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HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR

The United Nations has declared 1968 Human Rights Year. This presumably means that in this year greater efforts will be made by the world body to increase the Rights of Human Beings in all parts of the world.

It is a sad commentary on the United Nations and the state of our civilisation that more than twenty years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly, we still need to have a Human Rights Year. It is a lamentable admission of failure that over vast areas of the world oppression in one form or another is still ruling rampant. This is not to say that progress has not been made.

Numerous countries on the continent of Africa and Asia have attained freedom from colonial rule over the past two decades and thus over a large area of the world the opportunity is now there for a creative extension of Human Rights. Similarly the advent of Socialist Revolution in countries like China, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, etc. has liberated the creative energies of millions of people who can now look forward to an ever-increasing satisfaction of their human needs both material and cultural.

Yes, progress there has been and considerable progress at that. But, one wonders what role the United Nations played in all this. We live in an era in which the capitalist system of colonial oppression and imperialist exploitation is collapsing. It is this character of the international community which has enabled colonised peoples in various parts of the world to unite and break the shackles of colonial bondage. Perhaps we do the United Nations an injustice.

There are after all progressive nations represented at the United Nations and an increasing number of former colonial countries have taken their rightful place in the World Assembly. We know they have played their part in attempting to compel the world body to take effective action in defence of Human Rights. But the successes they have achieved have been of a limited nature and often only on paper.

Unhappily it is still true that who pays the piper calls the tune. In the case of the United Nations it is the United States of America which is the chief financier and therefore wields tremendous influence in the machinery of the U.N. Very little of an active nature gets done by the United Nations unless the United States imperialists agree to it. The classic example is China where a puppet "non-regime" has usurped the seat in the General Assembly which rightfully belongs to the people of the People's Republic of China. This is only possible because the Chiang Kei Shek clique is supported
and/.....

and protected by U.S. imperialism. We have the farcical situation of a world body in which 700 million people are unrepresented. Other examples are the Congo, Korea, Vietnam, South Africa, South West Africa etc. in each of which action or non-action was and is only possible at the behest of imperialism.

However, despite our reservations, we completely support Human Rights Year. We hope that this year the United Nations will pay more than lip service to the pursuit of freedom and justice for all the oppressed sections of mankind. We hope that this year the United Nations will act (rather than talk) to preserve and advance those ideas so bravely and beautifully written into the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

* * *

QUOTE:

To overthrow oppression has been sanctioned by humanity and is the highest aspiration of every free man. If elements in our organization seek to impede the realization of this lofty purpose then these people have placed themselves outside the organization and must be put out of action before they do more harm. To do otherwise would be a crime and serious neglect of duty. We must rid ourselves of such elements and give our organization the striking power of a real militant mass organization. Kotane, Marks, Bopape, Tloome, and I have been banned from attending gatherings and we cannot join and counsel with you on the serious problems that are facing our country. We have been banned because we champion the freedom of the oppressed people of our country and because we consistently fought against the policy of racial discrimination in favour of a policy which accords fundamental human rights to all irrespective of race, colour, sex, or language. We are exiled from our own people for we uncompromisingly resisted the efforts of imperialist America and her satellites to drag the world into the rule of violence and brutal force, into the rule of the napalm, hydrogen, and cobalt bombs where millions of people will be wiped out to satisfy the criminal and greedy appetites of the imperialist powers. We have been gagged because we emphatically and openly condemned the criminal attacks by the imperialists against the people of Malaya, Vietnam, Indonesia, Tunisia, and Tanganyika and called upon our people to identify themselves unreservedly with the cause of world peace, and to fight against the war policies of America and her satellites.

Nelson Mandela 1953 (No Easy Walk
To Freedom)

A.N.C. IN BATTLE ARRAY (continued from last week).

The African National Congress does not for one moment apologise for the fact that it advocated and conducted peaceful, non-violent struggle. Some ill-informed dogmatists have the nerve to suggest that, by waging a non-violent struggle the A.N.C. was somehow pursuing a non-revolutionary line. In Africa today, we have militant revolutionary governments like Guinea, Tanzania, Mali, Congo (Brazzaville) which came to power by non-violent means. At the same time we have, in many parts of the world, witnessed examples of the failure of armed struggle. Historical experience has clearly demonstrated that any struggle whether non-violent or violent will end in failure if it does not conform to objective and concrete conditions in the country in which it is fought. Its revolutionary content is determined by the objectives of the popular movement and the correct and flexible application of various tactics by the revolutionaries. Experience has also demonstrated that even in the course of an armed struggle, political and non-violent action is still valid. For example, the A.N.C. will continue political agitation inside and outside South Africa, to isolate the regime of racism and whenever opportunity arises, we will yet again call upon the masses to take part in mass demonstrations, boycotts and strikes whilst in another theatre of struggle our militants will be engaging the enemy in armed action.

In South Africa, the A.N.C. flexibly applied all the non-violent means of action at its disposal. The A.N.C. brushed aside those arm-chair dogmatists, like the now defunct Non-European Unity Movement, who religiously advocated the use of one tactic i.e. boycott, as a weapon of struggle. On the other hand, our organisation changed tactics without hesitation as soon as objective conditions changed. We condemned the disruptive activities of the so-called Pan-Africanist Congress in 1960 as they disregarded the conditions of open fascism and thus exposed the masses to massacre without proper attention to a counter-attack by the people to meet fascist violence by revolutionary violence. This splinter group misled the people and urged them to march un-armed to a police station, thus giving the fascists a golden opportunity to open fire, killing and injuring scores of people. But these despicable opportunists unscrupulously exploited this tragic event. For seven years, the P.A.C. saw in the tragic massacre of our people at Sharpeville, an occasion to put themselves in the limelight, proclaiming themselves militant heroes. What happened at Sharpeville is that the fascist police opened fire on unarmed peaceful demonstrators who had assembled outside the police station. In spite of these reckless tactics which had played into the hands of the police, the African National Congress, immediately called a national strike which gained unprecedented mass response to protest against this dastardly massacre of our people.

Since its inception in 1912, until it was banned in 1960, the A.N.C., stoutly championed and fought for the rights, liberty and human/.....

human dignity of the African people. Its courage and militancy, rises proportionally with rising danger. When the A.N.C., was banned, it had become a truly massive national movement.

What were the results of the non-violent stage in our national struggle?

AFRICAN UNITY

The A.N.C. dealt a death blow to tribalism and relentlessly forged unbreakable bonds of unity among the African people. Moreover, the founders and leaders of the A.N.C. had a clear vision of broader African unity embracing the whole continent of Africa. The slogans of the A.N.C. clearly reflect this. Our slogan is "Mayibuye i'Afrika" (Africa must come back to us), we never said Mayibuye iSouth Afrika (South Africa only must come back to us). The A.N.C. thumbs up salute signified the unity of Africa - the fist stands for the continent and the protruding thumb, the Ethiopian Horn of Africa. Our National Anthem "Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika" (God bless Africa) also speaks for itself. Today, some independent African States like Tanzania and Zambia have adopted this anthem as their national anthem.

The A.N.C. attended the first Pan-African conference held in France in 1919, the fifth Pan-African Conference held in Great Britain in 1945 and the First All African People's Conference held in Accra in 1958. In 1959, the A.N.C. was elected to the Steering Committee of the All-African People's Conference. At the Conference which resolved the end of World War I at Versailles in 1919, the A.N.C. delegation which was there, raised two very important issues in addition to its own case, namely;

1. the rights of the African people of Rhodesia. The Rev. Ngcayiya was the chief spokesman on this burning question.
2. the South West Africa mandate. Even in 1919 the A.N.C. of South Africa strongly opposed the granting of the mandate over S.W.A. to South Africa and prophetically predicted that if the voice of the A.N.C. went unheeded then the lot of the indigenous people S.W.A. would be no different from that of the oppressed people in South Africa.

When the United Nations Organisation was formed in 1945, the late Dr. A.B. Xuma who was President-General of the A.N.C. at the time led an A.N.C. delegation to the U.N. and among other subjects sharply raised the/....

the question of the S.W.A. mandate and demanded its immediate repeal and the transfer of S.W.A. to direct U.N. Trusteeship.

These actions of the A.N.C. in the struggle against White domination cannot be denied; they serve to show the zealous belief of the A.N.C. in a broader and more stable unity of all the countries of Africa.

The positive and practical role of the A.N.C. in the struggle for the unity of Africa is also seen in the fact that African National Congresses were formed in neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Tanganyika and Uganda.

Multi-racial Alliance

In South Africa, the A.N.C. proceeded to organise a broad alliance with other oppressed nationalities in our country such as the one and a half million Coloured people and the half a million people of Indian origin. It went further to rally progressives even in the White camp. Under its leadership, the A.N.C. created in South Africa a broad, massive and non-racial democratic movement with a progressive programme - the FREEDOM CHARTER - that was counterposed against a narrow frightened clique of White racialists.

Mass Struggle

We have already indicated that in 1949, the A.N.C. adopted a militant Programme of Action which ushered in a new militant era of mass struggle. Thus, in 1950, the A.N.C. in the Transvaal Province participated in the launching of a one day strike on May Day. On June 26th the same year, the A.N.C. called a national day of mourning in the form of a nation-wide strike to mourn the victims of police shootings during the May Day strike and to protest against new repressive legislation.

In 1951, the A.N.C. national Conference at Bloemfontein resolved to embark upon a massive Campaign of Defiance of Apartheid laws. On June 26th 1952, the Defiance Campaign was launched with volunteers going into action, in Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg. The Defiance Campaign carried on through 1953 covering all major centres in South Africa. Thousands of volunteers belonging to the A.N.C. and its allies resisted Apartheid and were jailed. In 1954, the A.N.C. launched a struggle against the imposition of the inferior Bantu Education System calculated to reduce African youth into hewers of wood and drawers of water for the White man. Massive agitation took place among the parents and teachers and the children went on a boycott of the Bantu Education schools. In 1955, the A.N.C. called for 50,000 volunteers to go to the masses and collect freedom demands to be incorporated into our programme - the Freedom Charter, which was adopted at a People's Congress at Kliptown later that year. In 1956, the racist regime arrested 156 leaders of the A.N.C. and its allies and charged them with/....

with High Treason, using the Freedom Charter as the basis of its charge. It was alleged that the A.N.C. planned a revolutionary overthrow of the regime. In 1957, the A.N.C. together with local residence associations organised the Great Rand and Pretoria bus boycott. In April 1958, the A.N.C. organised another one day national strike. In 1959 at its national conference in Durban, the A.N.C. resolved to conduct the following year a massive nation-wide struggle against the Pass Laws. This campaign was underway when the P.A.C. sought to wreck it by launching its passive resistance campaign only ten days before the National Anti-Pass Campaign was to begin on 31st March 1960. When the police shot the people the A.N.C. called a national one day strike on the March 28, 1960 and ordered massive burning of passes. Early in April 1960, the A.N.C. was banned, and was compelled to go underground.

These were mass struggles conducted on a national plane. Besides, these actions, the A.N.C. conducted many struggles on the provincial, local and regional plane. The A.N.C. fought the enemy in the urban and rural areas. The women's and Youth leagues of the A.N.C. took initiative and struggled against oppressive measures which affected the Youth and women in particular. There were acts of courage everywhere. But far from heeding the voice of reason the regime of Apartheid replied with increased oppression and became even more blatant in its police-state brutality and naked fascism.

The A.N.C. goes underground

The banning of the organisation in 1960, introduced a new situation in our country. The A.N.C. had to swiftly overhaul its machinery and gear itself for underground resistance. By May 1961, the underground A.N.C. was in a position to call a three day national strike which had widespread effect throughout the country. But it was now clear that the era of non-violent struggle was over.

The Rise of UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

In 1960, the A.N.C. underground placed armed struggle firmly on the agenda. It prepared for a bitter and prolonged struggle. Among others, the following steps were taken:

1. The leadership was divided into two parts - one section headed by Chief Lutuli, our President-General, was to remain inside the country and conduct the struggle underground. Another section under, the then Vice-President Oliver Tambo went out of South Africa to set up an external mission of the organisation.
2. Feverish preparations were embarked upon inside and outside South Africa to establish an army of liberation.

Then/....

Then, suddenly, on the night of December 16, 1961, the whole of South Africa vibrated under the heavy blows of Umkhonto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation). Government buildings were blasted with explosives in Johannesburg, the industrial heart of South Africa, in Port Elizabeth and in Durban.

Thus, Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the A.N.C., was born and in subsequent months, it PURSUED a programme of planned acts of sabotage in the country.

Externally, the A.N.C. mobilised world opinion against the racist-fascist regime in South Africa. The external mission campaigned in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin-America and solicited broad support in its campaign to isolate the racists and to gain support for our struggle. A powerful movement for the boycott of South African goods got underway. The A.N.C. appeared before the United Nations and with the support of progressive nations got that body to adopt a resolution calling for world-wide economic sanctions against South Africa. Men of goodwill throughout the world extended their moral and material support to our struggle.

Cadres, militant youngmen from our motherland intensified their preparations for armed struggle.

Clearly, the launching of sabotage was but an initial step to drive home the lesson to the masses that the organisation had embarked upon a new phase of struggle - the phase of meeting violent repression with violent revolution.

We know that following the birth of Umkhonto We Sizwe and the sabotage campaign, the fascist White minority regime went on an all out offensive, designed to destroy the underground resistance. During that reign of terror, our organisations suffered many setbacks. Eminent leaders of the resistance like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Bram Fischer, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and thousands of our militants were arrested and are now serving life imprisonment or long term sentences of imprisonment. Some of our gallant heroes like Vuyisile Mini were sent to the gallows.

Meanwhile the following situation had arisen.

*South Africa had become a land ruled by the gun. The regime increased the size of its army, navy, air force and the police. Its annual budget for war rose to £115 million.

*South Africa defied the numerous resolutions of the United Nations calling upon it to abandon Apartheid. And instead, it announced its decision to cling to South West Africa by force.

*South African mercenaries appeared in the Congo and played a prominent part in suppressing the nationalist movement there.

*When Smith declared U.D.I., he did so after positive assurances that he would get assistance from South Africa. South Africa swiftly translated its undertaking into action by giving Rhodesia political, economic and military assistance. South African soldiers and police entered Rhodesia.

"The unholy alliance of Salazar, Smith and Vorster was in full swing.

*South Africa imposed its overlordship over the newly independent territories of Lesotho and Botswana.

After carefully examining this new and dangerous stage in the South African situation - particularly South Africa's new aggressive ambitions and its export of Apartheid, the A.N.C. came to the correct conclusion that the whole area of Southern Africa had now become a single theatre of struggle.

Therefore, the longstanding alliance between the A.N.C. and the Zimbabwe African People's Union was translated into military action.

Towards the end of July 1967 the A.N.C. ordered the Lutuli Combat Detachment of Umkhonto We Sizwe to go into action together with the units of the ZAPU Liberatory Army.

The story of the Wankie campaign will be told later. But the A.N.C. did not have to rush to the press or fill radio wavelengths to praise the magnificent performance of its young army. The enemy did the talking.

The African National Congress has for fifty-six years withstood the vicious and barbaric onslaught of the enemy. In the coming bitter and trying struggles ahead, the A.N.C. and our entire people will emerge victorious.

THE ENEMY MAKES A CONFESSION

We reproduce a front-page editorial which appeared in the Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, January 6, 1968. Whilst the views expressed in it purport to be those of the Editor-in-Chief, it should be remembered that the RDM is a barometer of the interests of giant mining companies in South Africa whose shareholders are obviously worried by the undeniable achievements of Frelimo in Mozambique. They know that in the not too distant future, uMkhonto We Sizwe will force the Vorster regime to make the same confessions that escape so reluctantly from the mouth of the Portuguese fascist - dictator - Antonio Salazar. (Editor).

MARS IN AFRICA Jan., 6, 1968.

The incursion into Rhodesia this week of a fresh band of terrorists, believed to number about 200, is a timely reminder that however favourable the course of events in 1967 seemed to be for the Whites of Southern Africa, the problem of their survival at the foot of a huge Black continent is nowhere near resolved and may indeed be aggravated in 1968.

There are several reasons for suggesting this. The terrorist raids that began in strength last August are by no means a measure of what may yet be experienced. In fact there have been official warnings in both Rhodesia and South Africa that much larger forces are being assembled and can be expected to attack in due course.

Rare gloom

Secondly, the guerrilla campaigns in Angola and Mozambique, now in their eighth year, are taxing the Portuguese particularly heavily now - so much so that Dr. Salazar, in a candid moment of unusual gloom recently, admitted that "if the troubles there continued very much longer they will diminish and destroy our ability to carry on." It is hard to image any statement that will give more encouragement to the guerrilla armies.

Thirdly, deteriorating relations between Zambia and Britain, on the one hand, and Zambia and the White South, on the other, coincide with the arrival in that country of hundreds of Chinese technicians engaged in the preliminary work on the proposed Tanzam rail-road. The opportunities for mischief that the presence of these people provides need scarcely be emphasised.

Armed frontier

But the most serious development of the past six months has been the emergence of a recognisable armed frontier looping down from Angola via the Zambesi to northern Mozambique. Along this frontier the armed forces of White and Black in Africa confront each other and although fighting has been desultory and fluid the tempo of hostilities is rising rather/...

rather than diminishing.

Worse than that, there are signs that this major clash of colour is becoming entangled, here in Africa, with the global East-West power struggle. Inevitably, because of cultural links, trade ties, investment policies and customary arms supplies, the White South is identified with the West, while the African guerrilla movements are increasingly being armed, trained and financed by communist countries - the classic pattern of communist assistance to nationalist uprisings.

Grim prospect

It is against this background that the continued British arms ban, the new American investment ban and Vice-President Humphrey's present tour of African states should be seen. It is superficial and silly to decry these actions as mere pandering to the Afro-Asian bloc. Britain and America are desperately anxious to prevent the East-West conflict, now successfully contained in many areas, from merging with an escalating race war in Africa.

This is something that we should be concerned to avoid, too, but instead we encourage the process by actually depicting ourselves, in a flood of emotional propaganda, as fighting in the front line against world communism. It is as if, by some death wish, we insisted on the struggle being seen and conducted in these terms.

It is true that armed conflict is not of our choosing. But our race policies have provoked it as surely as we would act to remedy the matter if all Afrikaners were herded into group areas in Botswana or Lesotho and discriminated against as savagely as Africans are discriminated against here.

This, and not the machinations of communism, is the essence of the problem of the White man's future in Africa. Until discrimination ceases to govern his relations with the Black majorities of Southern Africa, he will have increasingly to defend his position by force of arms. This he can do, with some ease, for the time being. But it is no formula for peace, prosperity or long-term security.

The Editor-in-Chief.

THE ANC NEWS TALK ON RADIO TANZANIA (EXTERNAL SERVICE) CONTINUES ON EVERY ALTERNATE DAY FROM 2ND JANUARY 1968 BETWEEN 8.00 PM - 9.00PM (S.A.) TIME ON THE FOLLOWING METER BANDS:-

19.44 meters or 15435 kc/s

UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE READERS CAN START TUNING IN TO RADIO TANZANIA (EXTERNAL SERVICE) FOR THE A.N.C. NEWS TALK AT 8.30 PM.

THE 56TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE A.N.C. OF SOUTH AFRICA

The 56th anniversary of the African National Congress of South Africa was marked at a meeting of Congress members held on the birthday of the A.N.C. - the 8th of January.

Comrade Jonas D. Matlou presided over the anniversary celebrations and several comrades from fraternal organisations in the struggle to liberate the whole of Southern Africa also paid tribute to the A.N.C. which leads the great struggle against racism and fascism in South Africa.

Comrade Matlou gave an opening address which traced the history of the A.N.C. to the very early period. He linked the birth of the A.N.C. with the struggles waged by our people against foreign domination. He also stressed the fact that the idea of bringing about a broad unity of the African people against their White oppressors was the basis of the statesmanship of such great men as Moshoeshoe, Tshaka, Cetywayo, Hintsa and many others. These noble leaders and patriots made many attempts to forge this extensive and broad unity of the oppressed people by sending emissaries to various Chiefs to discuss the creation of joint-military organisations for combat against the White invaders.

Comrade Matlou also made a brief examination of the various stages of development in the life of the A.N.C., in its tactics of struggle and in its policy which progressively moved towards a Programme for greater nationhood and national ideals than had previously existed.

The main address of the significance of the 56th anniversary of the A.N.C. was delivered by the A.N.C. Secretary-General, Comrade Duma Nokwe. He also made a brief reference to the foundation of the A.N.C. and emphasised the fact that the A.N.C. of South Africa has always been a revolutionary organisation and continues to lead the revolutionary forces in South Africa. Comrade Nokwe observed that it was the objectives of an organisation that show whether it is revolutionary or not and not the tactics or methods of struggle that it might use at any given time to achieve its fundamental objectives. If an organisation set out to bring about a fundamental and radical social and economic change and the transfer of state power to the oppressed people then it could be said to be revolutionary. To illustrate this point, Comrade Nokwe recalled that the A.N.C. of South Africa and its allies were charged with High Treason in 1956 although they had steadfastly followed a policy of non-violent opposition to apartheid. He went on to say that in its 50 years of existence there is not a single method of struggle short of armed struggle which the A.N.C. did not embark upon to smash apartheid and race discrimination. When the A.N.C. decided on armed struggle it was because all other forms of anti-apartheid action had been drowned in blood. Comrade Nokwe also paid tribute to the valiant leadership of the late Chief A.J. Lutuli who he said was one of the great leaders of Africa and certainly the greatest leader of the A.N.C. of South Africa.

Comrade/....

Comrade Nokwe recalled that some independent African states such as Guinea, Mali, Tanzania, Zambia etc., are generally regarded as revolutionary and radical although they did not wage an armed struggle to win national independence. They are revolutionary and radical because the national objectives that they set out to achieve, the ideals for which they continue to struggle are revolutionary in every respect.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

Messages of support, fraternal greetings and congratulations to the A.N.C. on its 56th anniversary were also received from several brother-organisations - M.P.L.A., Z.A.P.U., FRELIMO, and S.W.A.P.O.

M.P.L.A.

Comrade Anibal de Mello, Chief Representative of M.P.L.A. in Zambia made a speech that impressed all those who were present. At the end of his address he was very warmly applauded. Here is what he said,

"Comrades!

It is a great pleasure to be present at this anniversary of the birth of the African National Congress of South Africa. Our presence here with you is yet further testimony to the long-standing mutual solidarity of our organisations dating back to the heroic days of the First Pan-African Conference in Accra.

That solidarity has become even more important today now that both our organisations are actively engaged in armed struggle to liberate our respective peoples from the yoke of oppression and exploitation. Our enemies are united in a common strategy for the perpetuation of the oppression of our peoples. We ourselves must support each other with every means we can. Our co-operation is essential to the final victory of our struggle.

Although we in Angola have no common border with your own country, we pledge ourselves to do all we can to assist the struggle of the people of South Africa. We wish you every success in your fight against our common enemy, local fascism backed by international imperialism.

Long live the victory of the struggle for freedom of the peoples of South Africa and Angola!

Long live the solidarity of all the true liberatory forces of Africa!

Long live a free and truly independent Africa!

Victory or Death!
Victory is Sure!

Z.A.P.U.:

On behalf of Z.A.P.U. spoke Comrade Edward Ndlovu, the Deputy-Secretary General of Z.A.P.U. He made a brief fiery address in which he condemned the White racist regimes that oppressed the indigenous African people in Southern Africa. He further warned them that utter destruction faced the devilish White oppressors if they continue to follow the savage path of brutal oppression of the masses of the people. In conclusion, Comrade Ndlovu re-affirmed the unbreakable unity that binds the people of Zimbabwe with those of South Africa in joint-action against a common enemy.

FRELIMO:

On behalf of FRELIMO spoke Comrade Mariano Matsinye, Organising Secretary of Frelimo. He recalled the influence that the South African struggle has exerted on the political consciousness of the people of Mozambique and other territories in Southern Africa. Comrade Matsinye made special reference to the fact that over the centuries, South Africa has also drawn cheap African labour for the mines from Mozambique. In view of this labour recruitment from Mozambique there have been thousands of recruited migrant labourers who returned to Mozambique to spread the gospel of revolutionary struggle against foreign domination. These workers had participated in mass struggles against White domination in South Africa and so on their return home they laid the foundation for the growth and development of revolutionary opposition to Portuguese dictatorship in their fatherland.

Comrade Matsinye predicted that the struggles waged by Frelimo in Mozambique will more and more merge with those led by the A.N.C. in South Africa as our peoples are facing a common enemy.

S.W.A.P.O.:

Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation spoke on behalf of his organisation and the struggling people of S.W. Africa. He warned against the dangers of neo-colonialism and the manoeuvres of U.S. imperialism in Southern Africa.

"Without full economic independence", said Comrade Nujoma, "it is difficult to see how the masses could forever be satisfied with mere formal political independence." These words drew great applause from the audience.

CLOSING REMARKS: The 56th anniversary of the A.N.C. was closed by the Acting President, Comrade O.R. Tambo. He started his remarks by associating himself with the appreciation and high esteem given to the late President-General of the A.N.C. Chief A.J. Lutuli. "In the 16 years that Chief Lutuli led the A.N.C. and the struggle inside South Africa" Comrade Tambo said, "there could not have been a more valiant, more self-sacrificing, a wiser and more dedicated patriot to a just cause."

Comrade/....

Comrade Tambo then made an inspiring address on the shining thread of unity and solidarity that the A.N.C. has built over decades of struggle for national liberation of the indigenous people and for the establishment of a new society based on just principles and non-racial democracy. He traced the evolution of the external mission of the A.N.C. and its work to build an international solidarity campaign against our oppressors and exploiters.

Comrade Tambo also referred to the active solidarity of all Congress members in carrying out the tasks of the revolution. The race or organisational affiliation of a person is not important, he said. What counts is his active work and contribution to the success of the South African freedom struggle. Those who are ready to sacrifice themselves in that struggle are worthy of being Congress members and those who do not play their part need not remind us of their earlier political affiliations.

Comrade Tambo then reviewed some of our successes and some of our setbacks. He declared that he very deeply believed that the A.N.C., despite the difficulties that it has to face from time to time, is destined to play a great role in the future of Africa and the world. He recalled the great vision which the founders of the A.N.C. had when they drew up the policy of the organisation and chose its national symbols. The Flag of the A.N.C. speaks of a united Continent of Africa, free, independent and going forward:

Black for the Continent and its people
Green for the land and
Gold for the wealth and natural resources that
must be returned to their rightful owners.

The National Anthem of the A.N.C. too, he said, speaks of Africa, not South Africa. What a broad and prophetic vision those noble sons and daughters of Africa had when they assembled in Bloemfontein on the 8th January, 1912 to form the A.N.C. of South Africa!!

In conclusion, Comrade Tambo referred to the tremendous influence that the A.N.C. had in Southern Africa as well as East and Central Africa following its foundation. There have been organisations named after the A.N.C. in Rhodesia, Zambia, Lesotho, Tanzania and Uganda. Whatever the policies followed by these organisations, one fact is undeniable and that is that they took part in the struggle for national independence.

Comrade Tambo voiced the hope that all Congress members and supporters must redouble their efforts in our liberation struggle so that the next anniversary of the A.N.C. could take place to the South of the Limpopo River.

The National Anthem was then sung and the meeting was closed.

ALL IN THE MIDST OF STRUGGLE.

-by Mthwakazi.

MOZAMBIQUE.

The revolutionary peoples guerrilla war in Mozambique has now gone through three arduous and difficult years - years which have seen the rapid growth of the Frelimo guerrilla fighters. Frelimo now commands authority over two northern provinces of Mozambique - Niassa, and Cabo Delgado.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION:

Agriculture and commercial trading are the main features of economic reconstruction in the liberated provinces of Cabo Delgado, and Niassa. Frelimo says:

"Now in Cabo Delgado the people are sufficiently free to remodel their economic life in accordance with their needs and wishes. To achieve this it was necessary first to organise the people politically, then a programme of military action had to be instituted, in view of the Portuguese Government's refusal to discuss the people's demand for freedom. The success of both these campaigns have made it possible to bring about many reforms in agriculture."

About Niassa, Frelimo says:-

"In Niassa the population density is much lower than in Cabo Delgado, due to the fact that the region is large and that a higher proportion of the population has had to flee to Tanzania and Malawi in the last two years (1964-1965) due to the ruthless manner in which the enemy bombed and napalm-bombed their crops."

In both provinces the agricultural production has been most encouraging. In 1966 they exported the following products:-

Cashew Nuts	500 tons
Sesame seed	100 tons
Groundnuts	100 tons
Castor oil seed	10 tons

MEDICAL CENTRES;

Inside Mozambique, FRELIMO has also built medical centres in the liberated areas, however ill-equipped these might be at this stage of the Revolution.

EDUCATION:

Throughout the centuries of Portuguese domination in Mozambique, Africans have been denied access to secondary school education. And even in the primary schools, Africans have been so suppressed that their general rate of literacy taking Mozambique as a whole

amounts/....

amounts to about 5%

But Frelimo has organised schools and other educational facilities for the people in the areas under their control. In Tanzania, Frelimo follows a rigorous education programme to prepare pupils for entrance to the secondary school level of education at the Mozambique Institute in Dar es Salaam.

ENEMY DENIALS IN VAIN!

Our survey of the Mozambique revolution begins at the point of national reconstruction because it is the transformation of the vicious socio-political and economic conditions which propel the masses of the people to support the struggle against Portuguese barbarism.

The Rev. Father Mateus Guenjere giving evidence at the U.N. in June 1967 had this to say about Portuguese torture methods:

"The Palmatoria: This instrument is still used to punish Africans in Mozambique today. The central fascist government of Salazar in Lisbon continues to allow it to be used secretly; the administrative officers still use it to torture and punish Black Mozambicans. Recently I, personally witnessed some cases in which Black Mozambicans were punished by the Palmatoria, in the administrative centre of Vila Fontes, Manica and Sofala province. One day the Administrator of Vila Fontes, Ramire des Santos Paiva, not wishing to be found using the Palmatoria invented an ingenious method of concealing the noise. Next door to the prison there is a diesel generator. This administrative officer each time he wants to punish his victims with the Palmatoria, has the diesel motor switched on so that the noise can cover the sound of the Palmatoria and the screams of the victims. The poor prisoner is beaten until his hands bleed. Then the prisoners are required to clear forests and cut wood with their bleeding hands."

This is but one of the numerous methods of torture used against Mozambican people and all opponents of the Salazar dictatorship. But Salazar has strong allies in South Africa. There is a nauseating journalist of the Sunday Tribune in Natal called Aida Parker who writes about the travails of the oppressed Mozambicans and their heroic efforts to liberate themselves with a cattish type of venom. Her abuse of the Mozambican sacrifices knows no limits.

Recently Aida Parker played an active part in the creation of the Mozambique Soldiers' Comfort Fund. This Fund organised the biggest private airlift of Christmas parcels for the demoralised Portuguese invaders in Mozambique. On December 16, 1967, it is reported that Aida Parker and the Administrator of Natal, Theo Gerdener watched the flight of seventeen (17) aircraft from Virginia Airport carrying 3,500 parcels to Portuguese soldiers on the battlefield

and/...

and in the forests.

When these aircraft are shot down in future by Frelimo guerrillas, South Africa will not hesitate to invade Mozambique in defence of Salazar in the same way that they rallied to help Smith.

On December 1, 1967, in Volume 1, No, 8 of Mayibuye we quoted Gerdener as saying:

"Whether it was wise and possible for South Africa to extend its Rhodesian fight against terrorists to the two Portuguese territories was a matter best left to the Government - but there was no doubt about the fact that it would have the fullest justification in doing so."

The Government in the person of Premier Vorster has now given its blessing to these latter 20th century crusading wars in defence of an Unholy Grail - WHITE RACIST DOMINATION. Vorster was speaking at that monument of racial hatred in Pretoria called the Voortrekker Monument. It was Dingane's Day - December 16. He

"emphasised that South Africa would not abandon its responsibility to South West Africa and that it would continue to fight terrorism wherever it was allowed to fight it in Southern Africa."

This was, on the face of it, a reply to the U.S. representative at U.N. Mr. Arthur Goldberg who described South Africa's Terrorism Act as in fact being a Declaration of Terror on the African people. But Vorster was really serving notice that South Africa was now far on the road to open military intervention on the side of any of the White supremacist regimes in our sub-continent.

But fiendish journalists such as Aida Parker could be patted on the back for their supreme naivete. Her articles on the war in Mozambique are a clear admission of the strength of the Frelimo forces, their skill and growing mastery of the war situation in Mozambique. We can only quote a small portion of her revelations here; but interested readers should refer to her article in the Sunday Tribune, Durban, December 10, 1967. Ignore the irrelevant uncouth language Aida Parker uses and note the unwilling tribute she unwittingly pays to the prowess of guerrilla forces in Mozambique:-

"And so they (the Portuguese) fight an enemy who is like water. An enemy working in the bush. An enemy they seldom see. Enemies who have proved themselves masters of concealment, camouflage and treachery, past masters in the art of ambush; always there, always ready to stab in the back.

"They are/.....

"They are a well-equipped enemy, fighting primarily with that most hideous of weapons, the anti-personnel mine

"Every road, every waterhole in the north is mined. Thanks to those fiendish and sadistic weapons, no man knows, in the North, just as in Vietnam, when the earth will explode in front of him, to blow him and his vehicle to shreds. I will tell what these rotten, vicious, cowardly weapons, laid by rotten, vicious, cowardly men, can do."

Frelimo marches on in spite of senseless vituperation against its valiant fight. The African Revolution is also rolling further down across the fascist borders. Stone walls and iron bars cannot withstand the onrush of Freedom. And it will viciously blow all Aida Parkers and her ilk to shreds. The hour of reckoning has come for the fascist White brutes!!

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The following extract is culled from an article by J.D. F. Jones which appeared in the S.A. Financial Mail, January 5, 1968:

"NEW FRONTIERS IN AFRICA

For the leaders of Black Africa, life became a little simpler when they learned that South African troops had been despatched to the Zambesi. It was simpler because the news clarified a situation which had been emerging ever since the sanctions campaign against Rhodesia failed to produce the necessary speedy results. The South African government had shown that it was unable to assist or condone the toppling of Ian Smith.

The implications of this refusal became more and more obvious throughout 1967 - that for better or worse, South Africa was going to have to extend the White supremacist frontier (as Black Africa sees it) from the Limpopo north to the Zambesi.

This past year the Rhodesians held on, the Anglo-Rhodesian discussions got nowhere, and then to clinch it all the South African armed forces arrived in Rhodesia to help beat back the African guerrilla assault.

The lesson was there for all to see and the African leaders - whose realism, these days, should never be underestimated - were probably among the first to understand it.

In other words, 1967 was the year the Whites chose the frontier they intended to defend; a line which their new confidence told them they could hold in defiance of world opinion, economic warfare and African subversion.....In this sense, then, Africa is going to mean the land south of the Sahara - and north of the Zambesi."