africa who refuse to be converted into bantustans and Pretoria's puppet regimes.

There is no struggle without traitors; but traitors have never won a struggle. It is the people who win. We shall win. The mercenaries, traitors and puppets will be crushed with their masters.

#### Mass Arrests

This is not to say they are harmless. In South Africa the mass arrests, the brutal assassination of Griffiths Mxenge, the cold-blooded murder of Tshifhiwa Muofhe in Venda and Neil Aggett in a police cell in Johannesburg are severe blows against the people's struggle. But the struggle always continues, with increased vigour, as it now will.

Likewise, when P. W. Botha loosed his paid killers on
the people of Seychelles he
could have bled that country's independence to death.
As it is, everywhere in Southern Africa, the footprints
that Botha leaves are footprints of blood. His trademark is the skull-and-crossbones. His favourate diet is
death and destruction.

This is the daily experience of Namibia; and Angola is in a permanent state of war. But the Botha regime is not acting in isolation. Its criminal role in Africa is an expression of international imperialism, led by the United States, to defeat the forces of progress and impose its will on the people. In pursuit of these goals, the Reagan administration has entered into strategic alliances with the most reactionary

regimes in the world. These include the apartheid regime in South Africa, the Zionist regime of Israel and the genocidal junta in El Salvador.

United by their absolute contempt for human life and driven by the desire to ensure imperialist domination everywhere, these forces of reaction exclude no means or methods in the pursuit of their goals. Above all, brute force constitutes the centre-piece of their strategy That is why today the Reagan government is busy reducing expenditures on social security while vastly increasing its military budget and sabotaging the disarmament talks with the Soviet Union.

The People's Republic of Angola suffers as she does today because of this policy. She suffers through the occupation of parts of her terr itory by the apartheid allies of the Reagan administration and through repeated invasions which have inflicted a heavy toll measured in terms of thousands of men, women and children killed, maimed and displaced from their homes. We take this opportunity once more to pledge our complete solidarity with the embattled people of Angola, with the MPLA-Workers' Party, the government and the armed forces of that revolutionary country, convinced that together we will defeat the common ene-

my.

This same enemy, specifically the Reagan administration and its ally, the Botha regime, are intent on postponing the independence of Namibia for as long as possible. They are doing this to gain time so that they can prepare their puppets to take power in a nominally inde-

pendent Namibia. They pursue the strategic objective of destroying SWAPO so that they can impose a neo-colonialist regime on the Namibian people. These heroic people, under the tested leadership of SWAPO and supported by the entire progressive mankind, will surely defeat these schemes in the same way that the people of Zimbabwe defeated the enemy's attempts to make that country a neo-colonial dependency of racist South Africa and the rest of her imperialist allies.

#### . Imperialism

Imperialism is hitting out against the people everywhere. It considers certain parts of the world as areas of strategic importance to its global strategy. These include such areas as Southern Africa, Central America, the Middle East and Europe. All these regions of the globe are today areas of international tension because imperialism. and especially the United States, has decided that in these regions, it will resist all progress, encourage the most backward political forces, assume direct command of the counter-revolutionary offensive and use all possible means to achieve its obiectives.

This situation demands that the world forces of progress must enhance their unity, their vigilance, their mutual solidarity and their offensive against imperialist reaction. There is urgent need for all of us to act in solidarity with the PLO and the Palestinian people, with the

Continued on Page iv



Fascist soldier killed in Matola last year...

POLISARIO Front and the people of Sahara; with the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the people of El Salvador, the people of East Timor and their organisation, Fretilin, with SWAPO and the Namibian people, with the ANC and the South African people; with the frontline states of Southern Africa.

On the issue of Southern Africa, as on many others, we shall continue to count on the support of the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Socialist countries, the Nordic people and governments, and the democratic peoples and governments of the rest of the western world. Together we must stand firm in defence of genuine independence, democracy, social progress and peace.

All of us gathered here today value human life as a sacred thing. If we did not, would we be prepared to die as we are prepared to, for the destruction of those who deny us the right to live? All of us gathered here today value peace among the peoples as a noble goal. If we did not, would we be prepared to go to war as we are prepared to, for the destruction of those who deny us peace? Could we ever be free if we were not prepared to forgo the life of a slave and an oppressor's peace in order to attain freedom for the people?

Commitment to Life Life

That commitment to freedom, to life and to peace demands that we defeat Botha and his fellow racists. It demands that we sweep the Bothas and Reagans off the face of our continent and restore power into the hands of the people of South Africa as we have done here in Mozambique.

This means that we must struggle. It means that we must fight. It means also that those with the hearts of a chicken should stand aside and not block the way of those who want to go forward. It means that each Matola atrocity that the enemy inflicts upon us must serve as yet another bond that strengthens our comradeship, an added incentive spurring us to destroy the murderers and save our future.

That is the message you Comrade President, and the Mozambican people sent to Pretoria and the rest of the world this day a year ago. You said then that the Mozambican and the South African people are one people, 35 million strong. You said we would surely defeat the apartheid regime.

That was a powerful message affirming the unity of peoples and the certainty of victory in the struggle against the people's enemy.

You, Mozambican people, made that commitment because you knew that Mozambique could only be truly free when South Africa is free. So long as there is no just peace in South Africa, founded on the freedom of all her people, Mozambique herself will never know peace. You knew that the bargain the racist regime was offering you was that you buy false peace by surrendering you independence. You flung their imperialist bargain in their fascist faces and stood firm in the cause of freedom and lasting peace. You refused to bow down to the enemy's threats or succumb to any bribes he might offer; you would not meet an attacking enemy with kisses but with every weapon you had.

Your message was a call for the extension of the frontiers of liberty from independent Africa, through Namibia, to Cape Agulhus at the southern tip of the continent.

We shall surely defeat the apartheid regime; we shall reach Agulhus, marching arm-in-arm. But that will come through bitter struggle and maximum sacrifice by the people of South Africa. Therefore, on this first anniversary of what in the future we shall together perhaps observe as the Day of Friendship between the Peoples of Mozambique and South Africa, and in this year, the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress, we want to repeat the call the we made to the people of South Africa as the year began.

To the people of South Africa we say: unite in action and act in unity. Do not allow the enemy to drive wedges among your ranks. Let us all unite to strengthen the spirit of comradeship among ourselves. We demonstrated that spirit when our heroic youth was killed in Matola: We demonstrated.

strated it in massive actions last year. We demonstrated it again only a few days ago when we joined in action to denounce the assassination of Neil Aggett.

To strengthen that spirit of comradeship, we must isolate those whom the enemy is using to divide us. In action, in united struggle, we must declare war on the Bantustan programme, the community councils, the management committees, and every manifestation of the apartheid separate development scheme.

The workers, who are the leading force in our struggle for national liberation, must develop their potential strength to the full. As workers we have the power, through strike action, to deliver crippling blows at the enemy. But to achieve that we must be organised, united and conscious of our potential and our role as our own liberators.

Other sections of the population, both black and white, must themselves organise, unite in struggle and, without wavering, mount the pressure on the enemy.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is faced with the task of strengthening its presence within the country and of striking harder and multiple blows at the enemy. The assassination of the thousands of Neil Aggett's, Muofhe's, Mxenge's and Gqabi's must not go unpunished.

We must encircle the enemy in an iron ring of revolutionary struggle and hit him from all sides, striking at him with everything we have. Our pledge to avenge those the enemy has murdered means that we must intensify the struggle. It means we must ensure the certainty of our victory by using our collective power to crush the enemy. Victory is, within our grasp: Let us go forward and take it!

I wish to conclude by addressing to the Mozambican people an extract taken from President Samora Machel's address to them on the 14 February 1981:

"The Mozambican revolution is the patrimony of mankind and the liberation of people. This is the responsibility we have always borne with courage and pride. This is the responsibility we have constantly honoured, dignified and enriched.

At home, in the suburbs, in his place of work, at all moments in our life, in all corners of our country, each Mozambican defends the highest values of our country. He defends the history of our country, the memory of our heroes, the sacrifices made, our people's freedom, the right to well-being and happiness, our country's sovereignty, national independence, socialism, internationalism"

Long Live the Indissoluble Bonds of Friendship between FRELIMO and the ANC!

Long Live the Comradeship of the People of Mozambique and South Africa!

Amandia Ngawethu!
Matia Ke a Rona!
A Luta Continua!
Venceremos!



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