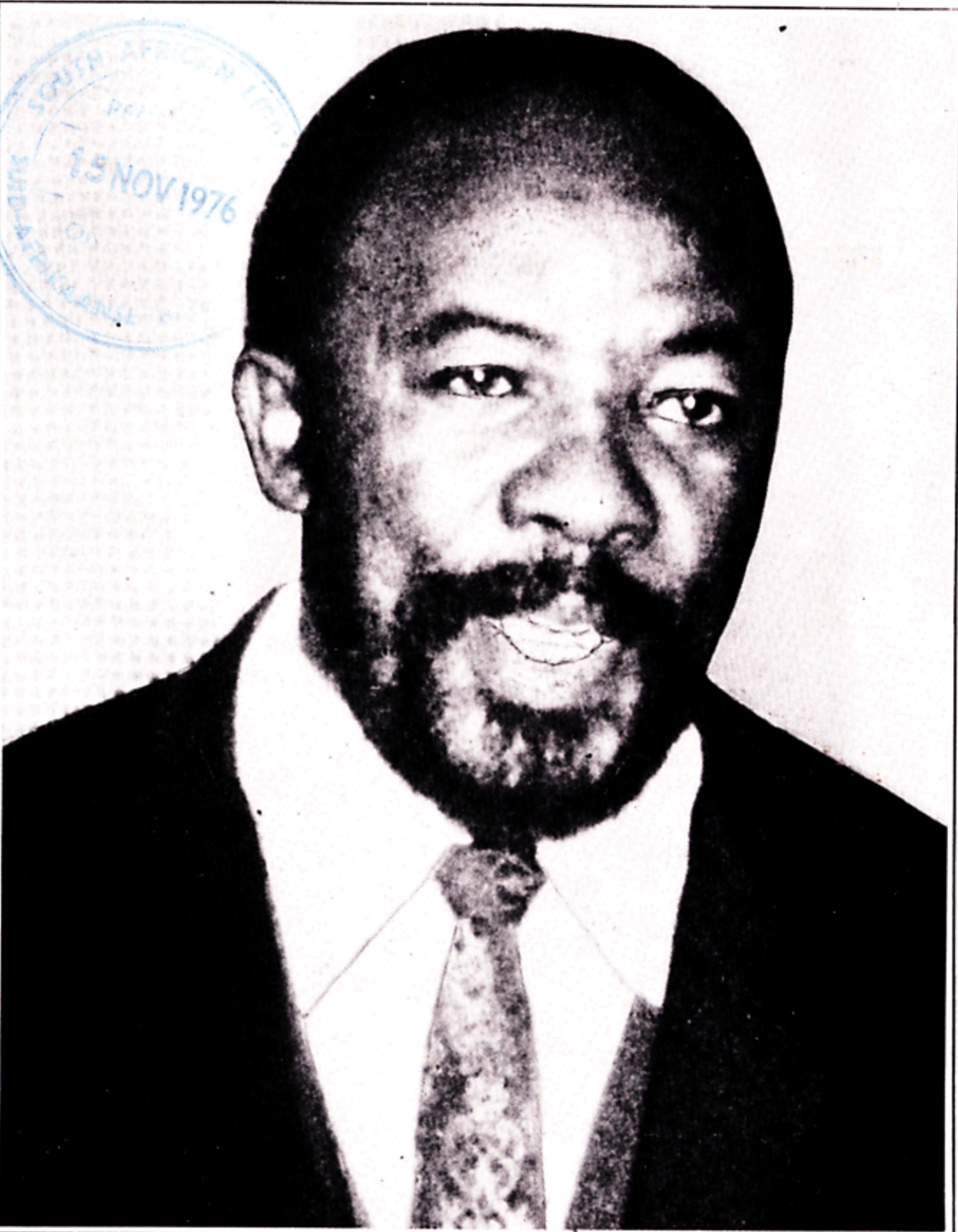




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national congress south africa

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1976



Alfred Nzo,
Secretary
General
of the ANC
South Africa

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From 20:30 to 21:30 hours
(South African time)

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON

The underground movement led by the African National Congress has intensified its activities inside the South African laarger, despite increasing attempts by the Vorster regime to suppress all opposition by force and a spate of arrests, torture and death of militant opponents of apartheid.

Simultaneously, the growing opposition to the South African regime is being reflected among various sections of the population — the churches, trade unions and civil rights and other movements throughout the country.

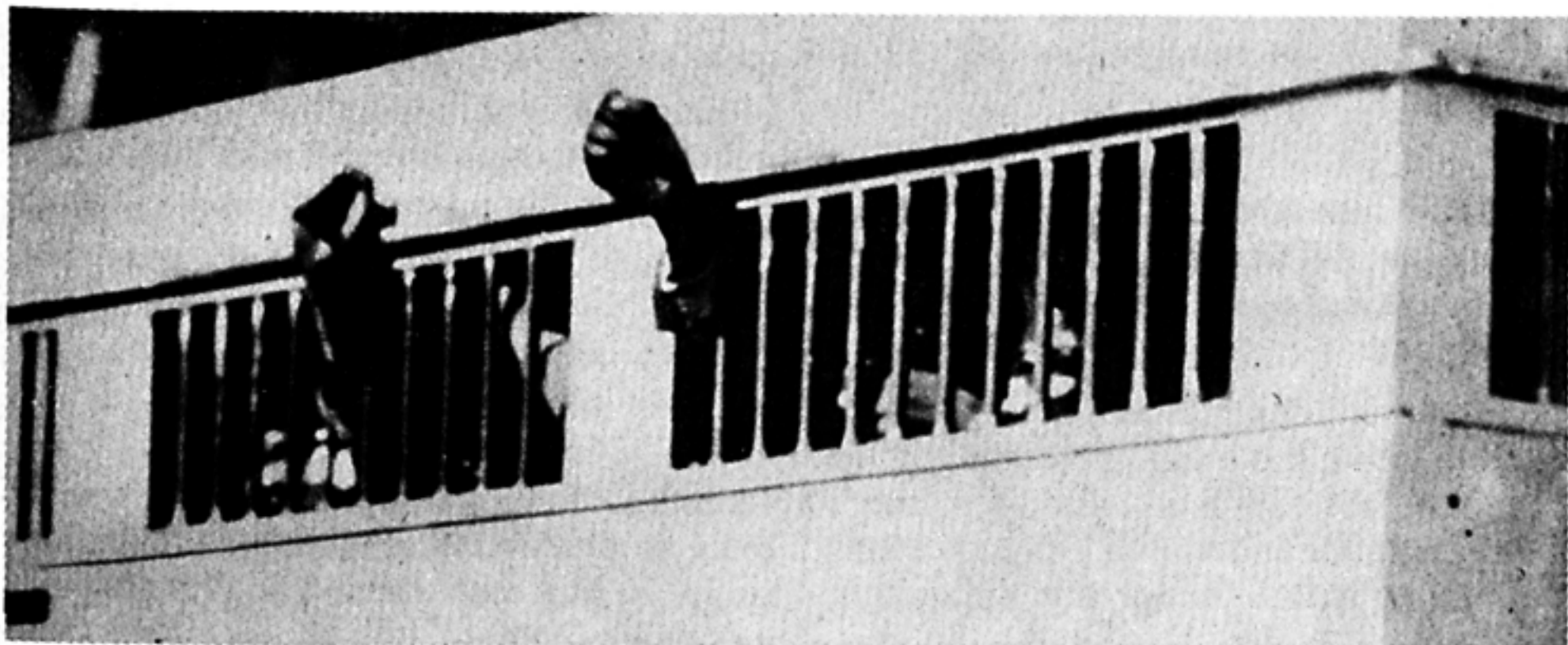
The following reports, some, of the events which took place a few months ago but nevertheless very relevant today, show a new upsurge among the people for a revolutionary change in the country. One report also shows that despite all the sweet talk by Vorster and his cohorts of detente and independence and freedom in the Bantustans, the torture of militant opponents of the regime goes on unabated.

Another Death in Detention

In the last year over 100 people are known to have been detained under the notorious Terrorism Act. The exact number is never known as under the obnoxious piece of fascist legislation detainees are kept incommunicado and in solitary confinement for an indefinite length of time. During their detention they are not allowed to see a lawyer, their own doctor or even members of their family.

Such a political detainee, Comrade Joseph 'Mkhuthuzi' Mdluli, who was arrested by the racist police on Thursday March 18, was dead the following day.

His widow told the press that at about 11 pm on Thursday the police awakened her husband and took him away. They returned less than 12 hours later and informed her that her husband was dead. "He was in perfect health when he was taken away," she added.





Massive demonstrations such as these were held outside SA House in London protesting Mdluli's murder

When his wife went to the mortuary to identify his body, she was refused permission to see him, and told to come back two days later. When eventually allowed to see his body, she found that it was badly bruised, cut and swollen. Describing his condition, she said he had "a severe swelling stretched across his forehead, his lower lip was bruised and cut, and his stomach was dilated to twice its normal size.

"I lifted his head and saw two criss-cross cuts at the base of the skull near the back of his left ear. Watery substance was oozing from the wounds which measured from 3cm to 5cm."

When arrested, Comrade Mdluli was wearing only a raincoat and a pair of slippers. On the same day that he was killed, the police raided his home and after a thorough search took away various letters and documents. They refused to give his family any informa-

tion about him. Mrs. Mdluli and her son were prepared to swear under oath that Mdluli was in good health when he was arrested.

On March 24th, an attorney, Mr. Mlungifi Mxenge, a former Robben Island prisoner and a close friend of the murdered detainee, was arrested by the security police. Earlier he had also testified to Mdluli's sound state of health. Comrade Mdluli's brother is also understood to have been detained.

Comrade Mdluli was first detained for three months in 1966. In 1967 he was convicted on two counts of furthering the aims of the African National Congress and served a year on each count. After his release he was banned for two years.

Comrade Mdluli's death brings the *known total* of detainees killed while in detention to 23. In each case, families and friends gave evidence of signs of torture. But on all occa-



sions, post mortem findings have been "death by accident" or "causes unknown".

Mdluli's death once again highlights the serious situation facing those detained and held incommunicado by the racist regime. At least 30 people are reported to have been arrested in connection with the same "investigation" as Mdluli was.

They and all other detainees are in grave danger of suffering the fate of Joseph 'Mkhuthuzi' Mdluli or of being maimed — physically and/or psychologically — for life.

Noting this the External Mission of the ANC has called on all progressive and democratic forces the world over to raise their voices in protest and to urge their respective governments to support the decision of the United Nations to declare apartheid a crime against humanity. (Obituary elsewhere in this issue)

* * * * *

THE ANC LIVES

Two weeks before Mdluli was arrested in Natal, several thousands of leaflets were distributed by the African National Congress underground throughout South Africa. They were pushed under doorways in the townships, placed in bundles at prominent spots at bus stops, found by workers in their factory toilets and picked up by students at the entrance of their colleges and high schools.

At about 5 pm on the day Mdluli was picked up, at the peak hour when workers are returning home and about an hour after a 2000-strong demonstration outside a court where 8 student leaders were appearing on a charge under the Terrorism Act, a "bomb" containing hundreds of leaflets (a second one on the same subject) exploded outside the Rand Daily Mail offices in Johannesburg.

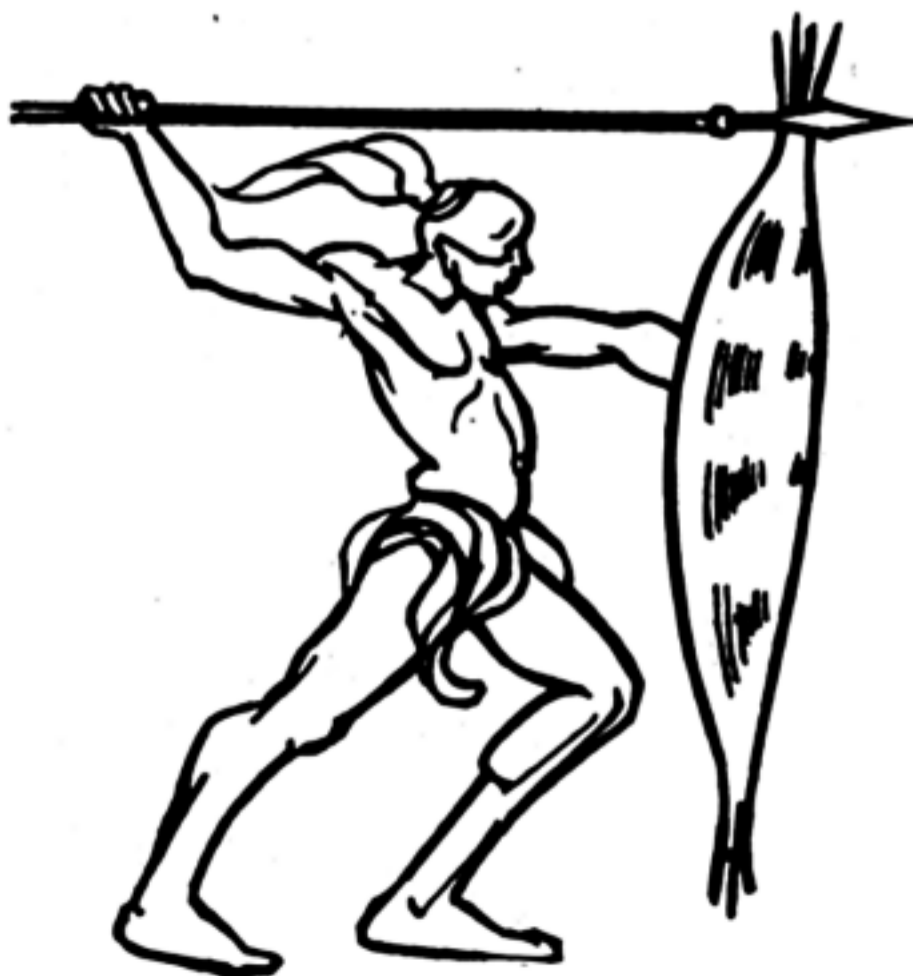


"We were only obeying orders."

Similar explosions were reported from other cities in the Republic.

The following is an independent eye-witness account of the explosion outside the Rand Daily Mail offices:

'At the Terrorism Act trial where 8 people were appearing, the police clashed with members of the public who staged a big protest outside the court immediately after the trial. About 2000 people were involved.



(This was the trial of 8 people connected with an organisation called the National Youth Organisation, who were originally charged last November.)

'When the police tried to take the accused back to prison, the demonstrators formed a guard of honour at the exit where the van carrying them was supposed to come out.

'They sang liberation songs and as soon as the van came out they all shouted 'Amandla Ngawethu' (Power to the People). They almost brought the van to a halt, swarming around it, and the police were called in to disperse them.

'They started fighting the police, refusing to move off, and shouted "We are sick of intimidation."

'Five people were arrested, two of them students and one the sister of one of the accused.

'Just after that – about an hour – a pamphlet bomb exploded in front of the offices of the Rand Daily Mail and scattered posters of the African National Congress.

'People in the building heard a bang in the foyer and went down and found that pamphlets were scattered all over.

'More people rushed to pick up copies and the police arrived after about 15 minutes.

'People came in from the streets to pick up copies and in less than two minutes about 100 leaflets were picked up. Nearly all the leaflets were taken away.

'From the reaction of the people, it has created a lot of interest. It has created a lot of enthusiasm, in view of the fact that it happened shortly after the confrontation between the police and members of the public outside the court.

'The African National Congress has not lost the following that it had.'

* * * * *

LEAFLET NO 1 THE A.N.C. SAYS: HANDS OFF ANGOLA!

The African National Congress calls on all South African patriots to join the rest of progressive mankind in the condemnation of the invasion of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA by the fascist troops of South Africa. The world is now witnessing the biggest military mobilisation in the entire history of SA. Namibia has been turned into a military base in a hopeless attempt to destroy the young People's Republic of Angola and halt the struggle of the Namibian people for national independence.

The evil schemes of the racists have been exposed! Though SA offers bribes of 'economic aid' to win over certain un-principled leaders in Independent Africa, yet, at home, she continues to suppress the people's opposition to White Domination; and she launches armed aggression against those African states "south of the Equator" which are fully committed to the liberation struggle against racism and colonialism.

Young and ill-informed whites are being

forcefully removed from schools and their jobs to be used in the name of defending democracy and freedom to destroy the hard-won independence of the young People's Republic. The people of SA must not be taken in by this trick. Vorster's troops are in Angola in order to maintain White oppression, both in Namibia and SA. The emergence of the People's Republic of Angola under MPLA poses a real threat to continued White Domination. That is why there is wide-spread fear and panic amongst the white population and the racist ruling clique. Above all, they are suffering serious losses in men, in the face of the heroic armed forces of the MPLA. Furthermore, internal and international pressures are building up against their barbaric invasion of Angola. Yesterday, Vorster boasted that, in a war, SA would finish Africa, as he put it, "before breakfast". Today, he is moaning that MPLA military strength is "beyond our limits". Thus, the boast that the SA army could not be beaten has become a mere propaganda nonsense.

The cost of the Angolan adventure is already high; we feel it painfully in the form of higher taxation, higher prices, increased bus or train fares and rises in rents, medical and school fees. The time has now come for us to put a stop to Vorster-Botha militaristic adventure in Angola. The MPLA has been and will continue to be our reliable friend in our struggle against White rule.

We, South Africans must draw a serious lesson from the disruptive role played by the so-called "pro-West" or "anti-communist" splinter organisations like the FNLA, UNITA, PAC or COREMO, which sow chaos and disunity among the people. It must be noted too, that, because these so-called 'liberation movements' are anti-communist, they get full support of the oppressors themselves, such as the American C.I.A., racist SA, and other imperialist circles. Further, these organisations — unlike the MPLA, FRELIMO, ANC or SWAPO — have no revo-



This is your last chance . . . take it now

lutionary programme favouring the masses of the people and merely serve as agents of imperialism for a *new* form of colonialism, neo-colonialism. Therefore we must reject all tricks by imperialists to divide us. We must continue to organise secret political groups which must study the goals and objectives of our people's struggle as outlined in the revolutionary programme, the *FREEDOM CHARTER*. And let us cement our unity behind our genuine liberation movement, the ANC and her allies.

Another lesson we must draw from Angola is that the liberation struggle conducted by MPLA (as much as by Frelimo or ANC) knows no colour. And the struggle takes on the shape of a clash between all those who are pro-oppressor, "pro-West" and pro-imperialism versus all those who are anti-oppressor or pro-Liberation, non-aligned and anti-imperialist. **SO, WE MUST CLEARLY UNDERSTAND WHO ARE OUR TRUE FRIENDS AND WHO ARE OUR ENEMIES; WHO WE ARE FIGHTING AND WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR.**

We, the people of SA can help to defeat this racist aggression in Angola by organising strikes in our places of work, demonstrations, rallies and protest meetings in support of the struggle of the people of Angola; and be ready to answer the call from the ANC for armed guerrilla action. Let us stand together to hasten the downfall of the hated white racist state. Our revolutionary goal is the transfer of both political and economic power from the white racist minority to the Black majority, which will ensure freedom and justice for all — irrespective of race, colour or creed.

Let us demand living wages and better working conditions and full recognition of our independent Black trade unions;

Let us reject with more strength the whole Bantustan system and its puppet leaders;

Let us demand free, compulsory and proper

education; and enough schools for our children;

Let us fight the evil Pass laws and racial discrimination in all its forms; and,

Let us demand for the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

AMANDLA NGAWETHU — MATLA KF A RONA!

* * * * *

LEAFLET NO 2 PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE SOIL THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS BRINGS YOU THIS MESSAGE!

The conditions for developing our liberation struggle, smashing the Apartheid monster and winning our freedom, are greater than ever before. Nothing can hide the fact that White South Africa is in irreversible crisis from which it cannot escape. The opportunities for developing the armed struggle right inside South Africa are becoming more possible. Through armed force, with Umkhonto We Sizwe — the ANC's military wing — as the armed spearhead, we too will smash the brute force of the oppressors. But do not wait for that day. It cannot come unless the masses are involved in all forms of struggle. The time to act — to hit back — is **NOW!!** Rally to the ANC — the tried and trusted organisation of all our people that Vorster and his police can never crush!

Everyone must be a freedom fighter!

Our men, our women, our youth — the toilers in the towns and countryside — the scholars and the professional groups. The

MPLA and FRELIMO are victorious because the entire people supported them.

Our organised strength, unity and militant actions are the key to freedom!

Organise wherever you are. In the factories, townships, mines, farms, schools, countryside — mobilise the power of our people and of all genuine democrats. Intensify the freedom struggle in every possible way. We, African, Indian and Coloured people must resist Vorster's policy of divide and rule. Reject tribal politics, Bantustans, Indian Councils and all dummy institutions! Smash the stooges and traitors! Fight the unjust laws and fight for a new life!

People of South Africa — demonstrate our support for those Vorster seeks to crush!

It is within our power to prevent his aggression against our brothers and sisters in Angola, Namibia or anywhere else. We must not permit subversive activities against the people and state of Angola! By intensifying our struggle we will tie Vorster's army down and make it impossible for him to launch his war machine across the borders. The struggle in Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia is our struggle — a struggle against a common enemy — racism and imperialism. Together we will win!

The ANC says: Amandla nga Wethu! Maatla ke Arona! Power to the People!

The ANC says to Vorster and his racist regime: all power to the MPLA — liberators of Angola! All power to the people! Vorster — get out of

Defiant strikers on the march



Angola! Get out of Namibia! No interference in Zimbabwe! Hands off Africa!

People of South Africa!

The MPLA have scored an outstanding victory over the forces of racism and imperialism. Vorster's defeat in Angola is of outstanding significance to our struggle.

Vorster tried to swallow Angola but now he is choking to death!

The MPLA have taught him the lesson of his life. He thought he could send his army into Angola and place his stooges in power, but the MPLA thrashed him in battle and sent his White soldiers and stooges fleeing in terror. The MPLA proved that his racist arrogance is hollow, that White South Africa is not invincible, that the forces of freedom are growing in strength and will soon be powerful enough to completely destroy him.

* * * * *

AMANDLA-MATLA

Two or three weeks earlier — late in February and early March — thousands of copies of the latest issue (Volume 5 No 1) of the ANC underground Newsletter, Amandla-Matla (POWER) were distributed throughout the country.

The following is a full text of this issue:

**Editorial:
FREEDOM MARCHES NEARER!**

The resounding victory of the MPLA in Angola over South African fascist troops and the puppet forces of FNLA and UNITA; the intensification of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia; the dramatic closure of the Mozambique-Rhodesia border by the



Mozambique government and the placing of the entire Mozambican population on a war footing — all these are making a powerful impact upon the oppressed people of SA. These events have strengthened the desire of our people to overthrow the hated and evil regime of Vorster. Vorster's plans to use Namibia and Zimbabwe as bufferzones to ward off the march of freedom are tumbling like a house of cards. And the oppressed people in Southern Africa are drawing fresh inspiration and strength in preparation for a final onslaught to topple white domination.

Our people have fully supported and identified themselves with the struggle and victory of the MPLA. Savimbi and Roberto have become swear-words in the same way as the late and unlamented traitor, Tshombe used to be. In trains and buses, heated discussions 9



on attitudes to SA's wars of aggression in Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe are clear and unequivocal: the oppressed are saying loud and clear that they will have nothing to do with Vorster-Botha wars against their brothers and comrades. Surveys carried out by the white-owned newspapers tell the chilling news that the oppressed blacks will not go and be cannon-fodder for a white state that denies them freedom and human rights.

This pressure of our people has been such a mighty force that waverers like Buthelezi and others have come out openly and associated themselves with the sentiments expressed by the people.

The events at our doorsteps have dealt a crushing blow to Vorster's "Trojan Horse" of detente. It has exposed those African independent states which collaborated with

the South African fascists in order to halt the progress of the freedom struggle in South Africa.

There is panic in the ranks of the whites; in a timid way, some have condemned the invasion of Angola by racist SA; they feel that such adventures will hasten the doom of white domination. But we must not close our eyes to a growing number of whites who genuinely support the freedom struggle.

What then are our tasks in this situation of revolutionary ferment? We cannot just watch in admiration and applaud from the side-lines. We have a role to play in defeating the forces of reaction, oppression and the remnants of colonialism in our continent. Vorster must be given no rest.

The following are the organisational tasks facing all of us:

- * **Build small, secret ANC cells to discuss the situation in our country, ANC policy and the Freedom Charter; and spread the revolutionary ideas making use of ANC publications.**
- * **Wherever you work, organise Trade Unions for the rights of workers.**
- * **Organise protest meetings against the rising cost of living reflected in increasing prices of food, coal, high bus/train fares and rents. Organise mass boycott actions like the Kwa-Thema one, building unity and solidarity of the people.**
- * **Speak out against Bantustans and all separate dummy institutions.**
- * **Attend, as well as encourage others to do so, all meetings and explain the real nature of Bantustans and expose the traitors who lead them.**
- * **Strengthen those groups which are**

already campaigning against the Bantustans and their so-called independence.

- * **Boycott meetings called by Bantustan traitors and instead organise counter meetings to expose to the people the dangers of the Bantustans and artificial divisions of the oppressed.**
- * **Wherever you stay or work, speak out against all forms of tribalism and racialism.**
- * **Wherever you stay or work, constantly preach the idea of a single, united SA.**
- * **Organise the youth and students against Bantu Education, separate colleges, and their right to demand in what medium they must be taught, by whom, how, where and what to be taught, and to demand free, compulsory & proper education.**
- * **Organise support for the new People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique.**
- * **Organise complete non-participation in the so-called border wars of the fascists. The oppressed people must refuse to help Vorster in his military adventures against the people of Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.**

Now is the time to organise units of the ANC where they do not exist. There is no alternative to the policy of the African National Congress and its programme, the Freedom Charter.

The struggle goes on! Amandla! Matla!

* * * * *

STEP UP CAMPAIGN AGAINST BANTUSTANS AND ALL DUMMY INSTITUTIONS!

"Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government."

(from the FREEDOM CHARTER,
programme of the ANC)

The rejection by the ANC and its allies in the Congress Movement, of separate institutions like the Bantustans, C.R.C., S.A.I.C. is well-known. The above quotation from the Freedom Charter, which is the revolutionary programme of the ANC, spells out clearly the SA we want to build after we have destroyed the white fascist state. It clearly stands opposed to the Bantustan devices set up by Vorster's regime of terror to divide us into weak, ethnic groups which can be controlled and dictated to. This tactic of 'divide and rule' is an old weapon of colonialists and oppressors to perpetuate the subjugation of those they rule against their will. To this end, the South African racist regime uses the Bantustans to destroy the national unity painfully built up by the ANC over the years. The unity in struggle of the oppressed has always caused nightmares and fear for the Pretoria dictatorship and has led the dictatorship to ban our organisation, to murder, jail and banish its cadres and leaders.

The offer of phoney independence to the Bantustan traitors — Matanzima & Mangope

— is a hopeless attempt to divert the people from the path of revolutionary armed struggle as advocated by the ANC and its allies.

The Bantustans are so designed as to foster a narrow local nationalism based on tribes, which surrenders the people's birthright to the whole of our country.

The separate pigsties or pondokies being offered to these Bantustan puppets encourage petty rivalries, territorial jealousies and inter-tribal conflicts among the various Bantustans. It is a real case of Vorster throwing a dry, meatless bone to the dogs so they can fight for it among themselves. Even the faction-fights among Black miners can be directly attributed to the Bantustan scheme. One can imagine what joy there is in the corridors of Pretoria, with Vorster-Botha-Truernicht rubbing their hands with glee as they begin to see their schemes bearing fruit.

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

With SA economy starved of foreign cash, the Bantustans are serving as advertisements to attract foreign imperialist investment in SA, taking advantage of the low wages and huge profits from the sweat and toil of the African masses.

Further, the Bantustans are geared to create, in a sinister B.I.C. (Bantu Investment Corporation) experiment, a collaborationist class of Black capitalists who are prepared to sell their Black brothers to the white rulers for a few crumbs. That would then set a stage for *new* favourable conditions for *colonialism*, that is, neo-colonialism — where the

African masses will be oppressed by whites but indirectly through the Pretoria boot-lickers in the Bantustans. The main aim of this neo-colonial oppression is counter-revolutionary, that is, *counter* to (against) the *revolutionary* aspirations for real and complete freedom, cherished by the people.

Also, the Bantustan puppets are supposed to perform a special reactionary role by undermining the liberation movement and the true leaders of the people — the Sisulus, Dadoos, Mandelas, Goldbergs, Tambos, etc. That is why we hear their master's voice from the Sebes, Buthelezi and the rest, telling lies about the African National Congress or the South African Communist Party. For their counter-revolutionary role, therefore, the Bantustan collaborators are rewarded with fat cheques, palatial houses, big cars and South African passports to enable them to travel abroad and chant choruses in praise of their white boss, Vorster.

From the above, it is abundantly clear that the Bantustan leaders are willing agents for the oppression of Blacks by the white state. They are traitors to our cause and must be exposed as such. They rule with the help of Vorster's murderous Special Branch and BOSS, they rule with the help of Vorster's brutal prisons and banishments.

At a time of sweeping revolutionary changes in Southern Africa, at a time when real political and economic power is in the hands of the people in Angola and Mozambique, and when freedom-fighters in Namibia and Zimbabwe are delivering decisive blows against South African occupation and Smith's settler minority, we must not only reject but work tirelessly for the destruction of the Bantustans and all institutions of white minority rule.

Forward to a new, united, single and democratic South Africa!

* * * * *

ORGANISE! ORGANISE! ORGANISE . .

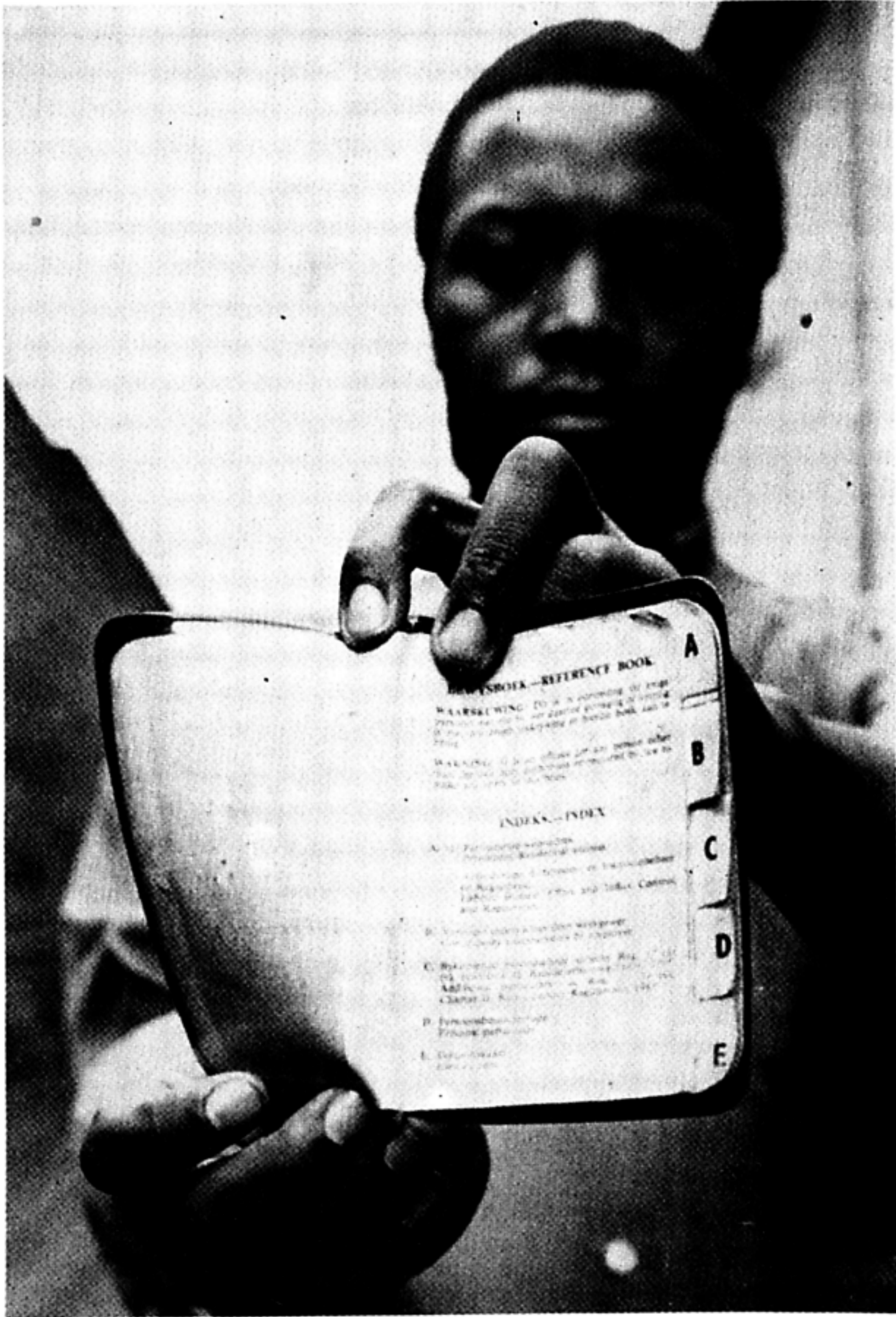
Because of the Terrorism, Suppression of Communism and other repressive acts, it has become virtually impossible to organise openly any meaningful opposition by the oppressed blacks to the rule of terror in the country. Vorster's government employs a wide network of the Special Branch (SB), Bureau of State Security (BOSS), informers and pimps in order to intimidate people and make it difficult to organise resistance.

The African National Congress refuses to submit to the terrorist methods used by the fascists. It has chosen to fight back and continue the struggle underground.

In order to be effective in this underground type of struggle, it is very important to master new and better methods of organising, which will make it difficult for our enemy to find out about our activities and thus reduce our effectiveness.

AMANDLA-MATLA will, from time to time, bring to your attention techniques of underground struggle. The following is the first in a series:

- * Set up a small unit or cell of not more than five — the fewer the number, the better in order to be able to check any leakages. Before setting it up, study very carefully the background, character, habits, political thinking, reliability of each person you want to select into your unit. Such units can be set up at places of work, in the townships, villages or schools.
- * The existence of such a unit or cell must not be known, except strictly by its members. Loose talk, boasting and publicity must be



More than 500 000 Africans go to prison every year in South Africa as a result of the inhuman Pass Law. Any African more than 16 years of age must carry a pass book or risk arrest or imprisonment. A multitude of rubber Government stamps determines whether the bearer may live, work, and for how long he may remain in any particular area

avoided. Every activity you want to engage in, must be carefully thought out and well-planned. This helps to avoid mistakes and blunders. Members must always be on time for all tasks.

* Start regular political discussions on the events inside and outside the country, and on the policies and programme of the ANC. For your discussions, make use of ANC material.

– Spread the influence of your unit without exposing the existence of the unit. This can best be done by each member of the unit going out to share the unit's views and ideas with his friends in the factories, in the clubs, churches etc.

– Carefully and secretly organise, lead and guide mass action, strikes, bus boycotts, rallies, protest meetings etc.

– Organise workers into Trade Unions in the factories, mines, farms and other places of work. Trade Unions will enable workers to act together and be united in demanding higher wages, better and safer working conditions and skills, shorter working hours, paid holiday, and sick leave etc.

– The unit must receive and distribute ANC pamphlets, newsletters, leaflets etc.

– Prepare secret places for hiding any material that is 'illegal'. This includes all ANC publications.

– Each member of the unit must be given a task that he will be able to do.

* All work must be done secretly; the SBs and informers must not know of the unit's existence and what it is doing.

– The unit must know where the SBs and informers are staying and working.

– Every member of the unit must observe the activity of the police and see whether they show any interest in the unit.

– If any member suspects that he is watched by the Special Branch, he must not continue with his task and must lie low in order to avoid leading the police to the underground unit.

(To be continued)

* * * * *

PRICES, PROFITS GO UP – WAGES DON'T!

Bus boycotts and workers' strikes have become a common occurrence in the country since the unforgettable Alexandra Township 'Azikhwelwa' heroism of 1957. There have been militant boycotts, as well, in Gelvendale Coloured township, in Mdantsane, in Chatsworth Indian ghetto, in Madadeni and Osizweni, and now in Kwa-Thema and Payneville.

What makes the Black people, alone to go out to boycott or strike? The answer lies with the inhuman system of greed for huge profits, exploitation, racism and oppression. The system forces Blacks to be housed far away from their places of work and have to spend a great part of their wages on trans-

port. It lays down that Blacks be paid less, and their unions not to be recognised. And now the present inflation has made the plight of the Black workers even worse. What inflation means, simply, is that huge profits and price-increases jump up as never before whilst wages remain low.



For us, inflation causes unemployment as many Blacks are laid off work. Inflation disguises a new stage for more fierce exploitation of our cheap labour. It hits hard on the miserable Black pensioners; and the poorest sections cannot afford regular hospital attention. Often many children are pulled out of school. Whites are not really affected by this. Their children get free education. Thus it is a lie that inflation 'bites' everyone the same. The Business press shows that big company profits are ever increasing!

Although inflation is the economic sickness of the very racialistic system we all hate, the 'anti-inflation' measures the white rulers take, are in their interests and at the expense of the oppressed. This is so because the 'gentlemen' who mis-rule our country, and cause so much misery and suffering for the Black majority are oppressors and exploiters.

Thus, we must continue to fight this capitalist exploitation -- whether it comes as low wages, cheap labour, longer hours of work, rises in bus/train fares, rises in rents, in food-stuffs, in schoolfees, in clothing or hospital fees. We must do this by forming free and democratic Trade Unions in the factories, Residence Committees in the townships or villages. We must have our elected representatives in them who are not 'ja-baas' or cowards. Also, whenever our brothers boycott or strike, as in Kwa-Thema, we must not just admire but must give them active support and solidarity, by walking too to work, for one or two days; or by going on strike for 24 or 48 hours. In that way, we will speed up and ensure their victory; at the same time we will make it difficult for the white exploiters to raise our own bus fares, rents or sack workers at our own factories.

Remember an injury to one of us is an injury to all of us!

* * * * *

OUR YOUTH NEEDS A.N.C. REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

The current developments in Southern Africa have undoubtedly enhanced the readiness and determination of the youth to take part in the liberation of the oppressed Blacks in SA. Arrests and detentions have failed to dampen that spirit. Indeed, the present upsurge of the youth is reminiscent of the mood after the defeat of Nazism, when the then youth — amongst them Mandela, Sisulu and Tambo — formed the ANC (Youth League) which radically transformed the ANC into the present day revolutionary vanguard and authentic voice of the oppressed and suffering people in our country.

Unlike the then youth, present-day youth lack a sound political direction and leadership. The temporary vacuum after the banning of the ANC and the imprisonment of many of its cadres and leaders contributed a great deal to this unfortunate situation. The emergence of the Black Consciousness movement has attempted to remedy this situation by mobilising the youth throughout the country. Whilst this historic event was hailed by the liberation movement, the Black Consciousness movement overlooked the laying down of a firm basis of principle on which it will co-operate with all other anti-racist groups, irrespective of colour.

The ANC correctly defines the enemy as White Domination and its imperialist backers; and hence every revolutionary, black or white, ought to take part in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow white domination. Thus the youth should discard the 'go it alone' policy and strive to build a broad front of all anti-White domination, anti-colonialist forces. The correctness of such a revolutionary approach of unifying all progressive forces has been vindicated in

Mozambique, Angola etc. The liberation movements in these former Portuguese colonies consistently defined their enemy as Portuguese Colonialism and NOT the White Portuguese people. As a result many white Angolan and Mozambican patriots of Portuguese origin fought side by side with MPLA and FRELIMO militants.

Unlike splinter movements which exploit the extremely racial character of our situation when appealing to the youth, the ANC gives the youth a clear political direction as in the Freedom Charter. So that now is the time for the youth to seek revolutionary leadership in the ANC. Organising themselves into disciplined underground units, the youth must discuss and equip themselves with revolutionary theory. They must study why, for instance, apartheid, racism, anti-communist ideas, colonialism, imperialism vigorously oppose, scorn and slander (as in Angola for instance) the liberation struggle, real freedom, socialism and justice for all.

Above all, our youth must be ready to transform that revolutionary theory into revolutionary practice by joining Unkhonto we Sizwe and take part in the armed overthrow of white domination. The only way is militant confrontation with the enemy at every corner. No reforms will bring about majority rule. That is why we oppose the window-dressing reforms as preached by the white ruling class. We also equally oppose such efforts as the building of clinics, work camps and home industries, no matter how well meant. That energy and enthusiasm of the youth must be directed in efforts to destroy the one and only source of our misery and oppression, namely white domination.

The immediate tasks, therefore, are for the youth to organise and reach wherever youth are — in the factories, mines, townships and villages, in schools, universities and professional societies, in sport, church and other cultural bodies — in order to mould *all* youth into a fortress of fearless resistance to

white oppression. That youth, organised, must now be activated and taken out into the streets in demand of their day-to-day needs like higher wages, an end to victimisation, subsidised bus fares, free, compulsory and proper education, integrated sport at all levels etc. Small-scale actions (whether they are in downing of tools, picketing, demonstrations, protest meetings, go-slows, work-to-rule, sit-down strikes, boycotts, stays-at-home, defiance etc) are important and lead to higher revolutionary activities (sabotage, guerilla action and the seizure of power).

Forward!

Amandla! Matla!

* * * * *

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE

Towards the middle of last year the Human Rights Committee was formed in South Africa, under the Chairmanship of Comrade Mohamed Timol, brother of Ahmed Timol who, like Mdluli, was murdered while in detention on October 27, 1971 (see Sechaba Vol. 6, No. 2).

Sechaba recently received documents anonymously posted from Port Elizabeth which show that this Committee which comprises members from all racial groups in the country, far from being intimidated by police harassment and the banning of several issues of its publication: The HRC Bulletin, is growing in strength and stature.

In the current issue of its Bulletin (No 5), the Committee, "after a careful scrutiny of HRC statements on major events during 1975 and of the role played by the HRC bulletin in getting our message across to the people of South Africa," issued a '*Statement of Policy*'.

The statement continues:

The Committee noted with warmth the encouragement it has received from many people, both old and young, throughout the country.

The Committee also feels strengthened in its task by the support it has received from the progressive forces in the international community.

It was in this spirit that the HRC assessed its views of the political situation in this country, and of the role it can play in the struggle for liberation of all people in South Africa.

Close consideration was given to political developments during 1975 in the liberated areas along South Africa's borders, and in Namibia, where the struggle for freedom continues.

We were particularly encouraged by the solidarity of the people of Mozambique in suppressing an attempted coup organised by reactionary Western powers, and by the heroic people of Angola, who have supported the MPLA popular government against intervention by Western imperialism.

Note was taken of Vorster's attempts to split and divide resistance to his regime through the policy of detente.

In solidarity with the people of South Africa who have rejected Vorster's policies, the HRC has decided to issue a full 1976 policy statement, re-emphasising its aims and objects, and its total opposition to detente and the dummy institutions of the Apartheid system.

- * We aim to advance the people's struggle for freedom.
- * We stand for majority rule.
- * We stand for a free society with no discrimination in colour, class, belief or sex.
- * We stand for the unconditional release of political prisoners.

- * We stand for the return of our political exiles to help build a new and free society.
- * We stand for the abolition of detention without trial, the freeing of detainees, the lifting of house-arrest and all other restrictions.

There are many forms of dummy institutions that the Vorster regime has created in order to sow disunity and confusion in the people's minds.

We are referring to the homeland governments, the Coloured Representative Council, the South African Indian Council, the Urban Bantu Councils, advisory boards and management committees.

And in Namibia, we are referring to the constitutional talks between so-called black leaders and nationalists. SWAPO is the only voice we recognise in Namibia. It is the only political party representing the demands and aspirations of the people.

SWAPO continues to exist because Vorster dares not ban it. Western powers are sensitive about Namibia.

These same powers, however, are less concerned about South Africa, where they depend on Vorster to protect their investments and huge profits. Here Vorster has been able to crush the people's political voice by suppressing the political parties representing them.

Because Vorster is permitted to suppress any movement that represents the people in South Africa, none of the homeland Governments and none of the political parties operating within the apartheid system can claim to be the true voice of the people.

Therefore they cannot claim to be the instruments of liberation of the people.

Therefore they are Pretoria's instruments of oppression.

The HRC pays tribute to the political soli-

arity of the people for rejecting these institutions and for their day-to-day struggle to set up organisations to voice their real political and economic demands and aspirations.

* * * * *

PUBLIC MEETINGS

The Bulletin reports on several meetings held on the occasion of Human Rights Day — December 12. As we pointed out earlier although these meetings took place six months ago, and we received the reports and the Bulletin soon after our own copy for the last issue of Sechaba had been sent to the printers, the main points made by all the speakers at these meetings are very relevant today.

For this reason Sechaba has decided to publish this brief report on the meetings and to quote in full two key-note speeches made at one of the meetings.



Johannesburg:

A meeting of several hundred held at Johannesburg's Gandhi Hall heard Comrade Sampson Ndou, a former trialist under the Terrorism Act, Mrs. Sheila Suttner, mother of Raymond Suttner, who was recently imprisoned for seven and a half years for furthering the aims of the ANC, Mohamed Timol, chairman of the HRC, Comrades Lykon Mabaso and Ishmael Mkhabela, both from the University of the North.

The Chairman of the meeting was Comrade E. Shabangu, veteran of the banned ANC and a former detainee.

East London:

Besides commemorating Human Rights Day, a meeting attended by 200 people in East London also marked the formation of the HRC in the Eastern Cape.

The meeting presided over by Rev. Williams was addressed by Comrade Helen Joseph, a leader of the banned South African Women's Federation of which the ANC Women's League was a leading force, Comrade G. Mposelwa, an active member of the Black Peoples' Convention and Dr. Trudi Thomas,

a medical practitioner at the Frere Hospital in East London.

Durban:

The Natal Indian Congress also held a meeting on the occasion presided over by its chairman, Comrade M.J. Naidoo.

The speeches by Trinol and Ndou at the Johannesburg meeting are printed in full elsewhere in this issue. The following are extracts from some of the other speeches:

* Ishmael Mkhabela:

"Salvation for the blacks in South Africa does not lie with the Nationalist Party or with Parliament in Cape Town... There is no law that guarantees the dignity of the black man... We are a people without heroes and without leaders for there is not one hero or a leader whom the regime has not locked away because they brand them as agitators."

* G. Mposelwa:

"Apartheid teaches blacks to hate other blacks... This indoctrination is carried on through education, radio and now, television... The homelands policy is a further step away from liberation. It has been created to confuse and divide the black people of South Africa."

* Dr. Trudi Thomas

emphasised the problems of migrant labourers and the family disruption it caused. Quoting extensive statistics she described the dire poverty experienced by homeland residents.

* Lykon Mabaso

compared the South African regime with the Nazi regime of Adolf Hitler. The black man, he said, was daily confronted with a system that denied him human dignity.

* Sheila Suttner

"I stand here today, fulfilling a role which would have been far better filled by my son. Wednesday, December 10 1975 marked the 27th anniversary of the Universal Declara-



tion of Human Rights and we are assembled here today to celebrate the spirit in which most of the world has moved in the direction of affirming the dignity of man and his right to freedom. We are also here to mourn the total lack of progress in winning human rights for the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights sprang out of the horror engendered by the death camps and gas ovens of Nazi Germany and the terrible loss of life in World War II. On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights which embodies the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity.

From the very beginning there was stalemate in relation to South Africa in the United Nations. Time and again the general assembly has "deplored", "deprecated", "requested", "further requested", "urged", "condemned" South Africa on the question of race conflict resulting from the policies of apartheid, and every time the South African representative to the United Nations has invoked Article 2(7) which precludes the assembly from interfering in the "essentially domestic affairs" of a member state.

This is why on 10 December 1975, the 27th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations yet again passed a resolution to the effect that "the racist regime of South Africa is illegitimate and has no right to represent the people of the country."

She wound up her speech with a quote from Martin Luther King, which ended:

"There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair."

"I think that we have reached that time in South Africa," she said.

* * * * *

* Mohamed Timol

AMANDLA!

Today I want to greet all the oppressed people of South Africa, in commemorating a day recognised and celebrated almost all over the world... except by Vorster's regime in our mother country, and the rebels in Zimbabwe, the puppets in Namibia, and South Africa's allies in South America and elsewhere.

I want to deal with separate development, detente, our leaders on the island and in Pretoria, and the return of the exiles. And by exiles returning I do not mean Mr Tsepo Letlaka, the former PAC man who has returned and is now a diplomat for the so-called Transkei Government.

First, Separate Development. The Human Rights Committee rejects all the dummy institutions... homelands, the CRC, the Indian Council, the Urban Bantu Councils, and of course the mother body that gave birth to all these instruments of our oppression; the white parliament that sits so comfortably in Cape Town.

Who voted for the homelands policy when Verwoerd so proudly announced the Transkei fraud to a world still horrified by Sharpeville? You can answer that for yourselves.

Who voted for the CRC, J.N. Reddy's Indian Council and the UBCs?

But don't put the blame only onto the Nats. De Villiers Graaff is waiting almost hysterically for a crisis to confront the rulers so he can make a great and statesman-like speech on the need for a white coalition government and then retire to breeding animals, which is one thing he apparently does do well.

Fglin and Suzman go rushing all over Africa, assuring various heads of state that things will be different if they come to power. But at the same time they would hate to be

accused of undermining South Africa's government, the Prime Minister, or his much-vaunted detente policy.

And in fact when such a suggestion was made, Suzman retaliated with great anger, and made it clear she acted at all times as a patriotic South African.

Who now could vote to scrap the policy of separate development? Vorster says the only way to try to bring about change in South Africa is through the ballot box. And he says this is a democratic country.

But he ignores the fact that the black people of South Africa were not asked to vote on separate development or any of the dummy institutions that grew from it.

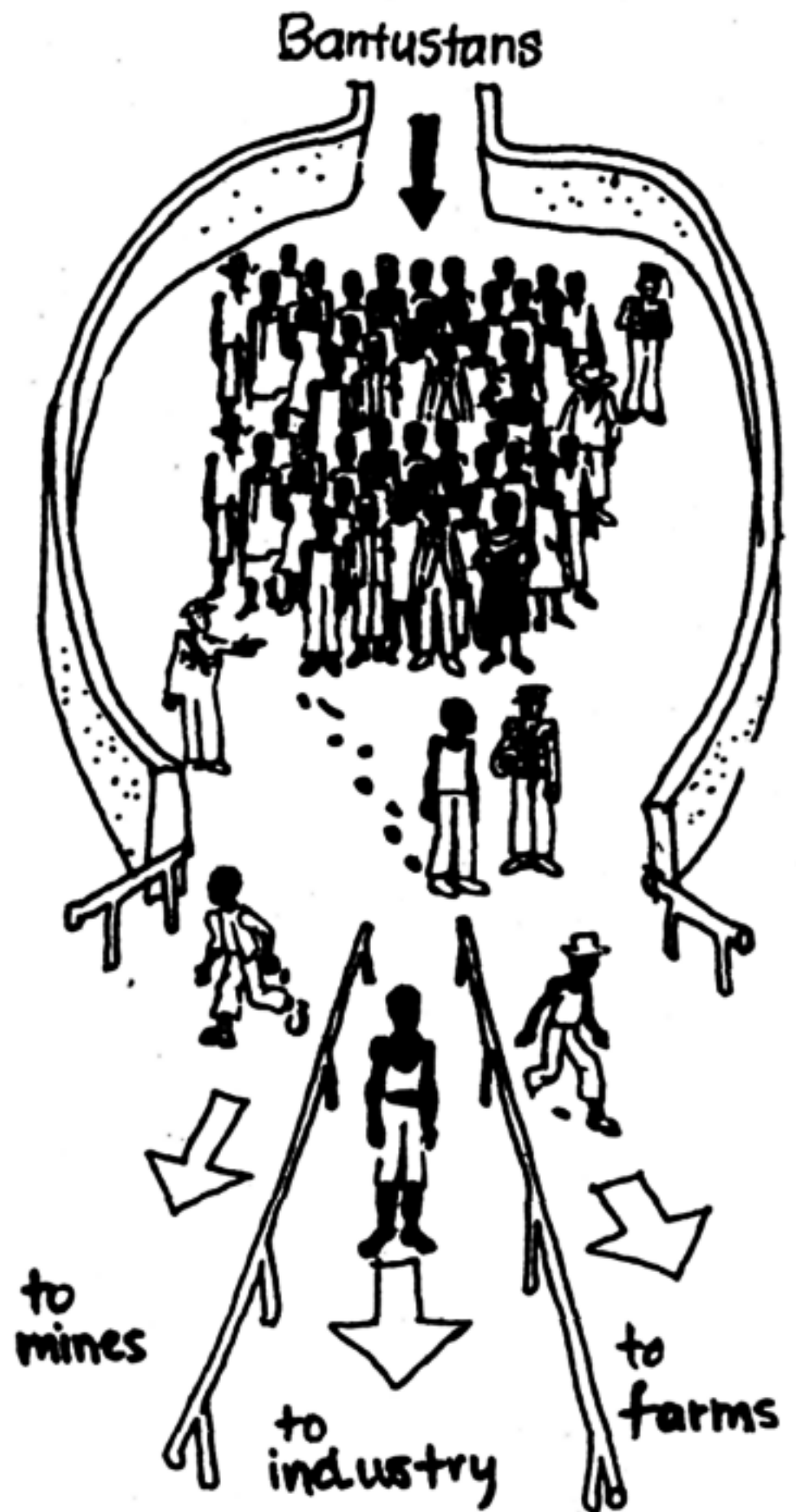
His answer would be that all races have votes for their respective institutions and their voices can be heard through them. But it is a powerless voice, as the recent CRC shambles has dramatically shown. And it is also a powerless voice in a powerless institution, forced onto the blacks of this country without consultation by a government they do not want and in which they are not represented.

But let's personalise this issue by considering one of the so-called homeland leaders: Chief Gatsha Buthelezi:

Chief Buthelezi made it clear when he took his decision to enter the homelands system that he was working within the system because his people needed development. But he said he did not accept the system.

I think we are all aware today of Chief Buthelezi's visits to Africa and overseas. He was attacked in Africa, and on his last visit to Europe and Canada. Often shouted down, he said sadly he was an implacable opponent of apartheid. But this implacable opponent of apartheid is free to go overseas whenever he likes.

Sonny Leon attacked South Africa while he was overseas, and lost his passport for a



while. He is an implacable opponent of apartheid. Beyers Naude, another implacable opponent of apartheid, and certainly a moderate man, has just been refused a passport to address an overseas meeting he was invited to.

The conclusion is inescapable. Pretoria lets Buthelezi go overseas to prove the homelands are "independent" and to prove there is freedom of speech in South Africa. All,

that Buthelezi is trying to achieve is to help Pretoria in its attempts to show the world it is sincere in trying to make its homelands policy work.

Buthelezi says, while he is overseas, that investment in the homelands is different from investment in South Africa, which he manages to suggest is somehow a different country altogether. He positively pleads for investment.

Now you must remember he is talking to capitalists overseas. So he must convince them there are enough high returns on their money to get them to invest in a country thousands of miles away.

He must also convince them the black workers will willingly work at wages low enough to make the prospects attractive to foreign investors. He must convince them there is no labour trouble in South Africa.

And he must stress how well the government has the situation under control. There is also increasing moral pressure on foreign investors in South Africa . . . so he must make it easy for them to justify investing here.

I won't pass judgment on Buthelezi. But I cannot imagine any South African who is patriotic by my definition going overseas and saying such things.

Now I would not like you to think that I have some sort of personal vendetta against Buthelezi. So let's look at the record of Matanzima, the man who will so proudly lead what he calls his country to so-called independence on October 21 next year.

He went to the United Nations, pleading the case for UN membership for an "independent" Transkei, and he was laughed at. He stayed in a hotel that cost R200 a day . . . more than many Transkei families earn in a year. He saw South Africa's credentials rejected by 125 votes to one. And he said that every speech he heard had destroyed the name of South Africa.

This should have provided him with a valuable glance into the future. He may have seen something lurking there, for he said later he would delay any Transkei application for membership of the UN until hostility against South Africa had subsided in the world body.

Well he is going to wait a long time.

Matanzima encountered political reality at the United Nations, but it does not seem to have taught him very much. And talking about reality, Vorster is said to be a great realist. That is what detente is all about.

But what is pragmatic about South African troops in Angola?

South Africa's government defends itself against international attacks by claiming it does not interfere in the domestic affairs of another country, and so its own domestic affairs should not be interfered with.

But it seems to me that has all changed. It is an open secret that Vorster leaned very heavily on Smith and, together with other heads of state, persuaded him to change Zimbabwe's domestic policy and release Zimbabwean detainees.

He interfered with the domestic affairs of Zimbabwe to try to force a settlement and buy time for South Africa. He will say, of course, that he merely had discussions with Smith on matters of mutual interest, but that is not how I see it.

Now we have South Africa in Angola. This was denied at first. And we had the laughable situation of Foreign Affairs Minister Hilgard Muller making just such a denial at a London Press conference, and then, after a re-think, having to retract his denial.

This is what happened. Dr Muller said he wanted to confirm what other members of his government had said, "there are no South African forces in Angola." A London Financial Times reporter brought the subject back. There were a number of well-substan-

tiated reports that South African men and equipment had been seen 500 miles into Angola.

Dr Muller tried again. He said perhaps he should have said in reply to the earlier question that there were South African troops in Angola, but that was no secret. They were there to protect the labourers, equipment and water supply from the Kunene River into Ovamboland. The Portuguese had been aware of their presence. It was a joint hydro-electric scheme.

The fact that the Portuguese are on record as having protested to South Africa in Pretoria and in Lisbon, to the United Nations and to the OAU has not removed South Africans from Angola.

People like President Nyerere, who had refused to take sides in the Angolan conflict, have now recognised MPLA, and attacked South Africa for being in Angola. Africa is taking sides against South Africa and the prospect is that South Africa's presence in Angola is producing the one outcome Vorster did not want: support for the MPLA — because international opinion is linking South Africa with FNLA and UNITA.

This leaves Vorster's detente policy in ruins. It was sliding to disaster anyway. A recent meeting of the OAU Foreign Ministers in Dar es Salaam attacked South Africa viciously.

But let's get back to Vorster's interference in the domestic affairs of Zimbabwe, because I want to make my last two points: the release of our leaders on the island and in Pretoria and the return of the exiles.

Vorster forces Smith to release Nkomo, Sithole, and the other patriots of Zimbabwe.

Vorster must now release our leaders in South Africa's political jails. Vorster must now lift the restrictions on those who are banned, house-arrested and banished. Vor-

ster must now allow the free and unrestricted return of the Exiles who have not returned to do diplomatic service for the Transkei.

And now I want to ask you a few questions. I ask you whether Vorster will release our leaders and allow the exiles to return? You know the answer to this.

I ask you whether he can prevent the people of South Africa from achieving peace on their own terms? And you know the answer to this too.

My Friends, I want to end by paying tribute to the gallant sons and daughters of Africa who have been harrassed, intimidated and imprisoned by a regime which does not recognise the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

MAYIBUYE!

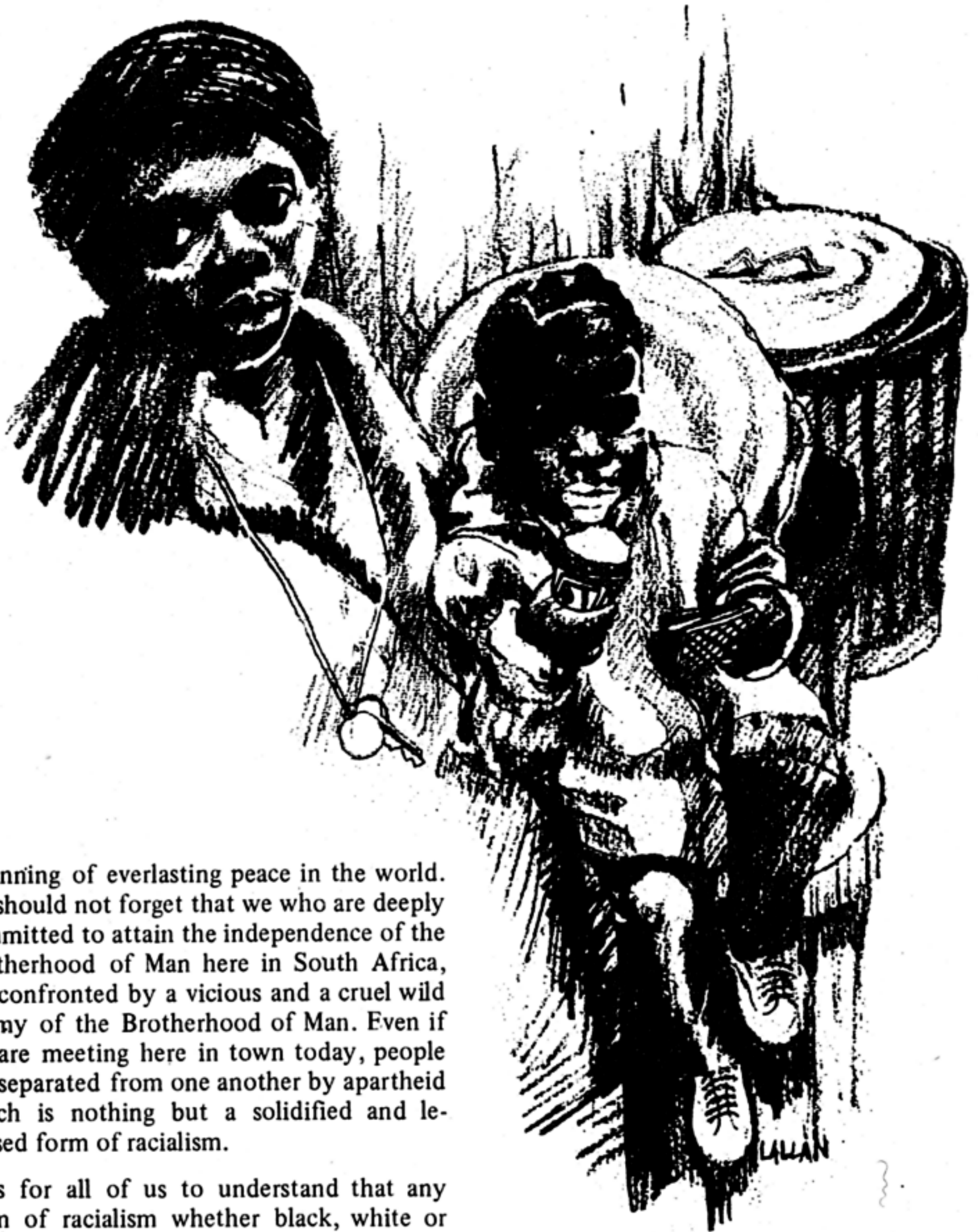
* * * * *

* Sampson Ndou

Brothers and Sisters — we are gathering here as people who are involved in the process of reconstructing the Brotherhood of Man. We are therefore not here as a congregation of mourners mourning at the past brutal destruction of the brotherhood of man which once existed. We are here as committed people who are engaged in removing all obstacles which are lying in the way towards the true reconstruction of the brotherhood of man.

The Brotherhood of Man is today a very important target which people of all races in South Africa, Africa and the world should strive for. This human bond is a form of understanding and it is therefore a manifestation of the feelings of togetherness, which is based on understanding.

If all the people in the world were to achieve the aim of this understanding, I assure you, brothers and sisters, that it will be the



beginning of everlasting peace in the world. We should not forget that we who are deeply committed to attain the independence of the Brotherhood of Man here in South Africa, are confronted by a vicious and a cruel wild enemy of the Brotherhood of Man. Even if we are meeting here in town today, people are separated from one another by apartheid which is nothing but a solidified and legalised form of racialism.

It is for all of us to understand that any form of racialism whether black, white or pink is an obstacle towards human understanding and is therefore an enemy of the Brotherhood of Man.

Racialism springs from a sense of deeply seated hatred which a group of people holds against another racial group. Racialism builds a wall of isolation between different

racess and if it is successful it can lead people into racial frictions and war.

A racist does not care whether another man who belongs to another racial group is suffering or not. He is all out to serve the interests of his racial group at the expense of

another racial group. A white racist government in this country disregards all human feelings of a black man. A black man is deprived completely of all facilities of normal life. He is homeless and remains a sojourner wherever he is in this country. The racist government has sucked out all human personality of the black man and left him as a directionless thing now suitable of being pushed up and down and eventually dumped at DIMBAZA.

A black man's oppressor who is a white racist works round the clock preaching to the black people that their enemy No 1 is **communism**. This is a well calculated plan designed to withdraw the black man's attention from the local problem which is **apartheid** and to let him focus his attention to a thing he has never come across or tasted. This kind of propaganda has been received and accepted and even believed by a few feeble minded people and by quite a reasonable number of whites in this country. We who stand for the Brotherhood of Man and the masses in this country should never allow ourselves to believe in this fabricated propaganda. We, in South Africa, we have never suffered under **communism**, but we are painfully labouring under **apartheid**, and Africa as a whole has suffered under **colonialism** and is still suffering under **neo-colonialism**.

It is very laughable on the part of the white racist to teach the blacks to fight against **communism**, a thing which they don't know and will perhaps never know. It is still odd on the part of the white racist to try to let the black man forget the real enemies of the people. This futile and absurd attempt of the white racist is known by the black masses and it will never convince them.

White people in this country are mentally oppressed to such an extent that they even fail to see the danger the racist government is creating for them. They are blinded by privileges offered to them and neglect the

trouble which is knocking at the door. These privileges which the whites are enjoying at the expense of the black masses breaks the natural bond of Brotherhood which binds all the people. People must realise that while a black man is brutally suffering under physical oppression, a white man is, on the other hand; painfully serving under mental oppression.

It is therefore the duty of all people, black and white in South Africa to join hands together in an attempt to root out this kind of oppression which has befallen all the people before it destroys them all. People must regard this kind of a call as a National call, against a **NATIONAL ENEMY**.

We are not struggling against apartheid because it is imposed upon us by a white man. Even if it were imposed by a black man upon a white man, all right-thinking people would still join hands to fight it. We are not fighting against white racialism in order to replace it with black racialism, we are all out to fight against racialism and we are convinced that victory is ours.

We are struggling not because we hate the white man, we are fighting for something which is good, and no kind of punishment whether it is a banning order, detention or any form of severe punishment will deter us from continuing the struggle against racialism.

A person who is fighting for money can easily stop fighting once he realises that there is no money. We are fighting for the Brotherhood of Man and we do so without a salary because the Brotherhood of Man is worth more than a salary and is therefore our goal.

The Bantustan policy is designed to break the black people into tribal groups and to engage them in an unnecessary competition which if successful may lead our people into tribal wars.

Homeland leaders themselves are learned

people who are holding the reins to further the aims of the policy of divide-and-rule. These boys are self-confessed enemies of the Brotherhood of Man in our country.

Some of these homeland boys claim to be against the policy of Bantustans. How can one fight against the policy he is so actively promoting? We must know that homeland leaders are nothing but tribal leaders who are promoting tribalism which is the vicious enemy of the Brotherhood of Man.

These government boys should know that their secret is well-known and that their chance of confusing our people is now very alien. I would again like to warn the homeland leaders to review their leadership before black people decide what kind of punishment is most suitable to them. **THIS IS A WARNING** — which must be taken seriously.

We are fully aware of the homeland leaders' trips to America, Britain, Germany and France . . . I am again bound to remind the homeland leaders that America stands for the destruction of any African Independence movement on our continent. I regard the Americans as a threat to the Brotherhood of Man and for the homeland leaders to associate themselves with America reflects their view towards Independence Movements in Africa.

I would also like to challenge the church in South Africa. Most of these Christians have now lost the Christian principles which Jesus Christ stood for and advocated in the world. Instead of waging a just war against the evil racial government in order to shape it in a Christian way; they have ashamedly allowed themselves to be shaped by the racial government and therefore work within the government racial structure.

Our government is all out to fight against communism, and our churches on the other hand are also out to preach against communism. The question now is — Do our Chris-



tians think that Christianity is in line with capitalism? Is racialism justified in the Bible?

If so, I challenge the Christians to support their allegation by only one line from the Bible. How can our churches neglect the home-made apartheid which is destructive here at home and attack communism which is foreign to us? I know that this may be regarded as a communist speech. I wish you could understand that this is a speech by a man who stands for the Brotherhood of Man and nothing less or more.

How can our churches work for the Brotherhood of Man while their pastors are paid according to their colour which is obviously not in line with Christianity?

Institutions like United Nations, Organisation of African Unity and the World Council of Churches stand in good faith for the Brotherhood of Man, but they are terribly infiltrated by fascist racial forces. The idea of these organisations is basically good as they strive for the Brotherhood of Man.

I will end this talk by inviting all of you to contribute strongly to this struggle towards the Independence of the Brotherhood of Man.

AMANDLA!



O. R. Tambo, Acting President General of the ANC South Africa

OLIVER TAMBO, President of the African National Congress of South Africa, spent two weeks in the People's Republic of Angola as a guest of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). In Luanda, the capital, he gave an exclusive interview to **MICHAEL WOLFERS**, representing **SECHABA**, on the reasons for his visit, which included a journey to Southern Angola at the time when the last South African racist troops were being expelled from Angolan territory.

The following is a text of his interview . . .

Racists Humil- iated

"The MPLA has always had the closest relations with the ANC — for well over ten years — and together with FRELIMO of the People's Republic of Mozambique, PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau and MLSTP of Sao Tome and Principe worked closely as part of an alliance of liberation movements bound by the same objectives in their struggle. The victory of these liberation movements over Portuguese colonialism is a victory for the people of South Africa, for the continent of Africa and for all progressives the world over. It was clear ever since 1964 that MPLA faced special problems in Angola because of the much greater imperialist involvement in the economy of the country. The fact that the independence of Angola under MPLA was proclaimed with the capital ringed round by invading forces was for that reason

hardly surprising. The emergence of the People's Republic of Angola, despite this racist and fascist offensive, was the triumph of the struggle of the Angolan people and was hailed by all those who had supported the MPLA's struggle against Portuguese fascism.

"At the independence celebrations, the ANC tried unsuccessfully to send a delegation headed by our Secretary General, but because of a breakdown in communication the delegation did not reach Luanda. It therefore became necessary that as soon as possible I should pay a visit to the newly independent African state, to affirm the expressions of solidarity and continued support for the MPLA in its new and unfolding struggle for the unification of its country and its

economic reconstruction. I wanted to convey by the visit the hearty congratulations of the working people, the oppressed, the progressive elements of South Africa, on the decisive military victory scored by FAPLA (the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola) over the invading troops of the South African racist regime.

Few events in the history of the South African struggle in the past sixty years (since the formation of ANC) could be regarded as more significant than the defeat of the invading South African army in Angola by the Angolan people under the leadership of the MPLA.

Racist SA soldier captured in December 1975 at Cela being presented to the International Press





Racist South African captured in Angola

There are developments in the past three or four years which can be regarded as generating a change in the fortunes of white minority rule in Southern Africa — the humiliation administered to the racist invaders in Angola is most certainly one of these developments, and points more clearly than anything else to the change in the balance of forces favouring the peoples hitherto subjected to colonial and racist domination.

A Day to Remember

“By a curious chance my arrival in Luanda, which had been delayed for several weeks, coincided with MPLA’s Secretary General Lucio Lara’s visit to Southern Angola, which had also been postponed several times. Even more significantly, as we travelled to Sa Da Bandeira, now known as Lubango, on Friday, March 26, the United Nations Security Council was debating the invasion of Angola by troops of the South African racist regime. On the following day, as we drove further south towards the border with Namibia, the South African troops were completing their retreat from Angolan soil. This was March 27 and stands out for Angola, for MPLA militants and members of FAPLA, as a date to be remembered in their history. It marked the end of a period of eight or nine months which witnessed a great demonstration of international solidarity and the implementation of the policies of internationalism — by Cuba and the Soviet Union, and by Nigeria and Tanzania among other countries, who had rallied with other progressive countries to the call of the MPLA for support in its struggle against the imperialist, invading forces. The 27th of March was the second great victory for the people of Angola. They had their first in alliance with FRELIMO, PAIGC and MLSTP when they defeated Portuguese colonialism after more than ten years of bitter struggle. This victory was followed immediately by a neo-colonialist invasion that featured the South African racist regime and brought in fascist mercenaries, puppets and CIA agents into an allied front to deprive the Angolan people of the gains made in fourteen years of struggle. The MPLA has defeated and frustrated this attempt and in the process has provided the liberation struggle in the rest of Southern Africa with many useful lessons to learn for the future course of the offensive directed to the total liberation of the continent.

“When in South Angola I had the privilege

of meeting members of FAPLA, particularly a detachment of FAPLA which was reported to consist of the veterans of the war against Portuguese colonialism and who had been in the various fronts of the invasion which started last year, and they were experts in the handling of sophisticated artillery, had driven tanks and had handled anti-aircraft weapons and were competent in all the technical fields of military conduct.”

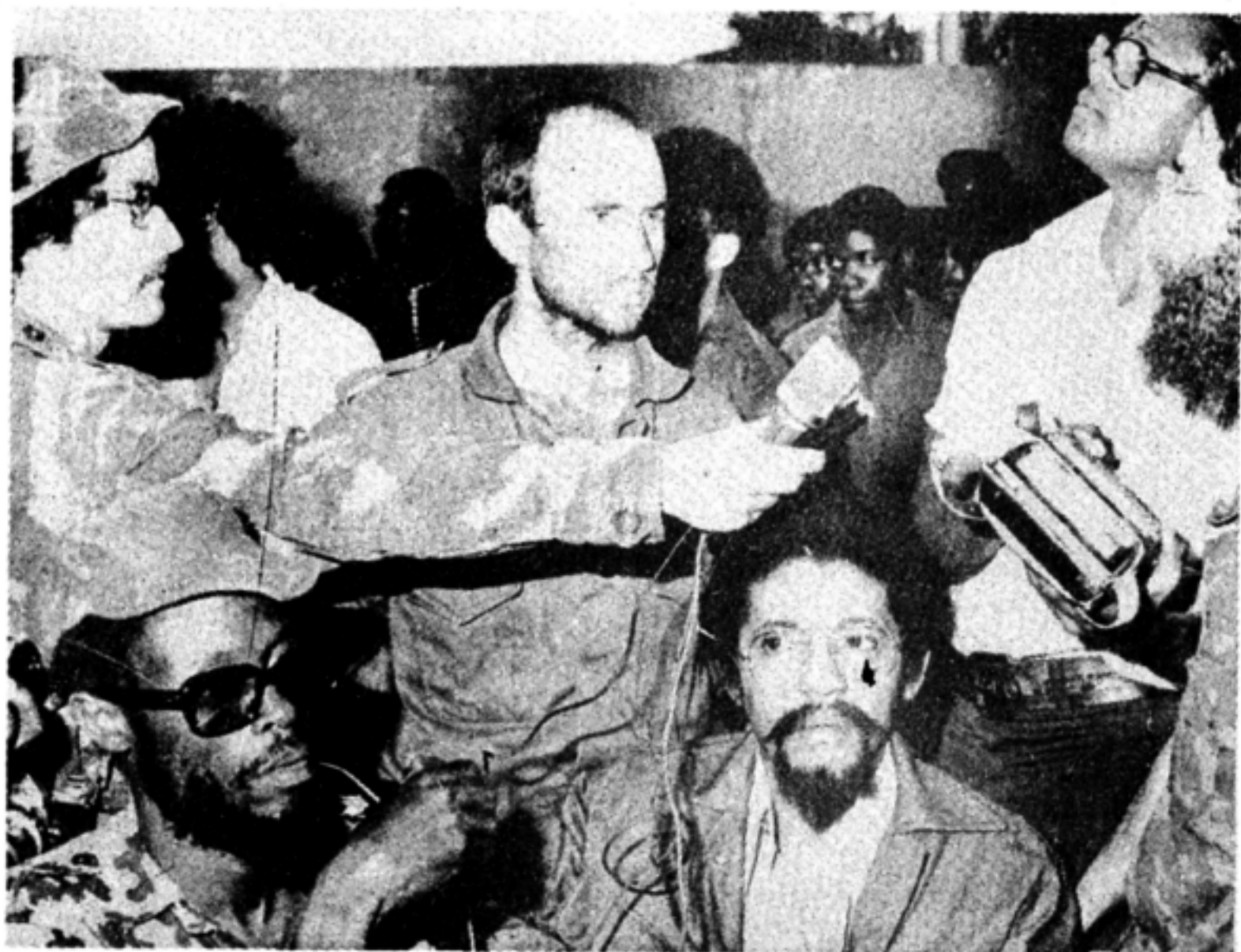
Cuba's Contribution

Commenting on “A western campaign against the MPLA and Angola which suggested that fighting in Angola was done by the Cubans without any meaningful participation by members of FAPLA”, President Tambo said that the Cubans had made a great and unforgettable contribution but FAPLA did not play a secondary role in any sense. On the presence of tanks manufactured in the Soviet Union, he remarked: “We

recall that the defeated South African army had been purchasing from the west the most sophisticated weapons — ever since the 1960's — and had boasted shortly before its defeat of its military strength. The myth was destroyed by men who had been hardened in struggle over a period of fourteen years and it was a source of inspiration to know that no African country, however newly independent, need be subject to domination, harassment or bullying by a fascist regime if it is determined to defend its sovereignty and knows who its genuine friends are.” On the multi-racial composition of MPLA and FAPLA, he concluded:

“The significant aspect of the MPLA forces which defeated the racists is that they are not divided racially, according to whether the person is white, brown or black — they are simply Angolans. This is the kind of South Africa we are going to have.”

A view of the press conference where the captured S. Africans were presented



SOUTH AFRICA'S ROAD TO DEFEAT

The following eye-witness report of the atrocities perpetrated against the Angolan people by the counter revolutionary gangs of UNITA and racist South African troops before they were driven out of Southern Angola by the armed forces of the MPLA, was written exclusively for SECHABA by WILFRED BURCHETT, an American free-lance journalist . . .



Iko Cariera, Minister of Defence – People's Republic of Angola

The further south one goes in Angola, the more terrible are the eye-witness accounts and evidence of the wholesale massacres of what must add up to many thousands of men, women and children by UNITA and FNLA forces of Jonas Savimbi and Holden Roberto, aided and protected by troops of the regular South African racist army.

We arrived with the first regular flight of the Angolan National Airlines – TAAG – in Huambo, the second largest city in the People's Republic of Angola. We had already heard in Luanda when we embarked that all the communications and technical equipment, including the airport control tower had been destroyed by UNITA bands and racist South African Troops.

The runway had been cleared of mines but nobody was surprised when a very thorough check was made as to whether we had all fastened our seat belts during the run-in for the landing.

Three things struck me immediately after the safe landing. The very comprehensive and obvious anti-aircraft defences manned by FAPLA (The People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola), the control tower staring hopelessly into the sky and lastly, the slogans with which UNITA had smeared up the town.

When UNITA and their South African racists had to flee the city in front of the liberators – FAPLA – they declared everybody who did not run with them to be MPLA supporters and they stated that all these will be shot out of hand. Nevertheless, despite this, apart from those butchered, about 50,000 people remained from among a total of 70,000 former residents including a large number of Portuguese. The speedy advances of the People's Liberation Forces ensured the purgatory started by UNITA and its racist allies was brought to a sudden halt.

The people of Lubango come out of hiding to greet the MPLA liberators



Children Killed

On a hill, some six miles north of the port city of Lobito – just off the main highway to Novo Redondo – I counted 35 blood-stained patches of soil, each ending with haloes of black crinkly hair, fallen out when the bodies had been removed for burial some days after the executions. Twelve had been identified as MPLA members the others were non-party. Six were women. I picked up a chrome arm band the clasp of which had been shot away. It bore the name Fransisca Eugenio. A few yards away from each blood-stained patch were empty cartridge cases – standard NATO-type bullets – according to MPLA Commandante Augusta Rosa who escorted us to the spot. 36 had been shot in this one spot, the 36th a child found in the protective arms of a man who had picked her up apparently after the mother was shot alongside. By chance I met Marcelina Urdelu dos Santos. She explained that her husband and an 8-year old girl had been arrested because another 12 years old daughter was a member of the MPLA Pioneer youth organi-

sation and had been overheard making derogatory remarks about UNITA. She was away from home so they took the father and another daughter. The mother protested to the neighbours and the UNITA police returned and took her and their 20 year-old son. They all escaped two weeks later during the confusion when fighting broke out between UNITA and FNLA troops last December 23rd. But on February 8, the husband was again arrested. On February 11, after the flight of UNITA and South African troops, Marcelina Urdelu joined scores of other wives and mothers in the grisly task of trying to identify the bodies – mutilated after they had been shot – scattered among the bushes overlooking the Atlantic. “At first I thought he was not there”, she told me. “But I went a second time. I had not recognized him because he had the child in his arms and the way he had fallen it covered his face”. An Italian film crew which had arrived on the spot had filmed the bodies as they lay. Commandante Rosa said that along a stretch of 12 miles starting from this spot, some 200 bodies had been discovered.

A “grave” in Lubango



Rapists and Thieves

"It was difficult to see much logic in the killings" said Armalho Casanho, an Angolan of Portuguese origin who had served in the Benguela city administration for 22 years. "Some were killed because they were MPLA; others because they didn't have UNITA identity cards; others because UNITA commanders wanted to get their hands on their possessions; others simply because Benguela was known as an MPLA stronghold. This was a regime of murderers, rapists and thieves." The only English resident of Lobito, Mr. Gordon Hart, representing the Import-Export firm of Hull-Blyth, resident in Angola for 30 years, when asked what the UNITA administration was like said tersely: "There was no administration." And he confirmed the reign of terror instituted by the UNITA forces under the South Africans.

I spoke with a lively bunch of African children at a market place in a suburb of Benguela. To my question what it was like under UNITA rule, one replied: "They were a bunch of murderers and thieves. At the beginning they started rounding people up to make them buy UNITA identity cards. They cost 50 to 100 escudos each. (28 escudos to 1 US dollar). Later they made raids and if people didn't have these cards you were arrested and killed."

Another 11 year old spoke up: "They came at night to take the women away." What for I asked: "To make them sleep with them", he replied.

The courtyard of the Benguela police station was piled high with furniture, refrigerators, hi-fi radios, crated suitcases etcetera. They had been prepared by Portuguese residents leaving for Lisbon, addresses in Portugal painted on the smashed boxes and crates. They had been seized by UNITA police and ransacked for everything of value. We drove through what is now known as the



A "grave" in Bie

"plundered suburb"; rows of prosperous looking villas with smashed-in doors, sometimes gaps in the roof where doors had been too resistant for the plunderers.

A tribute to MPLA efficiency was the fact that on the day (February 19) of our visit to Benguela the first train on the famous Benguela railway had left for Luso 600 miles to the East. It had ceased to function during the 92 days of racist South African-UNITA occupation. When fully restored this line links the Atlantic and Indian Oceans serving the rich mineral areas of Zambia and Katanga in Zaire through the port city of Lobito, 15 miles north of Benguela.

One aspect of results of 500 years of Portuguese colonialism could not be better illustrated than to drive along the Benguela-

Lobito road. The contrast between the luxury villas in these two well laid-out towns with their tree-lined avenues and flowering shrubs and the unbelievably miserable villages of the real Angolans was outrageous. Perched high up on land so arid that it could not support a single shrub, with women toiling up the slopes with huge, round canisters of water on their heads; villages without water, sewerage or electricity overlooked lush fields of banana palms, sugar cane and coffee – the land too fertile to be “wasted” on African dwellings. “Security” was cited as one of the reasons for the check-board arrangement of the treeless, shade-less hovels of unbaked bricks.

Land Laid Waste

An illustration of Savimbi’s non-administration was to drive through part of a 2,400 sq. Km (almost 1,000 sq. miles) area of what for years had been the most fertile region of irrigated land southeast of Benguela. Hundreds of acres of banana palms with half-ripened stems dropping lifelessly downwards the leaves as if scorched by fire. Paw Paw palms sagging at the waist; extensive fields of potatoes, the plants prematurely shrivelled. The irrigation system depended on petrol-

powered pumps and Savimbi refused to provide any petrol. Armalho Casalho had accompanied a farmers’ delegation to plead for petrol – which UNITA men were selling on the black market. “Let them piss on their crops” replied Savimbi, when it was pointed out that a whole season’s production over a vast area would be lost! The irrigation channels had dried up. Water started to flow again a few days after the UNITA flight, in an attempt to salvage something of the hardier sugar cane and cotton crops.

I asked Comandante Rosa whether Savimbi could make good his much-publicised boasts of going over to guerilla warfare. His reply was similar to those of every other regional commander I have asked – and to that of Defence Minister and veteran guerilla Iko Carreira:

“Savimbi cannot organise guerilla warfare because the population is not with him and you cannot wage guerilla warfare without the support of the people. He has lost the support of the entire population of Lobito, for instance, a former UNITA stronghold. Before he left he robbed the banks. There was no cash for anybody to pay

A “grave” in Lobito



wages. From the beginning of his regime he forced employees to deduct 10 percent of wages and hand it over to pay UNITA troops. Anybody who complained was jailed, most of them killed before he left. This disgusted even rank and file members of his own movement which is why they turned in their arms as soon as the officers fled. His greatest crime in most people's eyes around here is that he called in the racist South Africans. The masses have abandoned him — how can he carry on guerilla warfare?"

100 Days of Horror

At Lubongo (Sa Da Bandiera) the southernmost point on Angola's vast central plateau, 372 kms almost due south of Benguela, the account of massacres was even worse than at Benguela-Lobito — partly because the period of occupation — just 100 days — was somewhat longer. We spoke with Commander Farrusco, who with his fluffy beard bears an astonishing resemblance to early portraits of "Che" Guevara. He had directed guerilla warfare in the area against the Portuguese and was present when the first racist South African invaders set up their headquarters at Calueque, about 20 kms inside Angola from Namibia, at the beginning of August last year. Speaking of the situation at Lubongo itself; he said:

"All militants, all those who favoured the MPLA were forced to flee to the mountains where they lived under very difficult conditions for 100 days. All those who did not flee in time were massacred. In the first few days of the South African occupation, over 200 people were killed, including 61 children — executed by firing squads because they were MPLA Pioneers. On another occasion the ELP (Mainly Spain-based Portuguese Liberation Army of former fascists, who claim Spínola as their leader, pledged to re-install an authoritarian regime in



Tragic scenes such as this in Huambo were re-enacted everywhere after "graves" of murdered MPLA militants and others were found after liberation

Portugal) herded 27 shepherds into a railway truck, shot them all, then pushed the shunted truck a few hundred yards away and threw the bodies into a river. This happened at Vila Arriaga, 40 kms (25 miles) south of Lubongo."

A short while later when we arrived in Bie, the eighth largest city in Angola, we found that quite a few houses had been destroyed by internecine battles between FNLA and UNITA bands which had lasted until UNITA established its supremacy in January. There still remained about 4,000 of the 20,000 residents. Some had fled from the FNLA and others from UNITA.

During their escape from the city, as the national army advanced, UNITA had used some of the residents to cover their retreat.

The radio-station "Radio Elube do Bie" was turned by UNITA into its most important hate-propaganda instrument. Changing the name to "Radio do galo negro", the "black cock radio" Savimbi demanded that the people be as diligent as black cocks and should also wake up as early. As curtain-

raisers at UNITA meetings, which had to be attended by all, the people were made to crow and strut like cocks.

Just before Bie lies Chanhora. On our way back to Huambo through this spot we were confronted with brutal cruelty. This is where the "Cadeia Comarca" stands, the former provincial lock-up of the Portuguese PIDE secret police. The pro-imperialist UNITA had taken it over. In October last year 140 MPLA members were held here and later killed. Beyond a maize field where savannah grass and bush grew thickly could be seen — in lightly turned earth — a human foot here, a leg there and human remains dotted an area of several square meters.

Only 41 Survived

We counted some 20 fresh and older mass graves. UNITA had committed a bloody and gruesome massacre in Canhora. Most probably Joaquim Kapango — member of the polit-bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA — fell victim to UNITA around here. He had been captured by UNITA in August of last year in Huambo and since then there has been no trace of him. The last prisoners were murdered by UNITA just before liberation by the FAPLA.

In Bie we spoke to some survivors of the UNITA concentration camp 69 kilometers away at Capolo. "720 men whom the MPLA had delegated into the police force were imprisoned in Capolo" reports 24 year old Domingos Antonio Neto. "We were held for seven months. 41 survived. I am one of them." In N'zau Puna UNITA maintained another prison and in the nearby Rio Cento 124 people were murdered. On our return to Huambo more mass graves were discovered in the neighbourhood of the airport.

Joao Filipe Martins, the People's Republic's Minister of Information, summed up what we had seen and heard in Huambo, Benguela, Bie, Lobito and Lubongo as follows:

"From a superficial glance you might think that the destruction in the South has been very small. Buildings and installations all seem to be intact. But if the buildings remained intact, the people were massacred.

Why did they massacre on such a scale? Why did they kill children? What interests lay behind such atrocities? Why did the UNITA-FNLA invite the South Africans in to protect them in their work of massacring? Because they had a plan to replace Angolan people by others — which is why the buildings were left intact. The idea was to destroy the brain and nerve centres of our people — from MPLA cadres down to pioneers, to destroy our country's future. They wanted to have willing or unwilling slaves at their disposal . . ." The Minister went on to say that the overall strategy was to carve Angola up with Zaire taking the northern part and South Africa adding on the South to Namibia. To do this the MPLA, incontestably the only liberation movement organised on an all-Angolan scale, was to be eliminated down to its last cadre, soldier, sympathiser and even the children of the militants. He said that behind Holden Roberto's troops in the North came Zairean settlers who moved into such towns as Sazaire at the mouth of the Congo river and San Salvador, capital of the northernmost province (except for the Cabinda enclave) and in these two and other northern cities even Zairean currency was introduced. (It is widely believed here that the partitioning of Angola was agreed on at the secret meeting between Spinoza and Nixon at their meeting in the Azores shortly after the coup of April 25, 1974 which overthrew Portugal's fascist regime and opened the prospects for freeing the African colonies.)

"The United States and all West European countries," continued Minister Martins, "openly supported UNITA and FNLA, not only because they wanted to continue to exploit Angola's wealth, but also to exploit her people. But the determination of the Angolan people to resist such schemes was not included in CIA planning."

Asked how many people had been massacred, the Minister said it is not yet possible to estimate the exact number at present, but he said: "several thousands were killed in the last months alone."

Landmarks in the struggle for ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE

- 1956 On December 10th, the MPLA is formed, from the fusion of PLUA (Angola United Struggle Party) and MIA (Movement for Angolan Independence).
- 1958 Another nationalist organisation joins MPLA: MINA (Movement for Angolan National Independence).
- 1959 PIDE launches first major wave of repression in March, arresting dozens of patriots and a number of "suspects". But in spite of the arrests, torture and mass assassinations, patriots intensify the struggle.
- 1960 In April, an MPLA delegation attends the "Second Conference of Solidarity of Afro-Asian Peoples" in Conakry, where a resolution is passed, for the first time, in support of the cause of the Angolan people. Dictator Salazar responds with a new wave of arrests, this time in Luanda, Lobito, Malanje and Ndalatando. Comrade Agostinho Neto is taken prisoner for the third time by PIDE. Terrified at the force of the people, PIDE deports Agostinho Neto, first to Cape Verde and then to Aljube prison, in Portugal. At this, MPLA declares Comrade Neto the Movement's Honorary President.
- 1961 In January, the people of Baixa de Kassanje are brutally massacred. On February 4, there is a popular uprising against the oppression and dictatorship of the exploiters in Luanda. Armed with their working tools and with weapons taken from the colonial army and police force, the people launch an heroic attack on Luanda prisons.
- 1962 Comrade Agostinho Neto is freed, mainly because of tremendous international pressure. The fascist government sentences him to house arrest in Lisbon. In December the first National Conference of MPLA is held, in Kinshasa. The Conference appoints Agostinho Neto President, in succession to Mario Andrade. Meanwhile Holden Roberto, in the service of imperialism, operates a fusion between UPA and PDA, giving rise to FNLA and setting up GRAE (the so-called Angolan revolutionary government in exile).
- 1963 The OAU decides to recognise GRAE. The reactionary Congo government expels the MPLA from Kinshasa. From now on, MPLA headquarters are in Congo-Brazzaville. On January 9, the struggle is launched on a new front in Cabinda — the 2nd Political-Military Region.
- 1964 In January a cadres conference is held and adopts a long term people's war as MPLA strategy. During the year, in the international field, our movement is recognised by the OAU.



FAPLA militant in action

- 1965 Various international organisations try vainly to unite UPA and MPLA.
- 1966 May 18: a third front is opened — 3rd Political-Military Region, across the Districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango.
Also during the year, Jonas Savimbi creates his tribal movement, UNITA, after fleeing from UPA.
- 1967 MPLA launches the slogan “generalisation of armed struggle across the whole country”

- 1968 January 3: the Directing Committee of MPLA takes the historic decision to transfer its headquarters inside Angola.
April 14: Comrade Commander Hoji ya Henda dies heroically in battle. Posthumously he is declared “beloved son of the Angolan people and heroic fighter of MPLA”;
July 17: OAU recognises MPLA as the only representative of the Angolan people.
- 1969 June 6, sees launching of the 5th Political-Military Region, covering the district of Bie.
- 1970 The year is marked by growing attempts by the colonialists to halt the MPLA advance on all fronts.
- 1971 During the year, at the OAU summit conference, it is finally decided to withdraw recognition from GRAE, the so-called government of Holden Roberto in exile.
- 1972 The people of the extreme south of Angola, under the direction of MPLA launch armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism on January 12, in coordination with the struggle by the Namibian people against the South African racists and fascists.
- 1973 In September, MPLA’s Directing Committee makes a statement on the counter-revolutionary “plot” discovered within the Movement.
- 1974 As a consequence of the overthrow of the Caetano regime in Portugal on April 25 — the result of the joint struggle of the people of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and the other colonies and of the people of Portugal, against the fascist regime — a current, separated from the masses but within our Movement appears called “Active Revolt”. The MPLA leadership takes a firm stand and exposes the counter-revolutionary positions of the so-called “Active Revolt”, in an important statement. Before the rejection and determination of our people, and of our fellow

peoples in the other Portuguese colonies, the neo-fascist Spínola is obliged on July 27 to make a speech in which he recognises the right of the peoples in the colonies to self-determination and independence.

On August 1, 83 MPLA Commanders meet to proclaim the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA.

From September 12-20, the Inter-Regional Conference of MPLA Militants is held in Angola. On October 21, the ceasefire agreement between MPLA and the Portuguese armed forces is signed.

On November 8, the MPLA delegation arrives triumphantly in Luanda.

1975 On January 3, an accord is signed in Mombasa between MPLA and the traitors of UPA/FNLA and UNITA.

On January 10, the Alvor Agreement is signed, determining the form of the new Angola government.

On February 4, the people of Angola triumphantly welcomed its guide and teacher, Comrade President Agostinho Neto, at the head of our Movement after 14 years of political dedication. After the puppet movements launched their criminal and reactionary policies against the Angolan people, a new agreement is signed, in Nakuru on June 21.

On July 26, the MPLA Political Bureau proclaims "Generalised Popular Resistance".

On November 11, the independent People's Republic of Angola is proclaimed, by President Neto, head of the MPLA government.

1976 All counter-revolutionary forces crushed; fascist South African troops expelled from Angolan territory; all but three member-states of the OAU and over two-thirds of the member-states of U.N. recognise the MPLA government.

Liberators



ANGOLAN HEROES HONOURER

Commander Hoji ya Henda

Hoji ya Henda was born Jose Mendes de Carvalho and adopted the name Henda on joining the MPLA as a teenager when he gave up studies in Luanda.

After a period of training he was posted to the eastern front of Angola bordering Zambia. In the many frontline actions he participated his leadership qualities came to the fore and before long he was made commander of the eastern front guerilla forces of the MPLA.

He led his forces against the Portuguese base of Caripande near the Zambian border early in 1968. Driven back by the superior arms of the Portuguese forces, he retreated. Regrouping, he again attacked the base on April 14, the same year, and on the second attempt the MPLA captured the base. However, he was killed in this action.

On assuming power, in 1975, the MPLA government declared April 14, Angolan Youth Day in memory of this militant hero of the revolution.

It is widely expected that the former Caripande base will be declared a monument to this great son of Africa.

Deolinda de Almeida Rodrigues

Deolinda de Almeida Rodrigues was born in Luanda where she studied until she left the country as a teenager to join the MPLA. After training she was posted to the 1st MPLA base in Northern Angola.

After a period on active service she was sent on a mission with four other girls. While travelling clandestinely through Congo Kinshasa to Congo Brazzaville, she and her comrades were captured by Roberto's FNLA forces and taken to the main FNLA base in Kinkuzu in Zaire where all five girls were raped repeatedly by their captors, tortured and finally killed.

Deolinda died on March 2, 1967. On the declaration of independence on November 11, 1975, the government of the People's Republic of Angola declared March 2 Angolan Women's Day: a day on which the women of Angola will remember their martyred dead and rededicate themselves to the cause of the Angolan revolution and pledge to eradicate all vestiges of colonialism and build a free and independent Angola where exploitation of every kind will be eradicated.

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Commander Imperial Santana

4th February, a national public holiday, marks the beginning of the armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial regime, which dominated Angola for about 500 years.

At dawn on February 4, 1961, the first act of the armed struggle took place when groups of guerillas, led by Imperial Santana attacked a Portuguese police patrol car, seizing their arms and advancing towards the "Casa da Reclusao" ("Reclusion House") and other prisons, where several Angolans arrested by the PIDE, the Portuguese political police, were jailed.

The order to attack the prisons, which had been carefully kept secret, was planned for March 13, the birthday of Queen Ginga, who had always opposed the Portuguese presence in Angola. However, that action was brought forward to February 4, because dozens of foreign journalists were in Luanda covering the arrival of the vessel "SANTA MARIA", the biggest Portuguese merchant ship taken by assault some days before in Venezuela, by a commando of the Portuguese opposition, led by Captain Henrique Galvao.

The presence of the foreign press representatives in Luanda made that day a unique occasion for the attack, all the more since the PIDE was planning to send some Angolan nationalists to the Tarrafal prison, in Cape Verde, on this ship.

The organizers of the 4th February action were not many, but they were determined. They held meetings to prepare the plans, far from prying eyes and from the PIDE whose network of agents and informers was spying upon the Angolans.

The attack took place when the journalists were preparing to leave Luanda having been informed that the "SANTA MARIA" was sailing to Brazil, where Janio Quadros had been invested as President of the Republic.

The news spread through the city late at night as the last stragglers were returning home.

First, the guerillas seized the police patrol's weapons, which, however, according to plan, were not used. Only the catan, the people's traditional weapon, was used in the attack. The groups of guerillas oriented themselves by whistles or cries in the silence of the night.

The commandos had definite targets: the "Casa da Reclusao" ("Reclusion House"), the PIDE's prison and the 7th Squadron. It was above all necessary that the world be informed about Portuguese colonial oppression in Angola.

The day after the action, the colonialist forces carried out ferocious persecutions, murdering every Angolan they found in the streets.

The importance of the 4th February 1961 action was consecrated when Santana, now a FAPLA commando, was chosen to hoist the national flag to the masthead at the First of May Stadium on Angola Independence Day - November 11, 1975.

NOTICE

The African National Congress of South Africa wishes it to be known that it has no official representative in the Federal Republic of Germany.

This notice is published in order to correct what appears to be a misconception that Zola Sankosi, a member of the ANC, is our representative in West Germany.

All official enquiries should be addressed to the Secretary General, African National Congress of South Africa P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka, Zambia.

AFRICA WILL REMEMBER HER SONS

REGGIE HLATSWAYO (MTOLO) — SOLDIER OF UMKHONTO

Reggie Hlatswayo — born Mtololo — must have been about 35 years old when he died in a Salisbury prison, where he was serving a twenty year sentence. I do not have many details about Reggie's life, but here are a few personal impressions as a contribution to a fuller picture, which our movement must still attend to; in Reggie's case and in the case of many others.

Reggie was one of the very first volunteers to leave Durban in answer to the call for Umkhonto recruits. This was at the beginning of 1962. Reggie will be remembered by those who had the privilege of knowing him as tall and gentle, with a very shy smile, and with a fortitude of iron. He was a most unassuming person, extremely kind and courteous, who always showed concern and regard for others. He must have been an ideal son to his parents. He was an ideal son of our people. He was intelligent and alert, committed to the cause in a deep, undemonstrative way as is often the case with a quiet individual. It was not difficult however, to find beneath this unobtrusive manner a fierce hatred for the enemy, an implacable determination and a capacity for quiet and intensive suffering, which made one feel that you could trust him with your life.

Reggie proved an outstanding recruit. He was active and able in training. He mastered the techniques of warfare with great confidence and skill, and always strove to improve his grasp of political theory. In the difficult and arduous period of camp life in exile, when the problems of returning home seemed insurmountable, and ground away at many a good man's guts and fortitude, Reggie remained solid and dedicated. He was a prime example of the patient and devoted revolutionary cadre. He was a steady influence on those around him, and yet he had a burning need to return home that seared him inwardly in a way few could comprehend. For Reggie was the young brother of one of our country's most infamous traitors — Bruno Mtololo — Mr. 'X' in the Rivonia trial. When Reggie was informed of Bruno's treachery he broke down with shock, but soon composed himself and swore that he would hunt the traitor down and kill him as soon as he returned home. This was not bravado. This was not face-saving. With Reggie a controlled inner-integrity could never allow him to pass a judgement or take a vow lightly. He was one of those very rare individuals — a man totally true to himself and thus to others. Unlike Bruno there was no place for deception in his make up. What he said he meant.

When the opportunity to engage the enemy

arose in 1967, Reggie immediately volunteered to enter Zimbabwe. Like the other comrades he was determined to forge his way southwards and carry the armed struggle into the very heart of our country. Unfortunately, whilst serving with distinction on the Eastern Front, he was captured by the enemy. We learnt that he was only taken after he had run out of ammunition. That misfortune probably saved Bruno his life for the time being. Reggie showed exactly how different he was from Bruno during his interrogations. Smith's thugs could not break him. Some did break and they cooperated with the Rhodesian security forces and with the South Africans. Nothing could break Reggie. His lips were sealed. His resolve was firm. He was unshakable. Again Reggie had come through a test; his own moment of truth; and he proved himself worthy of the honourable title of revolutionary.

For eight years Reggie has been wasting away in Smith's dungeons. Now we will no longer see that gentle smile again. Reggie was strong and healthy. We accuse the Smith regime of deliberate neglect and the barbaric treatment of prisoners. We demand to know the cause of Reggie's death. We will never forget Reggie. We will never forget his sacrifice and suffering. We will complete his interrupted work and we will avenge him! He was a true son of our people.

Hambe Kahle Reggie—soldier of Umkhonto!

— Jethro Ngani

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JOSEPH MKHUTHUZI MDLULI

He was born in 1925 in the district of Ingwavuma. Like all boys of the time and place he looked after his father's cattle and goats.

Being the only son he had no brother to help him when he took the cattle to a dipping-tank and, as was the custom of the time and place, got himself involved in stick-fighting. He always emerged triumphant so that one would still say even today that this time "he did not have a chance."

His only known blood-relative is his twin-sister, sweet Lorinda.

He was a hawker all his life; in this way he experienced a great feeling of independence because he liked to be on his own. One might be forgiven for believing that this was the reason why he joined the struggle in 1952 through the African National Congress which culminated to his arrest in 1966 and served for 1 year 3 months in Paarl prison. In 1968 he received a banning order for two years.

The kinder side of his life began in 1948 — in Pietermaritzburg — when he met a girl called Lydia. He married this girl — and after seeing her on the day she was told Joseph would not be coming home, I know now why he married her. It would have been a mistake if he had married anybody else. That happened in 1950.

From that year until the 18th of March, 1976 when the members of the Special Branch called to talk to him for the last time, Joseph has been nursed, fed and loved by this girl called Lydia. They've lived at 2952 Mhlongo Road, Lamontville since 1952.

In the evening of 18th March, 1976, Joseph, ("Mzhuthuzi" to his friends) was visited by the "Special Branch" who asked to have a chat with him outside. He was wearing only a raincoat and shoes as he was preparing to go to bed. He never came back.

The following day he was reported dead. And life goes on as before, or does it? Let us wait for Nuremburg.

— From the programme of a Memorial Service held at Lamontville, Durban, April 3, 1976.

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DAWOOD AHMED SEEDAT

Restrictions and confinement of political opponents in South Africa may have gained notoriety under the Nationalist regime but in actual fact it was a technique pioneered by that internationally feted "statesman" General Smuts.

One such victim of Smuts was Dawood Seedat who came into prominence in 1939 because he opposed the war and demanded equality for all the people of South Africa. Because of his consistent fight for the rights of all South Africans, General Smuts banned Dawood from speaking at public meetings, leaving the magisterial district of Durban and from having a radio, in 1941.

It is with regret that the African National Congress has to announce the death of this courageous fighter on January 17, after a brief illness.

Dawood who was 60 years old was one of the militant Congressmen who, all his life worked for and transformed the bulk of the South African Indian community from narrow nationalism and chauvinism into a politically dynamic force for non-racialism in the country.

He was a leading member of the Liberal Study Group and the Non-European United Front which he helped form in the mid-thirties and early forties, respectively.

He was banned by the Nationalist government in 1960 when he was an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress after periods of imprisonment in 1941 and 1946. He was among the 156 Congressmen and women of all races who were charged in the

marathon (4 years) Treason Trial which began in 1956 and among the thousands of Congress militants who were imprisoned in the 1960, State of Emergency, declared after the Sharpeville massacre. The Liberation Movement has lost a valiant fighter.

— Paul Joseph

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MOGAMAT TAUFIE BARDIEN

Taufie Bardien who had been under house arrest every night and every week-end for 15 years, died on March 23, in Cape Town after a short illness.

Taufie, a taxi driver, who was 52 years old was first banned early in 1961. The five-year ban was renewed twice afterwards and had ended only a few weeks before his death.

He was the most restricted taxi driver in South Africa. He could not work at nights nor during the week ends. He could not take fares to the docks or outside the magisterial area of Cape Town.

Before his banning he was a leading member of the S.A. Coloured People's Congress and a former secretary of the Cape Taxi Owners' Association.

When the Nationalist régime declared a State of Emergency following the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, Bardien was among the thousands of Congressmen and women arrested and detained without trial for six months. Later he served three months in prison for being in possession of a letter from a banned person.

He shall be remembered long after the Vorsters are forgotten.

— I.S.

Death of a Militant

(a vow for Joseph 'Mkhuthuzi' Mdluli)

He was a broad, powerfully-made man
hard and tough as the baked earth
burning with love for his country.

He was a militant, tireless and fearless
who to the cheers of a freedom rally
pursued with war-cry and fighting sticks
a police dog and its brute handler
the length of Beatrice Street, Durban
a decade and a half ago.

He wore the volunteers uniform
soldiered through the Defiance Campaign
broke rock in prison quarries
and at the age of fifty
refused to set-aside the punishing load.

They dragged him away
in raincoat and slippers
gentle Lydia trembling on the doorstep;
by morning his life was over.

He was of the rank-and-file
and there were two thousand at his funderal.
and there were two thousand at his funeral;

He was of the rank-and-file
and there were two thousand at his funeral.

With the sound of their singing
rising through the sombre mists
we call to the widow
stooped over the corpse

and we vow:
He shall be avenged!
To the children
limp beside the coffin
we vow:
He shall be avenged!

To his comrades
caged in prison
we vow:
He shall be avenged!

To the people
chained but unbroken
we vow:
He shall be avenged!

To the brutes
who battered his body
we vow:
He shall be avenged!

And to their masters
bestriding our birthright
we vow:
He shall be avenged!

In the name of Mini, Ngudle, Saloojee
By the deeds of Patrick, Michael, Basil
and yesterday Reggie
who fell on the fields of Zimbabwe
we vow:
He shall be avenged!

And we raise the flag of
black, green and gold
colours smeared red with
the blood of our fallen
colours running red with
the blood of Mkhuthuzi

and we vow:
He shall be avenged!

— A.N.C. Kumalo

This vow was made by ANC members
during a demonstration outside the
South African Embassy, London
— April 7, 1976

• BOOK REVIEW •

PEOPLE'S POWER in Mozambique and Guinea Bissau

new bulletin containing articles on developments in both countries for information and reference.

The Mozambique and Guinea Information Centre in London was established in August 1975 as a continuing link with and source of information on the post-independence development of the two new nations.

The Centre intends to bring out a bi-monthly bulletin **PEOPLE'S POWER** containing English translations of major speeches and policy decisions together with articles on important topics and brief news coverage of current events.

Reconstruction is the chief task facing the peoples of Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, and the first issue of **PEOPLE'S POWER** contains an article on agricultural re-organisation in Guinea Bissau in the wake of the colonial departure. In areas which suffered most from the war, land is being reclaimed and replanted, and everywhere co-operative services to supply seed, fertilisers and marketing schemes are being slowly established.

The main problem is the lack of transport and farming machinery: the agricultural team in Oio region has a trained mechanic but no tractors.

In Mozambique the establishment of a socialist state is being hindered by reactionary elements and outside forces: items included are one on the people's army (FPLM) and the attempts to subvert it which resulted in a truncated uprising last December, and the speech by President Samora Machel on 3 March 1976 in which he detailed the acts of aggression by the Rhodesian regime against Mozambique — at least 25 separate incidents since August 1975, including bombing raids in late February in which five Mozambicans were killed.

The Western press, by a combination of silence and sensationalism, is currently misleading the public as to the actualities in Mozambique.

PEOPLE'S POWER aims to correct this by providing reliable and factual material. Subscriptions are £2.50 p.a. (airmail £3.00) from Mozambique and Guinea Information Centre, 12 Little Newport St. London WC2 Great Britain.

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Walter Sisulu – ANC leader serving live sentence on Robben Island