

THEIR CASE IS CLOSED

THEIR CASE IS CLOSED.....59
1426**DEATH TO TRAITORS!**

Who are the traitors and what is their work? Let everybody be on the alert about SBs, spies informers and all those police agents that are paid to delay the peoples revolution, to perpetuate the peoples sufferings.

Enemy agents of all kinds are as old as the struggle for liberation. They had to face the firing squad when MPLA liberated Angola, some left with the Portuguese colonialists when Mozambique was restored to its rightful owners by Frelimo, they could not reverse the revolutionary tide in Zimbabwe and today they are confessing and asking for forgiveness in the ranks of our movement, the tested and tried African National Congress and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Their mission is to infiltrate the peoples movement and its military wing and bring the information back to their Boer paymasters. Their pay is promotion in the Boer police force and the fascist army — SADF. They end up frustrated, when the Boers no longer need them they lose their jobs and they are also rejected by their own people. Those who still have consciences end up committing suicide because they know there is no future for puppets like them.

HOW THEY ARE TRAINED

Most of them are trained in the South African police barracks and the fascist army bases after which they are infiltrated into the ranks of the ANC with the aim of collecting information and to cause whatever damage among the sons and daughters of our country who have made the supreme sacrifice of joining the peoples liberation army. Some of them are young high school and college students who were promised certificates and well paid jobs if they could fulfill this genocidal mission. Let them be told now that sell-outs can never stop the revolution, for them there is only one end. Let them be warned — surely they haven't forgotten what always happened to the Hlubis, the Nkosis, and the Makiwanes of this country.

THEIR ACTIVITIES

They try to cause confusion and to demoralise cadres within the ANC and MK. They carry out UNSUCCESSFUL acts of sabotage such as attempts to assassinate our leaders and cadres and poison our food. Foiled all their attempts have always been by the vigilance of the peoples movement born out of experience. Moves to work their way up to leadership positions have always led to these Pretoria henchmen being discovered and ending up confessing. Some have even tried to encourage disobedience and sow mistrust by spreading lies about the peoples leaders who have sacrificed everything for the revolution. Their attempt to preach Bantustan politics and frighten cadres with the strength of the Boer army has never found fertile ground in ANC ranks because of the generally high level of consciousness. These traitors also try to damage the fighting spirit of our cadres by encouraging drug addiction but our sons and daughters have always proved to be too committed to the struggle, and refused to sell their motherland for drugs.

In spite of some of these police agents trying to sabotage weapons intended against enemy institutions and personnel, the peoples army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has always frustrated the enemy by delivering some of the most crippling blows to the Boer regime in the history of our struggle against fascism.

Those of them that have become FALSE state witnesses against the Mandelas, Mahlangus, Manges, Lubisis and Tsotsobes should NEVER be forgiven — their case is closed and the verdict passed.

They are also being used as cannon fodder against MK bullets in border operations and road blocks with the false hope that they will identify «suspected terrorists». This is where some of them have crossed paths with MK bullets and in certain cases their deaths are not even reported and their graves unmarked. They live a worthless life and die a stinking death.

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NO EASY WALK TO FREEDOM

The struggle is long and bitter. The half hearted always fall by the wayside and defect to the enemy. No number of sellouts can stop a people determined to be free, such as the suffering masses of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress. For all the traitors, the day of reckoning is fast approaching.

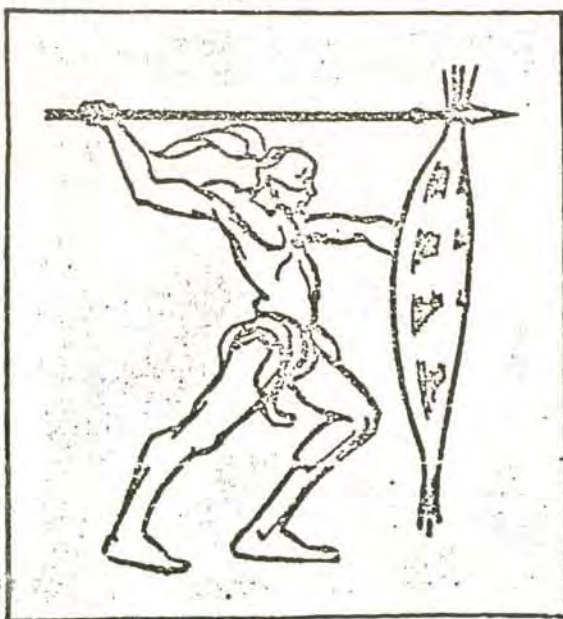
WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

All traitors must be judged and judged most harshly by history, and ours is a history of struggle and suffering. They will be judged mercilessly by the Sharpeville corpses, by Hector Petersen's young blood, by Mdluli's battered and bleeding body, by Martha Mahlangu's tears and Joe Gqabi's widow. They will have to face the peoples court **NAKED**.

- let them be exposed to the young and the old
- let their names addresses and photos be displayed in public places
- let us make songs about them
- let us write them letters and telegrams
- let them find no moment of peace.

They are no less guilty than their Pretoria bosses, they are all going to face the peoples wrath — the big ones and the little ones — their case is closed!

.....DEATH TO ALL THE TRAITORS!



**ALL POWER
TO THE PEOPLE!**

AKUBHUQWE AMAMBUKA

Ngobani kanti futhi yini amambuka? Asiqaphole amambuka kanye nabo bonke labo abasebenzela amaphoyisa ngenjongo yokuvimba inkululeko yethu. Amambuka lawa kudala ekhona. E Angola abulawa n'gezibhamu ngeskhathi iM.P.I.A. ikhulula iAngola. Amanye amambuka abaleka nabacindezeli bama-Putukezi eMozambique. Ahlulekile ezimbabwa. Kumanje amanye ayazini-kela acele nokuxolelwa kwiAfrican National Congress. Injongo yawo ukungena okwesibungu kunhlanganiso wethu, bese enikeza amabhunu imininingwane eqondene namacebo ethu omzabalazo. Akhushulelwa izikhundla ebuphoyeseni nasebusotsheni bamabhunu. Uma amabhunu engasabafuni avele abalahle njengezinja. Akukho noyedwa umuntu onsundu ofuna lamambuka.

Amanye amambuka agcina ngokuzibulala.

INDLELA AFUNDISWA NGAYO UKUNGCOLA

Iphapha eNingizium Afrika. Emuva kwalokhu athunyelwa kuKhongolose ngenjongo yokuthola imininingwane ngamacebo akhe uKhongolose Azama nokubulala abafowethu nodadewetu abanikele ngempilo yabo ukuze isizwe esinsundu sikhululeke. Amabhunu thembisa nabafundi besikole izitifikethi nesizumbulu semali uma abafundi bevuma ukuwasebenzela.

Izinja zamabhunu kufuneka zazi ukuthi ngeke zize zivimbe inqubekela pham-
Izinja zamabhunu kufuneka zazi ukuthi ngeke zize zivimbe inqubekela pham-
bili yomzabalazo. Lezizinja azikhumbule ukuthi baphelelephi oHilubi, oNkosi noMakhiwane.

IMISEBENZI YAWO ENGCOLILE

Azama ukucekela phansi ukuzimisela nomdlandla wamalunga ka Khongolose nombutho wethu uMkhonto weSizwe. Azama ngazo zonike izindlela kodwa ayehluleka ukubulala izinkokheli zethu nabafowethu abakufhongolose. Azama nokufaka ushevu ekudleni kwamalunga kaKhongolose. Yonke imisebuzabelo ezinjenge Transkei, Boputhatswana nezinye. Azama ukwesabisa amalunga ombutho wesizwe ngokuthi amabhunu angeke aze ehlulwe ngoba anamandla esabekayo.

Imizamo yalezizinja yokungena ezikhundleni eziphakeme zolubukhokheli ayiphumeleli neze. Lezizinja zizama nokucekela phansi amagama ezinkokheli zethu ngokufafaza amanga.

Amambuka lawa azama ukugqugquzela ukuba kusekwe ukubakhona kwezabelo-mbumbulu ezinjengeTranskei, Boputhatswana nezinye. Azama ukwesabisa amalunga ombutho wesizwe ngokuthi amabhunu angeke aze ehlulwe ngoba anamandla esabekayo.

Agquguzela ukuthi kubhonywe imithi ebulala imizwa nongqondo ukuze amalunga oMkhonto weSizwe ehluleke ukuqina namabhunu. Azama nokucekela phansi izikhali zombutho weSizwe. Lokukungcola kwalezizinja zamabhunu kwehluleka njalo. UMkhonto weSizwe ugadla ngobuciko amabhunwini kanti namandla awo uMkhonto akula ngokudlondlobala nsonke zonke

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Lezizinja ezinika ubufakazi bamanga ezinkantolo zamabhunu obubangele ukuthi kuvalelwe oMandela, Mahlangu, Mange, Lubisi, noTsotsobe azinamhlaba ezizocasha kuwo. Lamambuka asetshenziswa ngamabhunu ukuthi kufe wona kukala uma edibana nombutho wethu. Azama nokuthungatha amalunga oMkhonto weSizwe emigwaqeni. Iningi lawo ligcine ngokubhuawa izibhamu zoMkhonto weSizwe. Amabhunu avele abangcwabe njengezinja.

INDLELA EYA ENKULULEKWENI INZIMA

Umzabalabo wenkululeko naye kanti futhi unzima. Labo abangenamgogodla bagcina ngokusebenzela isitha. Umphini nomambuka ngeke zize zivimbe inqubekelaphambili yomzabalazo wethu lenkululeko.

KUFUNEKA KWENZIWENI NA?

Izinja zamabhunu kufuneka zazi ukuthi kumele ukuba zichaze:

- Ngabafowethu nodadewethu ababulawa eSharpville.
- Ngegazi lika Hector Peterson.
- Ngegazi lika Mdluli.
- Ngezinyembezi zikaMartha Mahlangu no nkosisazi ka Joe Gqabi.
- Bafowethu no dadwethu
- Asivumbulule lezizinja zamabhunu.
- Asilobe amagama nezithambe zabo ezweni lonke.
- Asithumele izincwadi nezincingo kubo.
- Asihube amaculo ngazo.
- Singabaniki nokuncane ukuthula.

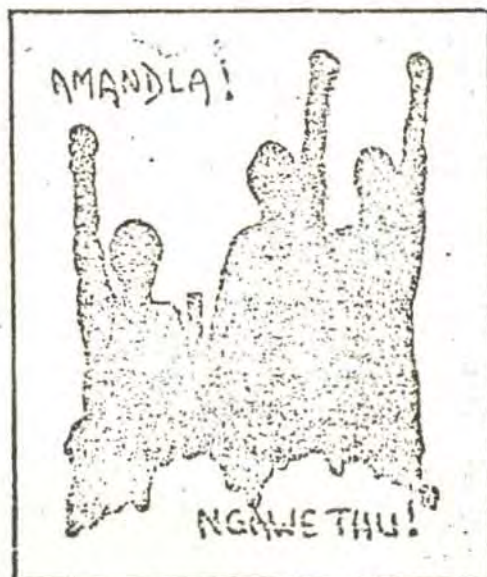
Amabhunu nezinja zawo alengelwa izambo lenkululeko phezu kwezinhloko zawo.

AKUBHUQWE AMAMBUKA!

AMANDLA!

AKUBHUQWE IZINJA ZAMABHUNU!

MATLA!



Iphuma kuKhongoose (AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS)
dlulisela kwabanye.

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EDITORIAL

sixties for their ANC activities can never be eradicated from our memories. Nor can we forget our martyrs: Albert Lutuli, Bram Fischer, Monty Naicker and others or those gallant heroes of Umkhonto we Sizwe who fell in Wankie and other places in Zimbabwe in 1967/68 especially the members of the Lutuli Combat Detachment which was involved in a six-hour gun battle in the heart of Zimbabwe. What is usually described as "Wankie Campaigns" is a living symbol and embodiment of the dauntlessness, courage and self-sacrifice which the sons and daughters of our people - "the cream of our society" - showed during those trying times. The names of Andries Motsepe, Patrick Moloao, Benson Ntsele, Paul Peterson and many others are household names in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the whole liberation movement. Some of our comrades who fought in Zimbabwe are still languishing in Smith's gaols - others have died far away from their homes. Nobody knows where their graves are. This list includes those who died in exile: Robert Resha, Michael Harmel, Jack Hodgson and Duma Nokwe. The spirit of Uncle J. B. Marks will always be with us:

What about our heroes who are now languishing on Robben Island: Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Mhlaba, Motsaedi, Mlangeni, Mkwazi and many others? And our comrades in Pretoria Local Prison: Goldberg, Kitson, Suttner, Rabkin, Cronin and others?

Solomon Mahlangu must be saved from the gallows. Protest, send petitions, demonstrate, give material and political support to the ANC; support armed struggle in South Africa; demand the release of all political prisoners and an end of all political trials in South Africa! Remember: 1978 is International Anti-Apartheid Year!

How on earth can humanity allow the time of Apartheid to continue? How long will this crime continue?

We on our part pledge persistent action which will culminate in the punishment of those who have set themselves up as hangmen of our freedom fighters. Power will belong to the People - the ANC will punish these criminals!

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The National Executive Committee meeting held in Lusaka from the 25th to 28th January 1978 decided to appoint:

Dan Tloome as Deputy Secretary General and Deputy Treasurer General.

Joe Nhlankhla as Administrative Secretary at the Secretary General's office.

Moosajee as Administrative Secretary : Treasurer general's office.

J. Jele as Head of the International Department.

Eddie Funde as Head of Youth and Students Department.

Tebello Motaponyana as Deputy Head.

Pappy Moloto as Administrative Secretary.

Chief Representatives:

Mark Shope Nigeria

Max Moabi Angola

Cap Zungu United Kingdom

Moosie Moola Egypt and Middle East

Tony Mongalo USA and UN.

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... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa

APARTHEID IN CRISIS

CURRENT NEWS AND COMMENT FROM
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

"... these new moves by the racists must be seen as a further consolidation of fascist tyranny ..."

New laws are being enacted by the apartheid regime which entrench national and racial oppression and represent a further attack on the rights of the working people. These laws come from a system in crisis.

The South African economy is at a very low ebb. Returns on investment in the apartheid regime have fallen from over 18% in the 1960's, to just over 8%; inflation has been steadily rising; the balance of payments has been in deficit and unemployment has reached enormous proportions. On the question of less foreign investment and the outflow of capital from the country, the racists have to admit that one of the root causes is the political challenge being posed by the oppressed people of South Africa. Our people continue to shake the hated system of apartheid to its very foundations.

The world should be aware of the fascist response to the twin problems of political unrest and economic instability. These measures which deepen the national oppression of the African people, depriving us of 'citizenship' in the land of our birth, and attack the few remaining rights of all nationally oppressed working people, make us aware of the need to combine more than ever before, the two aspects of our struggle: National liberation and class struggle.

The crisis in South Africa obviously affects different sections of the population in different ways. While the white businessmen debate the problems of continuing the super-exploitation of our people effectively, the oppressed themselves are facing massive unemployment. In the town alone black unemployment has been estimated at over

2 million or 20% of the working population.

One of the new measures to deal with people who are denied the right to work is a Bill whose content is blatantly fascist. Black people who are unemployed for more than four months in any single year face ARREST in terms of the 'Bantu Homelands Citizenship Amendment Bill' now before the all-white parliament. The four months need not be consecutive but can be a total of four months or 122 days in any one year. We are no longer unemployed but 'idle Bantu' and this new Bill encourages conviction for so-called first offenders.

It has been a feature of apartheid colonialism that most of our people convicted for 'crimes' by the state are merely paying the penalty of their colour. But these new moves by the racists must be seen as a further consolidation of fascist tyranny. They clearly expose the real nature of apartheid and demonstrate how national oppression is used to keep the profits flowing. The punishments meted out for being unemployed will be: Detention in a rehabilitation centre or farm colony or "similar institution established or approved under the Prisons Act"; Performance of prescribed labour at any rural village, settlement or rehabilitation scheme within a "Bantu area". Unemployed people are being forced to give their labour away for nothing - to keep the racists' coffers full.

Another effect of the Bill, which is a proposed amendment to the Bantu Urban Areas Act of 1945 - further threatens the rights of permanent residence for people born in townships like Soweto. The racists sound more and more arrogant. Connie

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... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa

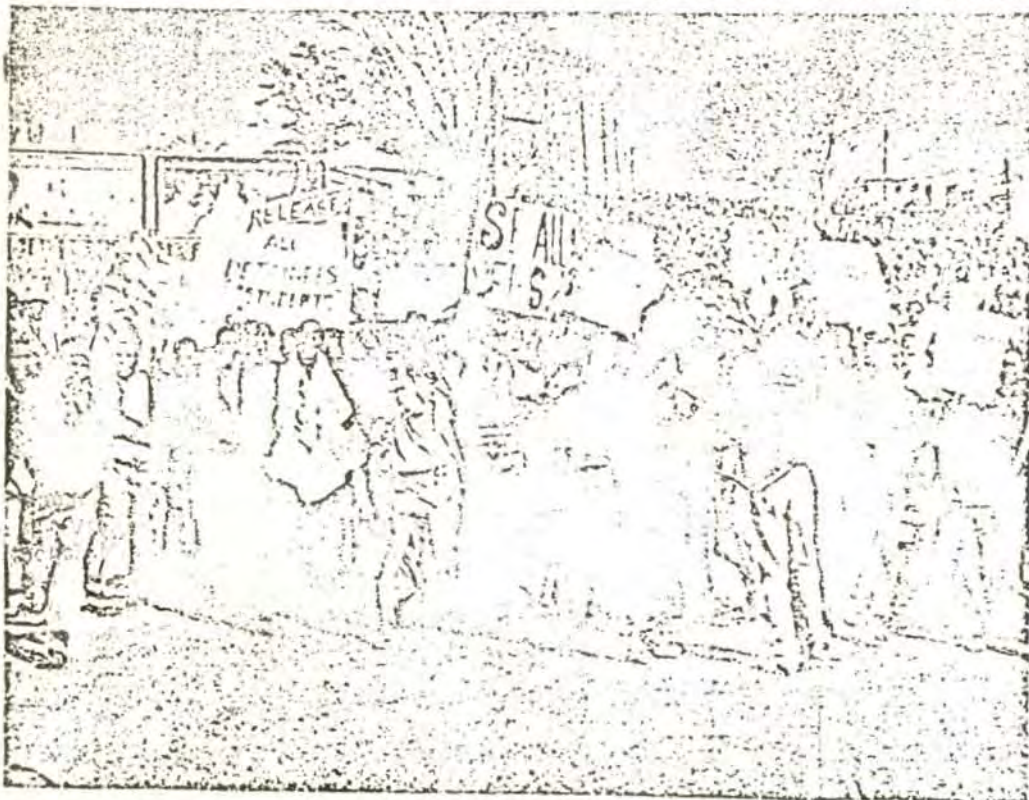
Mulder, now Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, recently pronounced that: "No black would have South African citizenship when National Party policy was carried out to its full consequences". We can assure the Minister that the policies of white-supremacy are on the way out in Southern Africa. These measures themselves reflect the oppressors' relative weakness and desperation to find a way out of the crisis.

The fact is that the racists see in this move a chance to clear out all militant protest from the towns and relegate it to penal slavery or to starvation in one of the bantustans. They see it as their chance to push out all the working men and women who have been steeled in urban struggle and all the students and pupils who have been using the boycott weapon. Fascist policy aims to 'rid' the cities and farms of all Africans, except those who provide labour.

This enemy offensive will not deter us from our efforts to raise the level of struggle and will make more unshakeable our resolve to fight for the creation of a People's South Africa where "the state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits".

The racists' drive against those living in the urban areas is based on the concrete problems they are having in containing the uprisings. The battle-ground has been extended: out of the ghettos and right into the heart of the white areas. This has really dealt a blow to the confidence of white supremacy. 1977 saw a steady increase in the number of bomb explosions inside South Africa and the onslaught will continue to rise in the foreseeable future. The enemy admits to more than 30 acts of sabotage over the past 18 months, which it attributes to the ANC. But what the regime admits is only 'the tip of the iceberg' - innumerable armed actions are suppressed for the obvious

Soweto, August 76, our youth demonstrate their militancy in their call "Release Detainees"



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Handwritten signature: N. J. J. J. J.

... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa

"it is vital that we step up mass resistance. 1978 must go down in history as anti-apartheid year ..."

reason that if they were publicized there would be panic in the country.

One spate of actions we did hear about had the enemy on the run. These took place in November and December of last year and were signalled by a bomb explosion in the Johannesburg Carlton Centre on November 24th 1977. Six days later, a mailbag exploded on a train in Irene station. On December 6th an explosion took place outside the Germiston police station and two days later the Benoni railway station was bombed.

predicted years of economic crisis ahead. Only a strong united working class can win the fulfilment of your deepest wishes. Rally behind the banner of SACTU, the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Use the powerful strike weapon to force through your economic demands and the programme enshrined in the FREEDOM CHARTER.

It is clear that our underground machinery is alive and that more and more people are learning how to organise clandestinely. This is also reflected in the distribution of the Movements' propaganda inside the country. Thousands of ANC leaflets are being circulated throughout South Africa and the enemy is forced to admit that these are being read in 'most black townships near cities'. One leaflet to mark the beginning of 1978, Apartheid Year, addresses itself to all sections of the population and points the way forward:



BROTHERS AND SISTERS! While the fascist bosses get fat over their christmas turkeys, the working people of South Africa reel under increasing burdens, bringing many of us to the point of despair. Our militants are rotting in the racists' prisons. Throughout the land, deaths, detentions, harassments, humiliations, unemployment and starvation and ruin for millions of us the so-called 'holiday season'. We cannot bear this oppression any longer. Recent events have shaken the fascists as never before, but it is vital that we step up our mass resistance to the Apartheid state. 1978 must go down in the history books as **ANTI-APARTHEID YEAR!**

STUDENTS AND PUPILS OF ALL RACES! Reject the fascist education system that is forced down your throats. Whether you are subject to Bantu Education or Christian National Education, it is 3rd-rate education designed to support an unjust system. Use the boycott weapon, raise your voices and demand a single, free, compulsory national education system, founded in a society which allows you actually to benefit from what you must study so hard and for so many years.

WORKERS OF ALL RACES! A falling standard of living and the prospect of unemployment are all that South Africa's capitalist economy has to offer you in the

WOMEN OF ALL RACES! For as long as the Apartheid state continues to exist, you will be faced with sex discrimination in wages, employment opportunities, legal matters and many other areas. Fight for a state where all forms of discrimination including sex discrimination and sexism will be outlawed forever.

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... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa

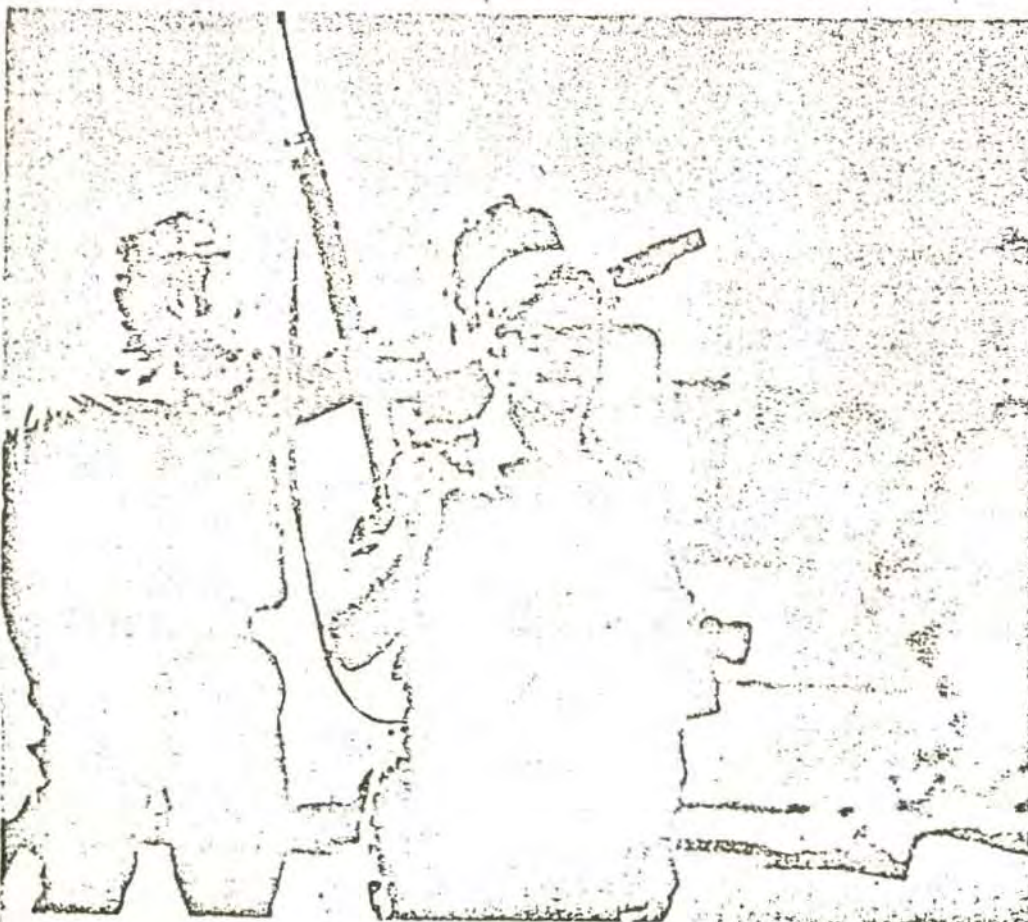
SOUTH AFRICAN SOLDIERS! You are being killed and maimed for a regime whose every temporary victory only holds out the prospect of further bloodshed, in foreign lands, against foreign peoples who are only fighting for their freedom. There is no hope of crushing the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. You are only fighting for the interests of the monopoly capitalists and their British, French, American and other imperialist backers. Stop the fighting! Draftees, you must evade this so-called 'National Service', or else sabotage the racist war machine from within!

the people. Some of you do not even have roofs over your heads. Apartheid has nothing for you. Turn your activities against your masters! Come over to the side of the people.

The AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS representing the most oppressed section of our people, leads the South African liberation movement against all the sham institutions held out to us by the fascists - Bantustans, CRC, South African Indian Council, new constitutional 'proposals', and so on. There will be no resting until all the people have full rights in a society based on the will of all the people. We shall create a People's Republic!

POLICEMEN! Stop shooting unarmed men, women and children. Stop harassing

Racist forces repress brutally but have no hope of crushing the liberation struggle



SECHABA : VOL. 13 NO. 1 : JANUARY 1979 (COVER):

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SECHABA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS SOUTH AFRICA

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UMKHONTO IS BORN

December 16 is known throughout South Africa as "Heroes' Day". On that day Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed in 1961, 123 years after impis of Dingane confronted the white invaders at banks of the Income River, which the racists call "Blood River". We publish a leaflet which announced the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe on December 16, 1961.

Units of Umkhonto we Sizwe today carried out planned attacks against Government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is a new independent body, formed by Africans. It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races. It is not connected in any way with a so-called "Committee for National Liberation" whose existence has been announced in the press. Umkhonto we Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation movement, and our members, jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement.

It is, however, well known that the main national liberation organizations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peaceably at all times, regardless of Government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all Government-inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remains only two choices:

submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

The Government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the people's non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for Government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the Government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without any fear of reprisals. The methods of Umkhonto we Sizwe mark a break with that past.

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The Government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist Government which has rejected every peaceable demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force! Twice in the past 18 months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down peaceful, non-violent strike action of the people in support of their rights. It is now preparing its forces — enlarging and rearming its armed forces and drawing white civilian population into commandos and pistol clubs — for full-scale military actions against the people. The Nationalist Government has chosen the course of force and massacre, now, deliberately, as it did at Sharpsville.

Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the Government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights, and for their final liberation! Let the Government,

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Its supporters who put it into power, and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps it in power, take note of where the Nationalist Government is leading the country!

We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought — as the liberation movement has sought — to achieve liberation, without bloodshed and civil clash. We do still. We hope — even at this late hour — that our first actions will awaken everyone to a realization of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war. We believe our actions to be a blow against the Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule.

In these actions, we are working in the best interests of all the people of this country — black, brown and white — whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country.

We appeal for the support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people of this country.

Afrika Mayibuye!

Issued by command of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

ANC OFFICE IN BERLIN

On Monday November 20, an ANC office was opened in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic. President O.R. Tambo was present when Anthony Le Clerc Mongalo was accredited as an ANC representative in the German Democratic Republic. Comrade Mongalo spoke for all members of our organisation when he said: "The opening of the Mission of the African National Congress is yet another proof of the total commitment of the Socialist Unity Party, the Government, the Solidarity Committee and indeed the entire people of the German Democratic Republic to the legitimate and just struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress."

Comrade Kurt Seibt, President of the GDR Solidarity Committee, received Comrade Mongalo at his accreditation and emphasised that the GDR "together with the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community as well as other progressive forces in the world stands behind the ANC."

At a press conference Comrade Tambo stated "In earlier years, the forces of racist and colonial oppression had thought it possible to suppress the movement for

national liberation by banning our organisations, by arresting and murdering the patriots of the countries of Southern Africa. History has proved that these were vain-glorious illusions. By their own heroic efforts our peoples, led by their respective movements, SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and the ANC, responded to the enemy's offensive with more and better organization and a heightened willingness to sacrifice everything for the victory of our noble cause."

O.R. Tambo had the opportunity to meet Comrade Hermann Axen, a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) and exchanged ideas with him on the international situation and the developments in Southern Africa.

This event, which was widely publicised in the German Democratic mass media, was an important event in the history of our movement testifying to the growing prestige of our movement and a shattering blow to the forces of imperialism, colonialism, reaction, racism and Apartheid.

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Government

MAY 1979



SECHABA
Official Organ of the African
National Congress - South Africa



MOSHOESHOE
YEAR OF
THE SPEAR

SECHABA : MAY 1979 (page 4 thereof):

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FORWARD TO REVOLUTION

Yeyedwa Cap Zungu, Chief Representative of the ANC in the U.K., delivered this speech on the occasion of the 57th anniversary of the ANC, January 8, 1979.



Cap Zungu, with Dr Dadoo and M. Cachalia

Comrade Chair and Comrades,

The occasion of the birthday of our organisation, the ANC, coming as it does at the beginning of a new year, is an appropriate one to greet and salute you, the militant activists of our organisation here in the UK — to greet and salute our fighting people inside South Africa together with the revolutionary cadres of our organisation inside and outside our country.

It is an equally propitious moment to extend our greetings of friendship and solidarity with our allies and close friends — the Socialist countries, the peoples and governments of Africa, particularly the Front Line States and the progressive, anti-racist, anti-imperialist movements of support and solidarity in this country, Western Europe and other parts of the world.

It is an opportune moment to salute and greet our revolutionary comrades-in-arms in the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, particularly ZAPU, and SWAPO of Namibia, the sole and authentic representatives of their peoples' national aspirations.

We take this opportunity to thank them all for the support and encouragement they have rendered us in the past and look forward to a year of increasing mutual co-operation and assistance — a year of increasing consolidation of our unity and of further decisive advances in our common struggle against racism, colonialism and imperialism.

Unity of all the anti-racist, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces is a fundamental requirement of the forces for progressive change throughout the world.

It is indeed the cornerstone of the policy, strategy and tactics of the African National Congress.

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Birth of a Nation

Since its birth in Bloemfontein on the 8th January 1912 the history of the ANC has been one of forging unity amongst the various African nationalities: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Tswana, Pedi, Venda, Shangaan, Tsonga etc. In the words of Pixie ka Isaka Seme at that historic Conference: "The demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongaas, between the Basutos and every other Native must be buried and forgotten...We are one people."

Throughout the years the African National Congress has patiently and tirelessly preached the doctrine of African Unity which is the basis of its ideology of African Nationalism. This quest for African unity however was taking place within a context of the development of capitalism in South Africa and it is precisely this fact which increasingly came to influence the notion of unity into broader dimensions and which gives the nationalism of the ANC a deep and through-going revolutionary content as well as a profound anti-colonial and anti-imperialist content.

The development of capitalism and of capitalist productive relations carried within it two contradictory processes. It greatly intensified national oppression of the black peoples as a means of maximising profits. At the same time it created the very conditions for the break-down of barriers, not only between the various African tribes but between Africans and other oppressed peoples — the Coloured and Indian communities, by forcing them as workers into the mines, factories, mills, docks and farms of the capitalist class.

The dream of Moshoeshe for a united African people against British imperialism and Afrikaner expansionism became a reality with the substantive expansion of capital into every part of South African life.

The struggle against national oppression of the African people became increasingly inseparable from the struggle against national oppression of the Coloured and Indian peoples and throughout the decades of struggle by the constituent components

of the oppressed black peoples the issue of unity and co-operation against a common enemy came to be increasingly understood as crucial to the success of the struggle. Thus it was that the initially separate fights of the African, Coloured and Indian peoples through their national organisations became increasingly intertwined, led to increasing co-operation so that the issue of unity was given a great leap forward in the mid-forties with the Pact of Co-operation between the ANC and the South African Indian Congress and found its logical organisational framework in the mid fifties with the formation of the Congress Alliance — the highest expression of the unity of all anti-racist and democratic forces in South Africa, uniting as it did the organisations of African, Coloured and Indian peoples together with that of the democratic and progressive section of the white community.

Class and National Question

The other fundamental feature of the question of unity so boldly acclaimed by the founding fathers of the ANC in 1912 was the development of unity between the class and national forces and hence the class and national organisations of the South African peoples.

South African capitalism created the working class. Its development led to the formation of working class organisations — the black trade unions and the class party of the workers, the SACP, together with the formulation of Socialist ideology in South Africa.

Socialism and Nationalism could not develop separately from each other in the South African context. Black workers daily are subjected to a dual form of oppression: class exploitation as workers and national oppression as black people.

The transformation of the SACP soon after its founding into a party of black workers primarily; the creation of African trades unions in the wake of the white workers co-opted into the exploitative system of Apartheid after 1922; the increasingly militant actions for both economic and political rights by black workers; the adoption by the Communist Party of the Black Republic Thesis which for the first

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time in South African history projected the objective of struggle as black majority rule — all these developments began to clarify the political and ideological issues of the South African struggle and penetrated the minds of the mass of the black peoples and their national organisations. This process was dialectical. Socialist theory itself became enriched by the course of actual struggle and the expressions of militant nationalism as espoused by the African National Congress. The burning issues of national grievances, national oppression and national assertiveness and aspirations, regarded by the early pioneers of Socialism as mere side effects of a class divided society came to be understood as inseparably linked with class exploitation; national oppression came to be correctly identified as the modus operandi of class exploitation, in the South African context class and national struggle are inter-linked and inter-dependent. This inter-penetration of ideas between the national and class organisations of the people became the bedrock of the mutual co-operation, particularly from the 1940's onwards between the African National Congress, the African labour movements, the Communist Party of South Africa and the national organisations of the Indian and Coloured peoples. The clarity with which the class and national question came to be perceived through the actual, concrete experiences of the broad masses of workers and other strata of the black people laid the basis for the formulation in 1955 of the programme of principles of the ANC contained in the Freedom Charter and the Strategy and Tactics needed for its fulfilment.

The Freedom Charter

The Freedom Charter, adopted by all the national organisations of the anti-racist and democratic forces and unconditionally accepted by SACTU and the Communist Party as the basis for the immediate aims of the struggle, also places the relationship between the class and national aspects of our struggle in the proper context. The national aspect of our struggle is the dominant feature of the struggle against white supremacy rule. This accords fully

with the experience of decades of struggle as well as the immediately perceived realities experienced by the oppressed peoples daily. National oppression in the form of racial discrimination and humiliation is an everyday reality. Racial institutions and racial laws govern our every aspect of life; Apartheid affects all social and class forces among the black peoples. This reality makes possible the broadest unity of the oppressed peoples together with the democratic and anti-racist section of white South Africa. Thus the Strategy and Tactics Document adopted by the ANC at Morogoro in 1969 states that: "The main content of the present phase of the South African revolution is the national liberation of the largest and most oppressed group — the African people. This strategic aim...demands in the first place the maximum mobilisation of the African people as a dispossessed and racially oppressed nation...it involves a stimulation and a deepening of national confidence, national pride and national assertiveness."

And the Communist Party in a recent appeal to black workers, circulated clandestinely inside our country and reflecting its policy adopted in its 1962 Programme, states: "To end the barbarism of white domination we must destroy its foundations — the capitalist system. But the immediate task facing the workers and all oppressed people is the destruction of white minority domination. That is why the workers unconditionally support and engage in the struggle for national liberation headed by the African National Congress."

This is not to say that the interests of the working class are ignored. Indeed a key demand contained in the Freedom Charter is for the nationalisation, in the interest of the working class and all people, of all the monopoly industries of the mines, agriculture, banking and other finance sectors.

Thus the unity of the African people, uppermost in the minds of the founders of the African National Congress, became broadened, deepened and enriched in the intervening years of struggle to embrace the unity of all anti-racist and democratic forces in our country.

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UKHONGOLOSI (AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS) UTHI KU-VORSTER NANGAHLAKANE AKHE



UKHONGOLOSE UTHI KU VORSTER NANGANKENTSHANE AKHE:

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ENE GO VORSTER LE BOTSOISI DA:



HAE MATSATSI A HAO A SETI

1. The African National Congress (ANC) has always been a party of the people, a party that has fought for the liberation of our people from the shackles of apartheid. It is a party that has stood for the rights of the oppressed and the dignity of the human race. It is a party that has been the voice of the people in the struggle for freedom and justice.

RE TLA TSAEA LEFATSHI LA RO

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS SAYS TO VORSTER AND HIS GANG:



YOUR DAYS ARE COMING TO AN END!!

1. The African National Congress (ANC) has always been a party of the people, a party that has fought for the liberation of our people from the shackles of apartheid. It is a party that has stood for the rights of the oppressed and the dignity of the human race. It is a party that has been the voice of the people in the struggle for freedom and justice.

WE WILL TAKE BACK OUR COUNTRY!

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African Unity

The unity espoused then in 1912 was not only national but continental.

Our National Anthem, "Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika" (God Bless Africa) together with one of our earliest and most persistent slogans, "Mayibuy, I' Afrika" (Africa must come back to us) are concrete expressions of our deep anti-colonial and anti-imperialist commitment.

Our representatives attended the first Pan-African Conference held in France in 1919, the fifth Pan-African Conference held in Great Britain in 1945 and the first All-African Peoples' Conference held in Accra in 1958.

At the conference which resolved the end of World War 1 at Versailles in 1919, the ANC delegation raised two important issues in addition to our own peoples' case:

- 1) The rights of the people of Rhodesia to freedom, and
- 2) Strong opposition to the granting of the mandate over South West Africa to the South African racist regime.

Again in 1945 with the creation of the United Nations Organisation the ANC delegation, led by its then President-General

Dr. A. B. Xuma sharply raised, amongst other issues, the question of SWA (Namibia) and demanded the repeal of the mandate from South Africa.

Anti-Imperialist Commitment

Our organisation spared no efforts to be represented at that historic Bandung Conference, because it realised that the unity of the peoples of Asia and Africa in the struggle against racism, colonialism and imperialism was of paramount importance.

Since then, the African National Congress has been represented on all progressive and anti-imperialist organisations such as All-African Peoples' Conference, International Womens' Democratic Federation, World Peace Council, World Federation of Democratic Youth, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, Organisation of African Trades Union, The Pan African Youth Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movements.

Given the scope and character of international imperialist involvement in South Africa on the side of the white minority racist rule against the fundamental aspirations of our people, our organisation's through-going anti-colonial and anti-imperialist policy and practice is both inevitable and necessary.

PRO POWER

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Today, as we look back on 37 years of struggle and the heritage of policy, ideas, strategy and tactics forged in those struggles and bequeathed to the present generation of South African revolutionaries, these features of our organisation continue to assert themselves more and more forcefully, and our experience has served to underline and confirm the correctness of our outlook and policy. We can say with supreme confidence that the African National Congress stands poised and ready, at the head of our peoples, to spearhead the armed revolution to Peoples' Power.

We are at War

Today the storm of revolution is gathering with irresistible momentum within our country. We are at war! This fact is increasingly manifesting itself in the activities of the racist regime supported by international imperialism and the revolutionary forces led by the ANC and its allies.

In the last 2 years there have been repeated waves of industrial action and strikes by black workers, the most decisive force in the South African revolution. It has been conservatively estimated that there were over 90 separate strikes involving over 14,000 black workers in 1977. In 1978,

despite increased repression this process has continued. This is a sharp reminder to us of the class content of our revolutionary struggle.

The youth and students in many parts of the country continue to resist Bantu Education and the Apartheid system through boycott action. They are developing new methods of resistance and organisation and scores are joining the ANC.

Large sections of the urban and rural masses, facing forced removals are coming out in open confrontation against the repressive state apparatus. A reflection of this has been the magnificent and courageous resistance of our people at Crossroads, Unibell, Vandaland and other such places. Significant in these acts of defiance and resistance has been the increasing militancy of women who have often taken the lead in these confrontations. This is a sure indication of the all-round development of our struggle.

1978 has also witnessed in numerous ways the all-round combat capability of the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe - MK. Not only is our organisation countering the onslaught of the racist regime, but we have demonstrated a capacity to hit back successfully both politically and militarily. In various parts of our

TO THE PEOPLE - MAY DAY

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country underground ANC units have carried out an increasing number of successful revolutionary activities, the majority of which have gone unreported. Although the regime is trying very hard to hide the true situation, the nature and scope of these actions has forced it into some public admissions. The police have admitted publicly that they have been unable to destroy the ANC and that they are "working round the clock" to uncover ANC units that are carrying out attacks against enemy installations and personnel. While South Africans have been warned that they will have to learn to "live with terrorists". In an interview with a CBS film crew Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Justice, admitted that "The ANC is everywhere".

In June, 1978 Brig. Zietsman (Head of the Security Police) announced that "an estimated 4,000 Blacks, mostly members of the banned ANC, are currently undergoing military training", admitting that "South Africa is in a state of war".

Reports indicate that the Special Police Units deployed along vast stretches of the South African borders are "battling to contain a concentrated infiltration by the ANC's military wing, MK".

Brig. Zietsman further revealed that several clashes had taken place between the security forces and freedom fighters in the eastern Transvaal and other border areas and that a growing number of trained and equipped ANC cadres were returning to South Africa.

During 1978 an increasing number of armed confrontations between MK and enemy forces took place. In February, a police patrol was successfully ambushed and 2 policemen killed.

In August, an MK unit was forced into action against the regime's 'Elite Task Force' and counter insurgency units assisted by units of the Bophuthatswana police. The battle took place near Rustenburg, 75 miles from Pretoria. It lasted for many hours during which the enemy used planes and helicopters and saturated the area with gunfire, napalm, defoliants and teargas. It was reported that 10 members of the Task Force were killed and that the MK unit took successful evasive action losing one cadre captured.

In October, another major clash took place in an area between Vryburg and Mafeking, about 300 km from Johannesburg.

And in November, a police patrol despatched to investigate the presence of "terrorists" in the Mara district of northern Transvaal was taken by complete surprise in another successful ambush.

The incidence of sabotage of public installations aimed at the disruption and destruction of the civil administration and economic targets has risen dramatically. According to the reports in the white press our freedom fighters are displaying "a high level of training and sophistication". The Rand Daily Mail, for example, has reported that there have been 30 "known bombing attacks since 1977". These have been concentrated against the communications system, especially railways, police stations and Bantu Administration Boards.

The strengthened capability of our organisation is also reflected in the actions taken against known informers and traitors.

Abel Mthembu and Leonard Nkosi, both former ANC members who served as state witnesses in many trials, were shot dead, and a third traitor was seriously wounded at his home near Durban. Two known BOSS agents, Lloyd Ndaba and Qhphan Chapi were also eliminated in this way. These are just reprisals against these traitors of our peoples' cause.

Our underground propaganda units, responsible for mass mobilisation and agitation, have continued to grow and develop in sophistication, and pamphlets, posters and other literature of our movement increasingly being distributed and, according to the South African police, "circulate quite freely in the townships". A highlight of this activity in 1978 was the mass pamphlet distributions throughout the major centres of our country marking the 60th birthday of our leader Nelson Mandela. Our capacity to reach the ears of our people is a hundredfold increased by the regular broadcasts of "Radio Freedom" from Lusaka, Luanda and Dar-es-Salaam.

The intensification of our revolutionary activities has resulted in many trials. Sacrifice in the cause of our freedom by committed revolutionaries is a sine qua non

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of our revolution: no sacrifice means no struggle.

These actions and countless others conducted by the increasing presence of our organisation at all levels and places inside and outside our country coupled with the involvement of growing numbers of the oppressed black majority in towns and in the countryside testify to a steady maturation of the revolutionary process which must be seen to be a growing feature of the South African situation and a key factor in the deepening crisis of the Apartheid system.

Economically the South African ruling class is forced to divert larger resources of capital and white manpower not to the capital accumulation and profit maximisation, but to deal with the growing threat to the entire exploitative system. Given the fear that international finance-capital has of unstable political situations as well as the increased activities of anti-apartheid movements and solidarity organisations in exposing and condemning this collaboration, the ability of the regime to find capital for its ambitious military and economic projects is bound to become more seriously affected as the hammer blows of the revolutionary struggle grow in strength.

Already the situation in South Africa has become a subject of serious concern in the boardrooms of the monopolies and multi-nationals as well as in the centres of power of their political representatives.

Politically, the regime is frantically accelerating its Bantustan programme in the hope of buttressing white supremacy rule by reliance on the collaborationist elements among black South Africans. Equally, it is beginning to create a material basis for the creation of a black bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Bantustans by extending the opportunities by this element for capital accumulation.

The response of the masses of our people to these manoeuvres doom them to failure.

At the same time the regime has continued to take steps to enhance its own military capability. Its military budget for 1978/9 has reached a new record high of R1,550 millions, approximately 19% of the budget and an increase of almost 5000% since 1961 when the ANC was

banned and the armed struggle commenced.

This increased programme of militarisation as mentioned earlier, is in itself contributory to the deep-going socio-economic crisis besetting the regime.

At the same time the Muldergate Scandal which exploded in the heart of the body-politic of white South Africa — the forced resignation of Connie Mulder, once tipped as Vorster's successor; the resignation of Van de Bergh as head of the Security Police and BOSS; the reorganisation of BOSS into the Department of National Security; the political illness which forced Vorster to relinquish the Premiership and take on the more staid duties of President; the sharp and open hostility displayed by the Botha faction of the Nationalist Party at the election of Treunicht to succeed Mulder as head of the Transvaal Nationalists — all these are signs, at the level of the political representatives of the South African ruling class, of the growing crisis of Apartheid.

Zimbabwe and Namibia must be Free

This crisis is made the more acute by the growing success, stature and strength of the liberation movements in Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front and in Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO despite the attempts by the South African and Rhodesian racist regimes, aided by the western capitalist powers, to create neo-colonial regimes in these areas in order to maintain them as enclaves of imperialist domination.

The victories of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia will undoubtedly enhance our own prospects and revolutionary potential.

Comrade Chair and Comrades, our struggle is indeed a difficult and complex one. It calls for tremendous discipline, commitment and sacrifice. Our people have demonstrated unequivocally that they are ready and prepared for this. The African National Congress, conscious of its historic task of leading our people's every endeavour to smash white supremacy rule, has no doubt that victory is certain. Let us on this historic day resolve to unite our efforts, individually and collectively, to make that victory sooner than later.

SECHABA : JULY 1979 (COVER):

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SECHABA

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ANTI-IMPERIALISTS

MEET



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... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ...

together with imperialist manipulations, to build their unholy constellation, attempting to gobble up the economically weak and dependent countries such as Swaziland which have been South Africa's hostages since the time they were British protectorates. And of course Pretoria's intentions are crystal clear. If they cannot win Africans over with the carrot then they will beat them into submission with the stick. The politics and policies of the racists are bankrupt and immoral. No African or independent African state wishes to become a slave of Pretoria; which is why the "statesman" Botha must follow-up his political persuasion with outright military aggression. After all "war" is "politics by violent means" and the bankrupt politics of the racists means that their general solution to their problems is violence,

terror and total war!

Botha's constellation of southern states, his Pax Pretoria, would be no more than a Pax Romana, a Pax Hitler — peace yes! But the peace of the graveyard! That mentor and idol of the Pretoria Boers, the unlamented Adolf Hitler, also spoke about a constellation of European states. When Hitler could not get his way with his neighbours by bribery, corruption and blackmail, he drove those neighbours into his constellation at the point of the bayonet and jackboot. The wealth and resources of all those countries flowed into the coffers of Hitler's nazi state and the peoples of those constellations of states became the slave labourers of the Nazi capitalist class subject to the most inhuman torture and brutality.

This would be the reality of Pretoria's



4 Black youth protest in Pretoria against the racist murder of Solomon Mahlangu

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... Inside South Africa ... Inside South Africa ... Inside South Africa ...

constellation of states! This would be the reality of "equality, co-operation and good neighbourliness" being painted by Botha. The Pretoria Boers, the South African capitalist class and the imperialists are longing to see the apartheid state at the helm of an economic market incorporating for massive exploitation and the production of super profits all the states of southern Africa, stretching as far north as Zaire. They feel that South Africa has both the economic power and military muscle to carve-out such an empire; an empire which would be a convenient bulwark against the African revolution.

Independent Africa, and the Front-line states in particular, is keenly aware of the strategy of the racist octopus and knows the meaning of its foul and deadly embrace. Only total sell-outs like Muzorewa - that gibbering monkey on Smith's chain - and the Turnhalle traitors can pretend that P.W. Botha's fascist fantasies make sense.

For instance the government of Lesotho has in no uncertain terms rejected Botha's attempts to include that proud, independent country in his so-called constellation. Lesotho has become a thorn in Pretoria's flesh and can consider itself a highly respected member of the OAU. The Lesotho government gave the correct reply to Botha when it stated that the only way Lesotho would take part in a political summit would be to discuss the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa, and the transfer of power to the majority in the country.

These are fighting words indeed and a fitting rebuff to Botha's rantings. The Lesotho government's statement points to the goal: A liberated South Africa based on the Freedom Charter where power would firmly be in the hands of the people. This would create the real and lasting peace, prosperity and good relations amongst the independent states not only of southern Africa, but of the whole continent. The path to that goal is clear. The path is being charted by the struggling peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The path consists of all forms of struggle, mass political struggle and

mobilisation combined with armed struggle. This is the path of PEOPLE'S WAR!

That the people's liberation wars in southern Africa are achieving results can be seen by the frantic attempts of the Pretoria Boers and the imperialists to stave off their imminent collapse in Namibia and Zimbabwe. In South Africa too their position is becoming more and more precarious as the struggle advances under the leadership of the ANC and its military wing, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE.

Botha's dreams of constellations and Bantustans, of separate development and white leadership will be swept away by the tide of history. The attempts at aggression against Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, the attempts to liquidate SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and our ANC can never succeed. Yes! The dying horse has a savage kick and the highest vigilance is necessary but the whole world can see the writing on the wall which reads THE RACISTS ARE DOOMED AND VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

**ANC GUERRILLAS
IN ACTION**

On Thursday May 3, ANC guerrillas attacked the Moroka police station in Soweto; tossed a grenade into the corrugated iron building and destroyed many files and dossiers in the archives including records on "criminals" etc. and finger-prints. They dropped ANC pamphlets. As the police station was burning fiercely, the situation was chaotic and the Jabulani Fire Brigade was called in to douse the flames. The ANC guerrillas had complete control of the situation.

The police have launched a major man-hunt; police reinforcements were called in

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... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ...

from all over Johannesburg and found "a tremendous number of empty cartridge cases" in the area; around the building scores of policemen, some in uniform, others not, were working furiously to get every shred of evidence; all sections of the police have been drawn into it; police searched nearby houses; patrols were stepped up in Soweto and police stopped cars at random to search them.

The police station was cordoned off and ballistic experts were on the scene while phorensic experts combed through the charred remains looking for clues. They failed dismally.

THE END OF A TRIAL

On a bitterly cold winter's day - June 16, 1976 - more than 20,000 Soweto students marched in the streets demonstrating their rejection of Apartheid education. What happened since then is well known - but the one-man Cillie commission appointed nearly three years ago has not yet reported.

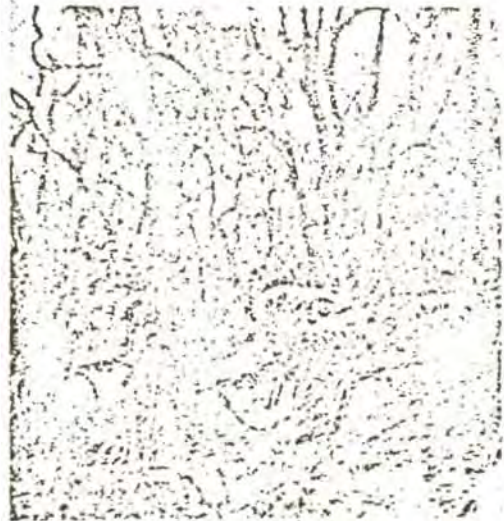
On Friday May 11, 1979 a trial which was a sequel to these students' demonstrations ended in the Kempton Park Circuit Court. Ten young men a woman were found guilty on sedition - the first sedition trial in 30 years. The state claimed that the accused wanted to remove Bantu Education through violent means. The state produced a 200 page indictment and 3,000 pages of evidence and more than 100 witnesses.

Several of the accused were tortured and assaulted (police used electric shock torture). It should be remembered that these young people aged between 18 and 24 years (one of the students was 15 yearsold in 1976) had been in jail for detention for between 24 and 30 months for their activities as leaders of the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), a body which was banned along with 18 other organisations in the October crackdown in 1977.

When the sentence was passed on May 11, 1979 - (11 days after they were convicted of sedition) the 11 accused sang freedom songs and made the clenched fist salute.

Four of the 11 will serve prison terms. Sechaba Montsisi, former chairman of the SSRC, was sentenced to 8 years; another accused received a seven year sentence and two others including the only woman on trial Susan Mthembu, received six years; four years of each sentence was suspended.

**THESE MEN ARE
OUR BROTHERS;
OUR SONS**



**THEY FIGHT FOR
THE FREEDOM OF
THE PEOPLE**

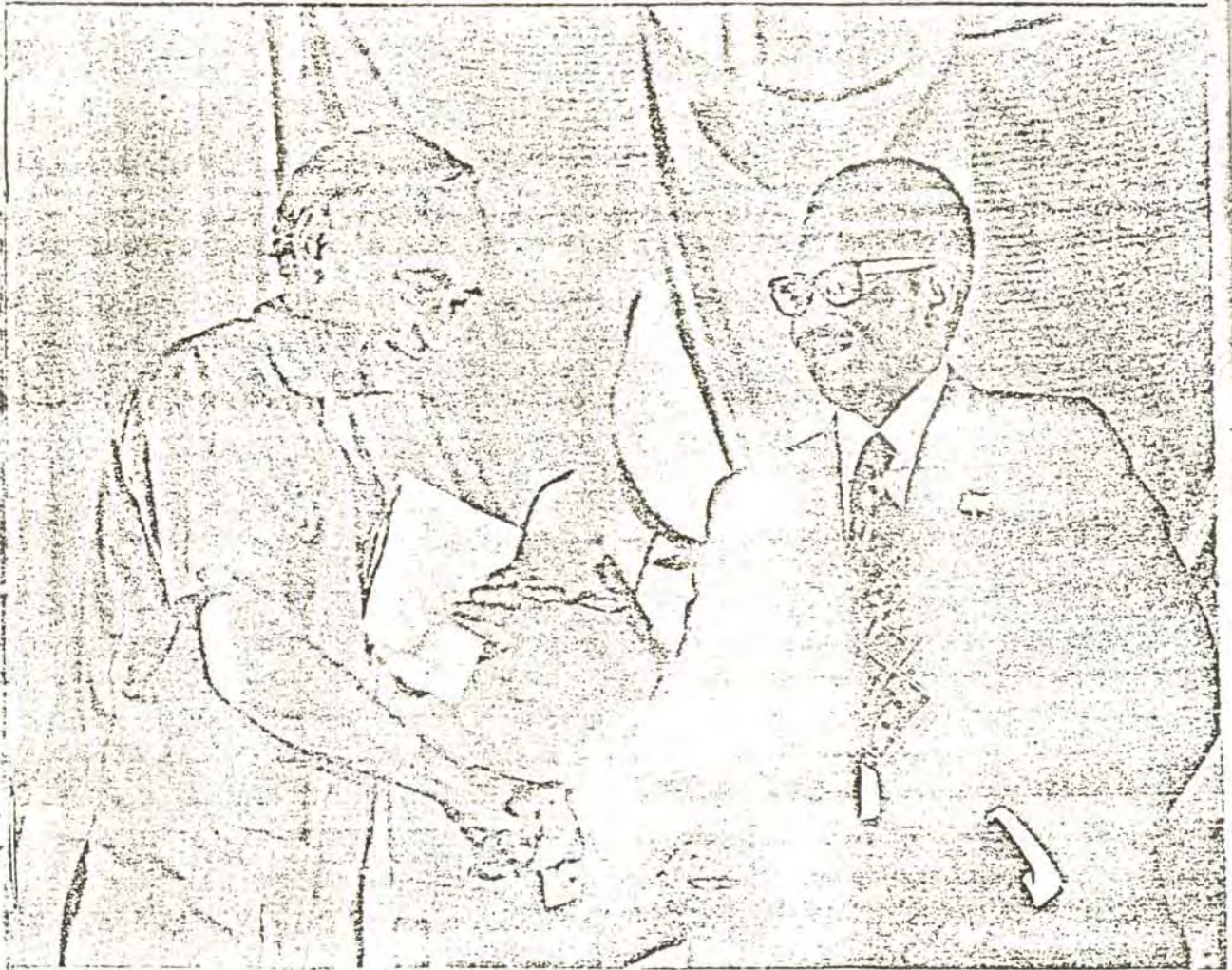
THEY ARE CALLED TERRORISTS - SABOTEURS - AGITATORS - ABAGROGRI - ABASHOKHUBEZI. THEY TRY TO DESTROY US BY SWEAR WORDS BECAUSE THEY FEAR WHAT WE REALLY ARE - FREEDOM FIGHTERS!

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official organ of the african
national congress south africa



FREEDOM IS INDIVISIBLE!

... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ...

genocidal policy of Apartheid. The African National Congress and the people of South Africa will not let the perpetrators of these inhuman crimes go unpunished. Recognition of these so-called independence moves and of the puppet regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe will endorse the declaration of war made by the Botha regime on all the people of Africa and humanity as a whole. This is the reality of the threat South Africa poses to international peace and security.

Oppose any moves of any form of recognition of the Bantustans! Step up the campaign for the total isolation of the racist regimes including the application of economic sanctions and the imposition of an oil embargo! Down with the genocidal Bantustan programme! Power to the people under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa!

Riekert

In the United States last June, Dr Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development (the new name for Native Affairs) claimed that the Wiehahn and Riekert reports showed that "an era of reform" had dawned in South Africa. In an address to the National Press Club in Washington he said:

"We can be, and are, well on the way to achieving, in my country, equality for all people before the law and equal chances and opportunities; full citizenship rights for all people; full participation of all people in the decision-making process; and for human rights for all people, regardless of their race or colour."

Answering a question on pass books, he said he had always strongly disapproved of the system and was determined to eradicate it. He was also reviewing influx controls.

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It is hardly surprising that his remarks were immediately queried by the verkrampte Dr Treurnicht, who said they did not correspond with the policy of the Nationalist Party as he understood it, which was that Blacks should have no rights at all in white South Africa. In fact, once the Bantustan plan has been completed, there will be no African citizens in South Africa, and such Africans as do live and work there will all be citizens of one or other "independent" Bantustan, with no more rights than are allowed to any other black foreigner, and considerably fewer than are allowed to white foreigners.

What the government has been trying to do through both the Wiehahn and Riekert reports is restrict the number of Africans living and working in the "white" 87% of the country to the smallest number possible, and then lay down a system of control, especially in the urban areas, which they hope will reduce areas of possible conflict.

Sechaba dealt with the Wiehahn Commission in its last issue. The Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill which the Nationalist Government introduced shortly afterwards showed that the apartheid leopard has not changed its spots. By excluding migrant workers from the definition of "employee", it deprived two-thirds of the estimated 3,500,000 African workers in urban areas of the right to belong to a trade union registered under the Act. It also left the white unions with the power of veto against the inclusion of African unions in Industrial Council proceedings. Racially mixed unions were prohibited. The existing job reservation orders were maintained.

On all these points the regime had gone against the recommendations of the Wiehahn commission, which joined the Theron commission on the Coloured people and the 1951 Industrial Legislation commission on the scrapheap of history. Towards the end of the last session of Parliament, the government did the same thing to the Riekert commission.

The first thing that should be said about the Riekert commission report is that its

... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ...

whole purpose was, not to do away with the pass laws as Koornhof pretended, but to make them work. Riekert starts from the assumption that influx control is essential for white control over Blacks. Serious problems would arise if the migration of Africans into the urban areas was left uncontrolled, the report says, accepting that influx control will remain for the foreseeable future.

Riekert called in his report for the elimination of discriminatory practices from laws "as far as possible" — yet his report is grounded in the biggest act of discrimination of all, the retention of the pass laws. Every year half a million Africans are prosecuted under the pass laws, a large proportion of them going to jail, and in recent months police raids for passes in the townships have been rising to a crescendo. In March the general secretary of the Council of churches, Bishop Tutu, sent telegrams to the Prime Minister and other government chiefs warning that these pass raids were creating an explosive situation which "might lead to confrontation with consequent bloodshed."

The pass laws introduce discrimination not only between black and white, but also between black and black, between African and African, and the Riekert commission report will do nothing to eliminate these sources of friction. So long as an African has to carry a pass, he is at the mercy of the police, who are under continuous pressure to ensure that no "illegals" are allowed in urban areas.

The Riekert commission report, 286 pages long, is concerned with every aspect of the administration of the pass laws, and most of the detail relates to technicalities which hardly call for comment once the basic principle has been accepted that the pass laws must remain on the statute book. The so-called "reforms" suggested by the commission were:

1. That Africans who are qualified under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act to live and work in the urban areas be allowed to have their families with them. Riekert qualifies this recommendation by saying "provided approved housing is available".

There is already an acute housing shortage in all the urban areas, and tens of thousands of qualified Africans are forced to live in hostels. In past decades the government has deliberately halted housing development for Africans in the urban areas in order to force them to move to hostels or get out of the urban areas altogether and return to the reserves. Until housing backlog has been eliminated this recommendation is worthless. It won't help families of squatters, whose housing is not "approved".

2. That Africans with Section 10 residence rights (10 years with one employer or 15 years with more than one employer and no criminal record) should be allowed to exercise these rights in other urban areas, subject to the approval of the labour bureaux. This is a device to bar the entry of further Africans from the Bantustans. In any case, since on the completion of the Bantustan programme all section 10 rights will disappear, this recommendation is only of short-term significance.

3. That "white by night" curfew regulations be scrapped as discriminatory, archaic and irritating. The government white paper states this has been accepted, but to what extent is not known. Africans may still have to carry passes in "white areas".

4. That Africans be given trading rights in certain "free trade" areas in the central city area. The government says this is accepted in principle subject to controls, but nobody can say what this means until a "free trade" area has been established. In any case how many Africans are traders, and how many traders will be able to compete effectively with white, Coloured and Indian businessmen in such areas?

5. That the 72-hour restriction on Africans entering an urban area be abolished; in other words, that it should no longer be an offence for an African to be in an urban area without a permit, even if he has been there for more than 72 hours. The government has rejected this recommendation. In any case this concession would have been of little real value, since Riekert recommended the retention of provisions for the removal from urban areas of unqualified Africans.

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... Inside South Africa ... Inside South Africa ... Inside South Africa ...

6. That it no longer be a criminal offence for an African without a work permit to take a job. The government has rejected this recommendation of the commission's but has agreed to Riekert's complementary recommendation that the penalty on employers hiring Africans who are without permits be raised from R100 to R500.

7. That African businessmen be given more rights.

The Johannesburg "Financial Mail" commented: "Riekert wants to introduce even greater differentiation between blacks with urban residence rights and those without... People from the Bantustans or other rural areas are going to be allowed into the 'white' areas only if (1) no labour is available locally, (2) the labour bureau gives permission, (3) they have been offered jobs, (4) they can get approved housing... A key effect of the Riekert recommendations is that blacks who are outsiders will be cut adrift from mainstream growth in the urban areas. Influx control does not prevent the development of slums and unemployment - it merely ensures that they occur out of (white) mind in the bantustans rather than in the urban areas".

Riekert was well aware of this, and stressed that the success of his scheme depended on steps being taken to promote economic development and reduce unemployment in the Bantustans. But once the Bantustan programme has been completed, that will be the concern of the Bantustan 'governments', not of the South African government, whose only concern will be to keep immigration from the Bantustans down to the irreducible minimum.

These are plans, not for breaking down barriers, but for building bigger and more effective ones. The Wiehahn and Riekert commissions between them are designed to win to the side of the whites an urban African elite, who will accept the restrictions imposed on them because the alternative will be unemployment and starvation in the reserves.

This is what Koornhof calls "reform", but which we call intensified regimentation and repression. We totally reject these

commission reports and the philosophy underlying them as devices to improve the efficiency of the apartheid machinery. The government's own reaction to the reports proves we are right.

INN ACTION



The gutted interior of the Moroko police station in Soweto after Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas had carried out a highly successful attack in May of this year.

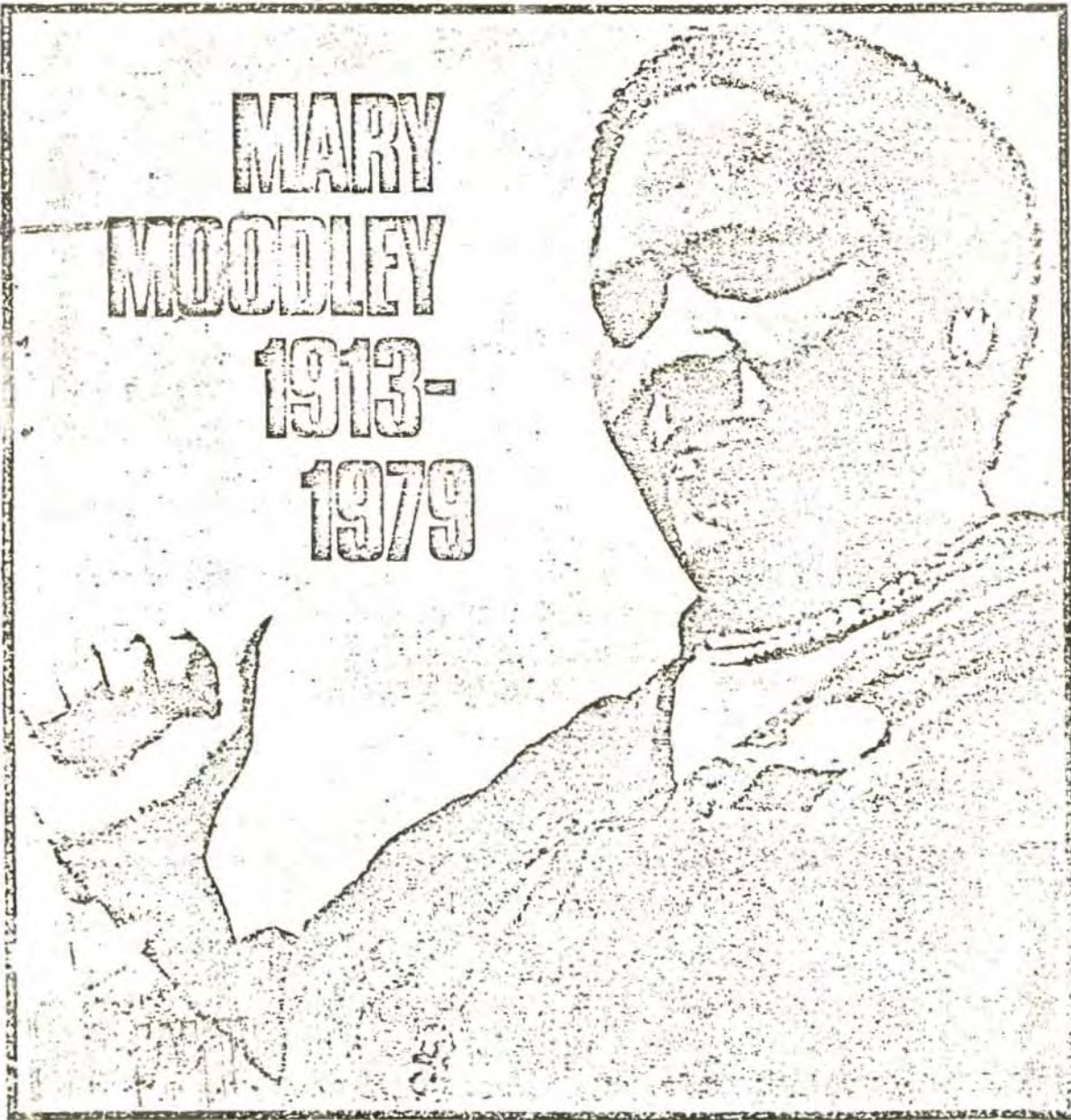
SECHABA : JANUARY 1980 (Cover):

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MARY
MOODLEY
1913-
1979



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... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ...

their examinations".

According to the Chief Commissioner for the Department of Cooperation and Development in the Northern Transvaal, J.S.J Pieterse, the question of school examinations and accomodation in the area was in the hands of the Lebowa Department of Education! The Secretary of the Lebowa Department of Education says: "no decision has been taken on the matter as yet."

In the meantime a relief fund has been established by the Black Academy Staff Association of the University of the North (BASA) and the Northern Transvaal region

of the Writers' Association of South Africa (WASA). Its aims are:

- 1) to help needy people who fled their homes rather than be moved from Dwars River to Kromhoek;
- 2) to buy books and offer special tuition to students whose families have fled;
- 3) to help provide legal aid for the Batlokwa people.

The African National Congress appeals to all freedom loving people to support the struggle of the Batlokwa people, a struggle which is an aspect of our quest for land and human dignity in the land of our birth.

GUERRILLA ATTACK

On the 2nd November 1979, at 12.40 a.m. four armed guerrillas launched a successful raid on the Orlando Police Station in Soweto. According to the Argus newspaper (2/11/79), "unarmed policemen had to hide under their beds" when the attack lasting 1-2 minutes took place.

One man, Student Constable Mtsini Musindana was killed instantly. A second man, Constable L.C. Zibi died in the Baragwanath hospital after receiving emergency treatment for several wounds. A third constable, Tammy Syantiji and a civilian Siphso Zungu were wounded and treated for shrapnel wounds.

The more than 60 off-duty policemen were "virtually powerless to fight back" as the police station was showered with automatic rifle fire and grenades. Only the 2 or 3 policemen who when on duty in the charge office returned the fire, but senior police do not believe that they hit any of the guerrillas.

Before their slipping away into the darkness in a successful retreat, three opened fire on policemen on duty at the Charge

Office, near the road. The fourth man, at the rear of the station ground, threw grenades and then raked the barracks with automatic rifle power before retreating safely through a hole in the security fence which surrounds the station. The policemen in the barracks ran from the building, paused in the central yard, then fled across the road to take cover among the trees and cars opposite the charge office.

Lieutenant Colonel S.J. Visser, Divisional Commander of the Security Police in Soweto said: "We are hoping for an early arrest, but only a fool would commit himself to saying we expect arrests within a couple of days". Police spokesmen said road blocks had been set up on routes to neighbouring countries after a thorough house-to-house search involving police from all branches of the police forces: Security, uniformed and detectives - failed in Soweto.

SECHABA : APRIL 1980 (COVER):

91. ~~8~~ ~~90~~ 79



SECHABA

official organ of the African
national congress south africa

APRIL 1980



PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO

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C/S

... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ...

Henceforth a white farmer was "entitled" to a maximum of five African families on his farm, all of whom had to be in full time employment with him. All others living on his land had to be "resettled" at so-called "closer settlements" where they had no land for either cattle or crops and where people have no work.

The extent to which labour tenancy was entrenched in South African agriculture can be gauged from the fact that the Natal Agricultural Union estimated that if labour tenancy was to be abolished outright, about 1 million Africans would have to be moved off white farms and settled elsewhere. Already 20,000 people were "resettled" from Weenen farms alone at enormous cost in human suffering; many of the problems such as "faction fighting" in such areas as Msinga and Tugela Ferry are caused by the severe shortage of land resulting from the abolition of the labour tenancy system. People who used to be labour tenants have crowded into these areas and deprived of cattle, land and any possibility of employment and have been reduced to desperate poverty.

Labour Tenancy Today

Despite the formal ending of labour tenancy

in Weenen in 1969, the system of labour tenancy has not been eradicated. White farmers have clung to it tenaciously and it continues to operate under different guises, and so there are perhaps seven or eight thousand people living on white farms in Weenen today. Many are under the threat of eviction and removal to government "resettlement" camps.

Struggling to bring permanence and stability into their lives, they depend entirely on the "benevolence" of the white farmer. If the white farmer chooses to evict them, they have no means of contesting this - after all their presence on the farm is "illegal"! Many tenants have been able to stave off threatened eviction in the past by paying their white farmer a "fine" in the form of a cow or a goat. Evicted from one farm, they approach the neighbouring white farmer for permission to settle on his land only to be forced to move on again at some later date - constant removals.

The response of tenants when asked what they want is always the same: the right to live on the land of their forefathers and in the communities that they know; the right to keep their cattle and their fields without interference and the right to build for themselves a secure future.

GUERRILLA ATTACK

On Friday 4th January, three freedom fighters launched a swift raid on a police station in Soekmekaar, Northern Transvaal. The attack, in which AK-47 automatic rifles and hand-grenades were used, took place at 7.00 pm. Two armed black policemen on duty had to scramble for cover when the fire power of the AK-47 burst

and hand-grenades launched, exploded. During the scramble for cover, one of the policeman sustained a shoulder injury. The three patriots then disappeared in a van later identified by the owner, a white teacher, where it was abandoned. No serious damage occurred to the building. The Station Commander, through whose office two

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... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ...

bullets went -- one right in line with his chair and the other striking the wall right above the door -- was unfortunately not in his office at the time. He was reported to have been tight-lipped about the attack.

Panic mounts in white community

Within minutes of the attack, heavily armed members of the Zoutpansburg Commando unit swarmed through the town. At their homes, wives had taken precautions by locking up and putting out the lights and were also arming themselves with hand-guns. The shattering sound of gun-fire and handgrenades had civilian members of the commando scrambling for their weapons and heading for the centre of the small town. Farmers were warned by the civil defence organisation to be on the lookout for the three patriots. Most of them are armed, but had not taken special measures to ward off the threat. Some are reported to have said they believed that the three might have been farm labourers who had hidden their weapons and returned to work. The owner of the Soekmekaar garage A. Joubert is reported to have been suspicious that the three patriots "might be a little closer to home. They may have dumped their weapons and come back to Soekmekaar. They could even be in here", he said with his eyes focused on the group of Blacks working around the garage.

Army and Police in disarray

Police and Army units in the North-eastern Transvaal mounted an extensive search in the area between Pietersburg and Louis Trichardt. During those days Soekmekaar and the surrounding area had incensant rain and mist. Besides, the area is a patch-work of flat-topped thorn trees. It was impossible to spot anyone or anything because the stunted chunks of horticulture were in full bloom -- it was a sea of green umbrellas that spread across the land.

Duivlelskloof, where the police had said the three could have gone towards, is less densely populated than Soekmekaar, but is hilly and fairly heavily populated by

shacks and huts -- a nice jungle to disappear into. The police Directorate of Public Relations, said the police had managed to track them to Duivlelskloof by the weekend but the rain had obliterated their tracks. This made it difficult for their dogs to follow the tracks. Out of frustration, they then extended their fruitless search to the so-called Gazankulu homeland. In addition armed guards were also seen patrolling at several police stations in the area.

The significance of this attack on the police station is that this happened in a period when the Batlokwa people around that area had been putting up massive resistance against the enemy mass removals schemes. The attempts of the enemy to further its genocidal policies will always be resisted by our people -- using all means at their disposal. The racists must be reminded that the people's patience is not endless and that the time to fight at all levels, using all methods has come and that this process is irreversible.



SECHABA : AUGUST 1980 (Cover):

94. 82/



SECHABA

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS SOUTH AFRICA

AUGUST 1980

THE FIRES OF FREEDOM

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EDITORIAL

**THE FIRES
OF FREEDOM**

It was at 11.40pm when many white residents were shocked, shaken from sleep, streamed from their homes and braved the biting cold in pyjamas and morning gowns to watch the red flames — billowing towers of flame and smoke rising high into the sky.

Sasol and Natreff staff, police, traffic officers and local commandos were called out to deal with the fires — a sea of flames, the fires of freedom, the most beautiful fire which symbolised the largest act of sabotage ever in South Africa. Fire engines with sirens screaming raced to the blazing tanks — 8 of them. At least 20 fire engines from Sasolburg and other towns in the Vaal Triangle and the Wiatersrand were fighting the blaze.

Besides this confusion, there was another commotion: an intensive manhunt. The Chief of the South African CID, General Kobus Visser, took charge of it and Security Police officers aided his men and a Special Police Task Force moved into the Vaal Triangle. Roads in the vicinity of the two plants were closed and motorists had to use alternative routes. Even traffic policemen from nearby municipalities were roped in by the South African Police to seal off Sasolburg and the vicinity with road blocks.

At the House of Assembly there was chaos and pandemonium: the explosions caused a "rumpus".

The blaze turned night into day.

What caused so much anxiety, curiosity and nervousness?

We must remember the significance of oil for the South African industry and the military-industrial complex. The production of oil from coal is an expensive exercise. South Africa does not have oil resources. Oil imports, details of which are classified information were believed to amount to some 250,000 barrels a day (b/d) in 1978:

almost 80% of the transport system depends on liquid fuel power and virtually all the regime's military machine. Shell, BP, Caltex, Mobil and other multinationals are involved.

There is the other aspect to this problem. The growing intensity of the struggle inside the country makes the enemy shiver. The sophistication of the attack, the selection of highly symbolic targets, the coordination of attacks at three different points almost simultaneously, the skill in execution contrast sharply and negates the whole philosophy of Apartheid namely that Africans "have slow thinking processes".

It is significant that this highly successful operation takes place at a time when South Africa is witnessing throughout the country an upsurge of boycott, involving thousands of black students, at schools, colleges and universities, supported by white university students, in protest against inferior education imposed on the black: when the super-exploited black workers in many parts of South Africa are engaged in strikes for higher wages and better working conditions; when there are demonstrations and marches by the clergy against the iniquities of the apartheid system as well as a nation-wide campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

It is in this context that the units of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC guerilla army attacked the oil production complex which fuels South Africa's terror machine.

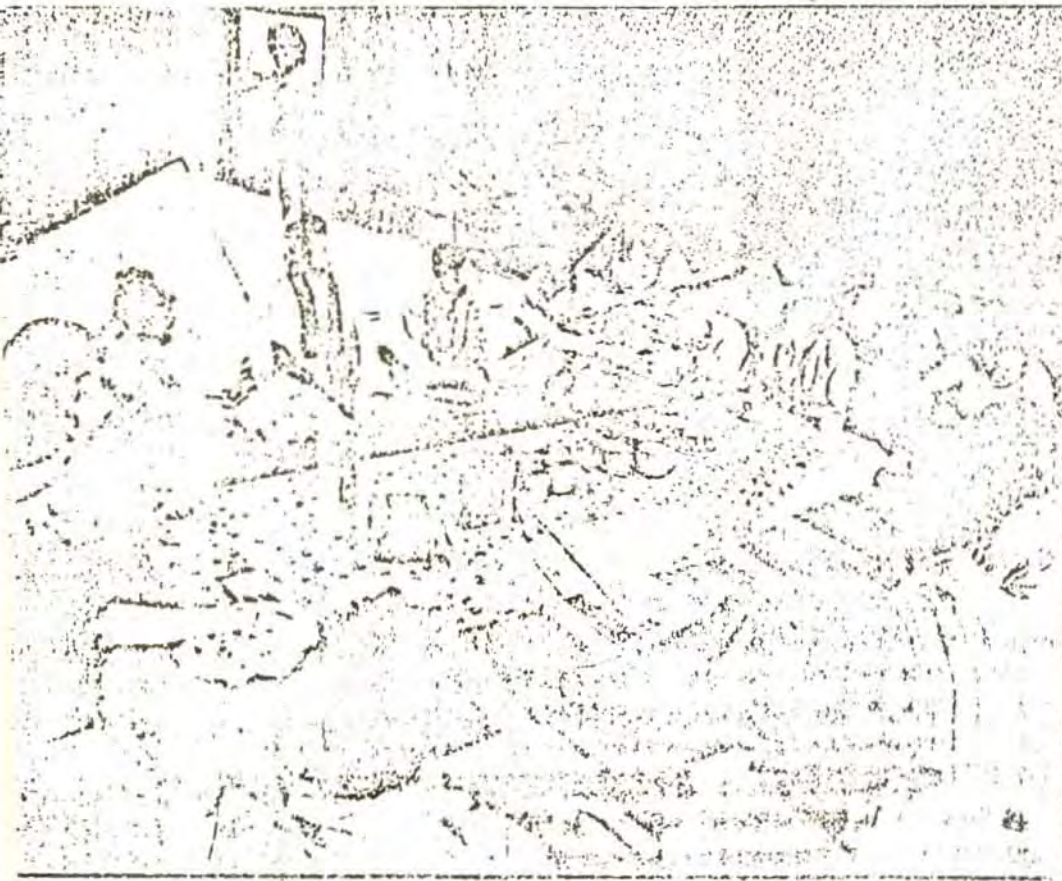
The writing is on the wall and the South African racists can clearly read it. The two pronged offensive by SWAPO and the ANC is part of the build up towards the final assault on the last bastion of racism and colonial reaction on the African continent.

In successive policy statements the ANC has called on the people of South Africa to attack the colonial racist system on all fronts, while the international community is taking steps to isolate the regime politically, economically and in the field of sport.

The fires of freedom are burning furiously and inextinguishably inside the heartland of apartheid colonial domination.

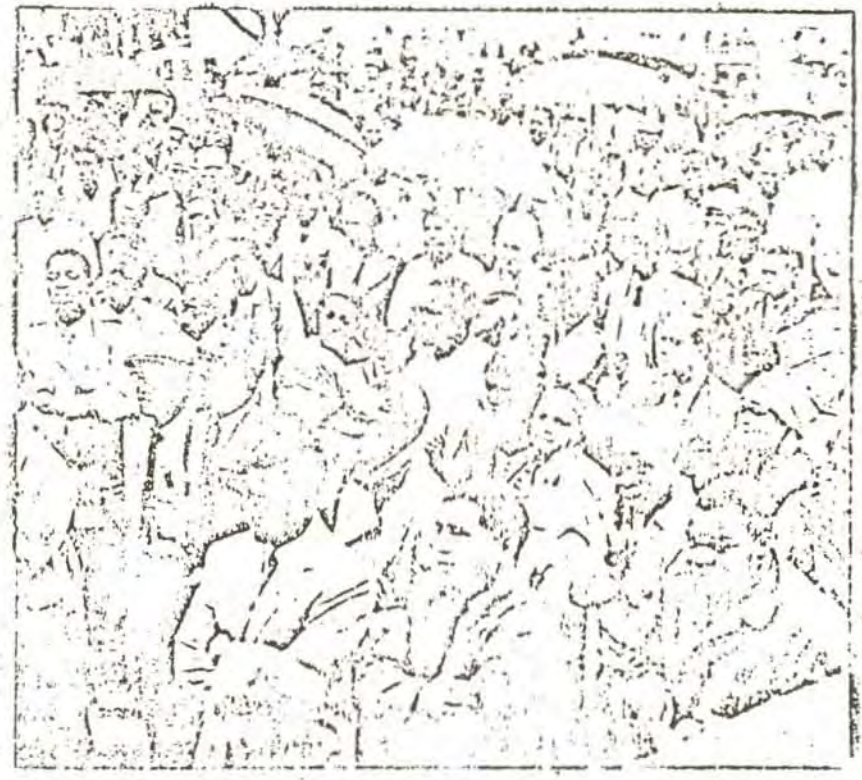
In this Year of the Charter, the Year of the Workers, the African National Congress pledges to intensify the armed liberation struggle until final victory is attained.

SECHABA : SEPTEMBER 1980 (Cover):



POUSARIO PLANS STRATEGY

SEPTEMBER 1980
SECHABA
Official Organ of the African
National Congress of South Africa



THE PEOPLE
SHALL GOVERN

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SECHABA : SEPTEMBER 1980 (index and page 1 thereof):

Throughout the country today, at every tent meeting, every funeral, every bus fare increase protest, every strikers' gathering, you will hear the words of the Freedom Charter and the names of the country's leaders: Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Tambo...

Even as the state's informers listen, men and women, old and young, schooled and unschooled, respond as one: Moroka - Amandla... Ngawethu! Orlando - Amandla Ngawethu! And so on. Each new meeting hears the name of a new target: Booyens - Amandla Ngawethu!

And now Sasolburg and Secunda. Amandla Ngawethu!

There is no longer within the country the confusion that once reigned and which was taken advantage of by opportunists. The people experienced their daily oppression and hankered after the way out. But only the adults remembered the clarity of analysis and the spirited discipline. And the state managed to maintain its ruthless grasp on the throat of the groping soul that searched for freedom.

ANC cadres worked. They planned. They prepared. And they anguished as their own fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers suffered under the harsh regime that with a frightening boldness sought to shatter families, communities and the nation itself.

And the time came - as it had to. On the billboards of Africa lighted up like the next attraction in the cinema of history read the words: Coming soon - Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe came as sure as it is known that the smog that hangs in the winter over Soweto will rise by midday, so it was known that South Africa would win her freedom.

And even as the smog lay thick the ANC moved. Moroka, Orlando, Soekmekaar and Silverton. And even with all at its disposal, Pretoria could no sooner stem the tide than blot out the sun before midday.

Desperately they moved against hundreds throughout the country. Comrade Mahfangu gave his life and Comrade Mange awaits the verdict on his. But their martyrdom lent only dedication and devotion to the thousands who waited for their role.

Booyens. The soft Johannesburg night



shook almost as if the RPGs had ripped a hole through the very heart of white supremacy.

The state once again ushered onto its television screens the officials and the ministers to read the script: "Everything is under control."

Yet even as they spoke the fires of Sasolburg and Secunda were not under control.

And in a mad scramble for position the last of the opportunists team up with their real allies. Chief Buthelezi speaks of vigilante groups to "protect property", community councillors scratch around for something - anything - to do, and rootless "spokesmen" shy into obscurity.

For the writing is on the wall - lots of walls, in fact. If you care to take a drive down past New Canada and keep your eyes open: ANC LIVES!

In South Africa today we notice a shift from the emphasis on the politics of white domination to an emphasis on the politics of survival - like the beast of the jungle.

On the other hand the Blacks are going back to the Freedom Charter and forward with the Freedom Charter.

THE PEOPLE'S PROGRAMME

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY GENERAL
ALFRED NZO
TO THE JUNE 26TH FREEDOM DAY MEETING
CAMDEN CENTRE, LONDON

Dear Friends, Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the entire membership of the African National Congress, the whole revolutionary movement and the fighting people of South Africa, the working people, the rural masses, the gallant youth and students, our heroic People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, we convey warm revolutionary greetings to all the participants at this meeting and through you to the democratic freedom-loving forces of the United Kingdom.

We are gathered here today to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the beacon and guiding light of our revolutionary movement.

June 26th, 1980, the 25th Anniversary of the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter, is an important highlight of this first year of the new decade of the 80s. It is an occasion which challenges all patriotic South Africans to reassess the current phase of the liberation struggle in the light of the ideas of the Freedom Charter and the revolutionary programme of our movement.

It is indeed an occasion to cast our minds back over the past quarter of a century to how and why the Freedom Charter has been and is a 'beacon to the Congress Movement and an inspiration to the people of South Africa' as Mandela put it in his memorable words.

Dear Friends, this assessment is currently the main activity within the ranks of the

broad masses of our people through a campaign calling for the release of Nelson Mandela through regional committees that have been formed throughout South Africa whose main tasks have been set along the following lines:

- 1 To launch a national leaflet campaign to press for the release of Nelson Mandela
- 2 To call for appropriate activities on June 26th to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter
- 3 To print commemorative stamps for June 26th.
- 4 To stress that the Free Mandela campaign implies a call for the release of all the political prisoners.


This wide campaign has been supported by various black political and community leaders, trade unionists, all major churches excluding the 3 white Dutch Reformed Churches, academics, student groups at English and Afrikaans universities, black and white cultural organisations, many English-language newspapers, the Institute of Race Relations, the South African Council of Churches and so on. This wide participation was already a subject of comment by such newspapers as the *Rand Daily Mail* as early as the beginning of June.

It is salutary to recall that the Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter was held at a time when the political strength and the organisational capacity of the African National Congress was already beginning to shake the foundations of the fascist order in our country; when a

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ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE !



MAYIBUYE NO 4
1980 YEAR OF THE CHARTER

MAYIBUYE

The Fortnightly Journal of the African National Congress

INFERIOR RACIAL EDUCATION MUST BE ELIMINATED

ADDRESSING THE NATION OVER RADIO FREEDOM ON THE EVE OF THE BOERS' REPUBLIC DAY, PRESIDENT TANDU DECLARED:

Bantu Education, Coloured Education, Indian education, must be fought by every parent and child, by anyone with any sense of human dignity and self-respect, and fought with every means at our disposal.

Those people who encourage, support and join in the struggle against inferior education in our country are serving our people and our country. That is why KwaZulu, Natal, Zululand, Transkei, Port Natal, the Western Cape and other centres are today the pride of the oppressed and the hope for our future; for the road they take leads only to a liberated South Africa.

What we cannot be proud of and what can give us no hope for a future, is that this struggle against racial education should be left to the students. It should draw the entire people into the field of battle. What is impermissible, indeed intolerable, is that we ourselves should oppose their struggle, condemn them, join with the fascists in baton charging them, victimise them - that is intolerable.

The enemy who contrived and implements this most fiendish plan to dwarf the intellectual capacity of the entire black population, has of course unleashed his forces of repression... The enemy seeks to force the children back, not only to the classroom but also to submission and surrender, and as a result, to keep the 'kaffir', 'coolie' and 'hotnot' in his inferior place. We have no excuse for not supporting the offensive against inferior education.

But if the enemy is looking for submission and surrender, he will be disappointed. The people will not, dare not, submit, and there is no question of surrender. The only road to the new South Africa that we want leads through the rugged terrain and bloody battlefields of confrontation with the forces of reaction.

Therefore let the people go; let the people go, the young and the old together, across racial, ethnic and Bantustan barriers to the battlefield of struggle - to the battlefield of struggle against inferior education for blacks, against starvation wages, against rising bus fares and increasing rents, against separate development institutions including the proposed black parliaments, against bantustan community councils and Bantustans, against renewals.

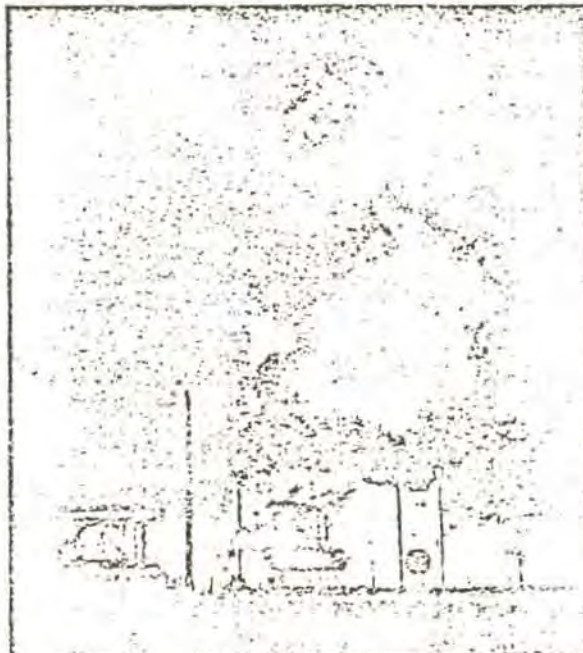
Unity in action is the key INTERVIEW WITH ALFRED NZO

Q. Comrade Nzo, our country is once again rocked with mass activities directed against the oppressive apartheid regime. How do you view the present mass activities by the black students?

A. Firstly, I think we should say that the current mood of revolt that is sweeping throughout the oppressed section of our population is not contrived; only around the current student demonstrations, important though these demonstrations are.

It will be recalled that in the recent past there has been sweeping throughout South Africa a very wide movement calling for the release of Mandela, of Umtata, linked to the demand for the release of all political prisoners. The unprecedented scale of this movement has shown that our people have reached the stage where they say: "Enough is enough!"

Now, this movement has not only been among the Africans in our country but it has engulfed the 'Coloured' and 'Indian' people and also an important section of the white population. This movement has dovetailed into what has been going on, namely, the student revolt.



SASOL ATTACK

In a co-ordinated operation which even the enemy concedes was "well planned" and "sophisticated", units of Umkhonto we Sizwe blasted the SASOL 1 and 11 oil-from-coal plants and the NATREF oil refinery on the night of June 1st. The fire in Sasolburg, where SASOL 1 and NATREF are situated, was the biggest in South Africa's history and could be seen from Johannesburg. We have attacked these installations because of their key strategic positioning in the whole economy of South Africa, and because there is a demand by the international community for an oil embargo," commented President Turbo.

It was announced a few days ago that the students' leaders had set out certain demands to the regime, and the first demand was the release of all political prisoners - which shows the level of political consciousness of our youth who are regarding their own particular problems not in isolation to the general problem that is affecting the people.

It will also be recalled that throughout this period, a large section of the black working class has been up in arms against the regime and is putting forward certain demands to the employers for the improvement of working conditions.

That you see in this is a combination of the working class and the students, with support being given to the students by their parents and teachers - which has given credence to what the students have been saying, so that it cannot be labelled off merely by saying that it is irresponsible actions by children who don't know anything. The parents themselves and the teachers say: "Yes, you are right!" So it's a whole movement of people confronting the regime.

In the recent past our people have shown their preparedness to engage the enemy in mass action. But there are still some people who are bent on frustrating the efforts of our people by tirelessly working to discourage the masses from attacking the enemy. How should we deal with this development?

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SECHABA

official organ of the African
national congress south africa

SEPTEMBER 1981



JOE NZINGO GOABI

1929-1981

SECHABA : SEPTEMBER 1981 (pages 20 and 21 thereof):

Umkhonto We Sizwe IN ACTION

AS MASS POLITICAL RESISTANCE TO THE RACIST REGIME MOUNTS ARMED ACTIONS BY THE PEOPLE'S ARMY, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE HAVE ROCKED THE S.A. STATE. BELOW WE LIST SOME OF THE ACTIONS REPORTED DURING 1981.

January 26
Time-bomb explodes in warehouse belonging to government official near Durban

February 7
Bomb explodes outside Daily News building, Durban

April 21
Electricity substation near Durban attacked with explosives

May 6
Bomb explosion on railway line near Cottondale



May 19
Railway line near Port Elizabeth cut by explosion

May 25
Power lines cut near Vrede, Orange Free State

May 25
Railway line at New Canada cut by explosion

May 25
Railway line cut by explosion near Durban



May 25
Police station at Fort Jackson near Mdantsane attacked

May 25
Police patrol attacked near Mdantsane

May 27
SADF Recruiting office in Durban attacked with bomb

June 6
Grenade explodes in home of Mdantsane security policeman

June 11
Durban-Empangeni rail-link cut by explosion

June 26
Monument destroyed by explosion in centre of Durban



June 28
Railway line between Felixton and Port Durnford (Natal) cut by explosion

July 3
Limpet mine found on oil storage tank in Alberton depot

July 21
3 Power stations in E. Transvaal sabotaged

July 26
2 Durban motor showrooms damaged by explosives

August 6
Bomb explodes in Port Elizabeth shopping area

August 11
Voortrekkerhoogte military base hit by rocket attack in Pretoria

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