

**MONTHLY**



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa

B. RES. SECH



# SECHABA

January Issue 1979

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# ENEMY MANOEUVRES

We are starting a monthly issue of Sechaba! This is due to the fact that events in Southern Africa are moving at a fast rate. A revolutionary situation is emerging in Southern Africa. The masses of our people have decided to take the racial bull by its horns and in this confrontation no power can halt the march of our people to freedom.

The events of Soweto and thereafter which continue to intensify up to today, have led imperialism to react in different ways. These tactics — which are by no means new or unique to South Africa — complement each other and are meant to perpetuate our slavery.

One of them is torture and repression. Thousands and thousands of our people have been murdered and wounded in the streets, in their homes, in detention and in jails. Naked violence and brutal force are an integral element of fascism in South Africa: the aim is to “terrorise” our people and to “silence” our movement. Where do these arms come from?

The other tactic of imperialism is the attempt to undermine our movement and its leaders; to form an alternative to the African National Congress or to split our national liberation forces and to discredit our genuine and authentic liberation movement. Imperialism uses trained agents to infiltrate our movement or recruits “disgruntled” elements and renegades from within our own ranks — politically discredited and hence morally unreliable and unstable characters. If they fail in this they call for unity with the PAC!

Furthermore, imperialism tries to nurture, encourage and enforce “tribalism” in many ways and thus tries to present a false programme for “national liberation” in the form of “independent” Bantustans whose characteristic feature is the divisive emphasis on “tribal pride”. Imperialism thrives on dividing the people on racial, ethnic, religious, cultural and political grounds.

There is also another tactic used by imperialism in our country and that is the more “flexible” and “subtle” tactic to “soften” the attitudes of the black masses. These days there is in South Africa too much talk about the abolition of “petty apartheid” which includes the “relaxation” of discrimination measures “with understandable limitations”; the gradual appearance of black faces at white sports grounds, in white lifts, theatres, in some restaurants and hotels, in parks and “whites only” park benches. This is a calculated attempt to enforce the creation of a black bourgeoisie which will be subordinate and subservient to its white counterpart and this will ensure the perpetuation of the inferior status of the black man. The nascent black bourgeoisie itself is “courteously” pleading that racial discrimination is a “brake on economic development” and this dovetails with the liberal point of view which advocates a shift of emphasis from the insistence on “whites only” to a nebulous “we are all part of Africa” — an identification which is made more hypocritical by the refusal to live up to its implications.

These are enemy manoeuvres. Imperialism is forced to a defensive position in Southern Africa and finds itself in a permanent crisis because of the irreconcilable contradictions inherent in its system. It has proved its incapability to solve our problems. All these manoeuvres cannot impress the black masses because inherent in them is the racist ideology that “change” in South Africa will be brought about not by the Blacks but by the Whites.

# NZO-AFRICAN/ARAB UNITY

*Extracts from the address given by Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC (SA), to the Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the African and Arab peoples against Imperialism and Reaction, held in Addis Ababa in September 1978.*

It is very fitting that the world's progressive and revolutionary forces should today be meeting in this historic city, the capital of revolutionary Ethiopia. Through the historic changes that have taken place in this ancient country over the last four years, brought about by the conscious activity of the masses of the Ethiopian people themselves, this country has travelled faster and further than she had done for centuries.

This new historic reality in Africa is both an indication of the depth of the general crisis of the world imperialist system and a major contribution to the further deepening of that crisis. In Ethiopia the dramatic release of the energies of the masses has charted the path for all of us who are engaged in the bitter struggle to rid ourselves of the domination of imperialism and the forces of reaction.

The position of imperialism on a world scale is characterized by the following features:

Further reverses in the face of the continued onslaught of the forces of social and national emancipation in Africa, Asia and Latin America;

The failure to destroy the world socialist community using force; the failure to defeat or weaken it in open economic and ideological struggle; the collapse of the policy aimed at excluding it as a decisive force in world politics;

The increasing polarization of forces within the imperialist countries themselves and open clashes between these forces, leading to the emergence of an internal

political crisis for imperialism;

The emergence into the open of the economic and financial crisis within the imperialist countries and in the international imperialist system;

The sharpening of the contradictions among the various centres of imperialism and hence division among them and a reduction of or a challenge to the hegemonic position of U.S. imperialism, against its will.

On the world scale, imperialism has entered into a deeper economic and political crisis which renders it weaker and less able to dictate policy to the people of the world as it chooses.

In contrast, the evergrowing political and economic might of the socialist community, the great upsurge of the national liberation movements and the heightened struggle of the working class and other progressive forces in the imperialist countries themselves has fundamentally altered the balance of forces in favour of the forces of peace, democracy, national and social liberation.

In these conditions greater possibilities exist for the peoples of the world to wage successful struggles. Revolutionary Ethiopia is an outstanding illustration of this fact. The rapid advance of the struggle in Southern Africa, inspired by the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and fascism and the historic decisions of the MPLA and FRELIMO to embark on the road leading to socialism, emphasises in no uncertain terms the increased possibilities for the revolutionary forces throughout the world. The very inability of imperialism to impose a pro-Zionist solution on the Arab people signifies also the revolutionary potential that exists throughout the world.

Yet it is exactly in this situation that imperialism has become particularly dangerous. Despite its general weakening, imperialism continues to command formidable

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**“...the dramatic release of the energies of the masses has charted the path for us to rid ourselves of the domination of imperialism and the forces of reaction...”**

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economic, military and other resources which it seeks to use to regain its lost positions.

United States imperialism has taken on the job of uniting the imperialist countries to ensure that they use their collective strength against the forces of progress, as well as the elucidation and execution of a consistent and detailed counter-revolutionary strategy. Africa and the Arab world constitute a region that is a prime target of this strategy. Within it, the region contains fabulous quantities of natural resources including oil, gold, uranium, diamonds and a whole list of other mineral resources.

It has absorbed large quantities of foreign capital and therefore, constitutes an area of major concern to the international monopolies both in terms of the further exploitation of its human and material resources and the protection of the economic interests of these monopolies.

Imperialism further gives this region an important place in its international

military strategic posture, emphasising its proximity to the Soviet Union, the military importance of the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Cape Sea route and the Atlantic Ocean.

Yet this region contains within it the most inflammable revolutionary material. Imperialism is therefore confronted with the dreaded spectre that the revolutionary forces in the area are capable of and will actually succeed to wrench their people out of the world imperialist economic, political and military system of domination.

Naturally, therefore, a central objective of world reaction is to destroy the revolutionary and progressive forces in Africa and the Arab countries to ensure that such change as may come about is decided by imperialism and its lackeys.

Those who pursue the policy of anti-Sovietism under the guise of the reactionary concepts of “super powers” and “hegemonism” are causing great harm to the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle in Africa and the Middle-



*Alfred Nzo with P. Luavala*

East. The vicious and slanderous attacks upon the Soviet Union, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries has to be actively combated by the united action of all revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

From this rostrum, we wish to pay tribute to the brave internationalist Cuban fighters who shed their blood and gave their lives not for any material benefit but only so that we, the people of Africa may be free from the yoke of oppression, racism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and external aggression.

Recent events in Africa have clearly demonstrated that the imperialist countries in order to continue to plunder and super-exploit our natural resources, riches and labour power, will also resort to open naked aggression and intervention. To legitimize their military aggression and in order to prevent the development of the revolutionary movements and process in our continent, the imperialists are attempting to set up political-military blocs in Africa.

We unreservedly condemn the imperialist warmongers' manoeuvres and in particular the French Government's racist and aggressive invasion of African soil.

To defeat imperialist aggression, manoeuvres and intrigues requires the greatest unity in action of all the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces in Africa and the Middle East.

We must bear in mind that the African and Arab region constitutes an important component of the non-aligned movement. Here again, it must be noted that the developments within this movement since its founding have not gone according to the plans of international imperialism which were designed to steer the non-aligned movement towards the imperialist system and against the leading progressive sector of the world — the world socialist system.

Imperialism is now concentrating its ideological offensive against the movement by seeking to denigrate and crudely distort the participation of countries such as Socialist Cuba as incompatible with non-alignment. To advance its counter-revolutionary aims which include the disruption of the next Conference of non-aligned countries

to be held in Cuba, imperialism seeks to create a reactionary bloc within the non-aligned movement.

The forth-coming non-aligned conference in Havana must advance the anti-imperialist positions of the non-aligned movement so as to strengthen the world-wide movement for peace, international security and social progress.

In Asia and Latin America the imperialists are fighting a rear-guard battle. We hail the glorious and heroic people of Vietnam who under most difficult conditions and in the face of serious provocations are building a unified socialist Vietnam. We salute the working class, democratic and progressive forces in Latin America which are fighting the forces of reaction, fascism and domination of U.S. imperialism.

The struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa have taken great strides forward. Little wonder that this part of Africa has now come under the sharp focus and attention of the imperialist world. Our enemies are now concentrating their attempts at assuming the leadership of the movement for change. Various schemes, code-named plans for the independence of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, bear the stamp: "Angol-American proposals" or the "proposals of the 5 Western members of the Security Council".

Similar attempts are made in the Arab region where international public opinion is made to focus on the Carter administration as the sole arbiter for peace in this region. In both regions the roles for the main realisation of imperialist plans are assigned to the aggressive task forces of the imperialist world, the fascist regime of South Africa and the aggressive expansionist Zionist Israel.

Here again the activity of the imperialist circles must be seen as attempts to buttress imperialist influence and weaken and destroy the genuine revolutionary movement of the peoples in the two regions by isolating it from its natural allies, the world socialist system, more in particular from the Soviet Union and Cuba. This aims to ensure conditions for the emergence of neo-colonialist states and strengthening those that were already in the lap of international imperialism.

**“...the invincibility of the revolutionary national and social liberation movements is demonstrated by the growing victories in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe...”**

However, these attempts are bound to collapse. The invincibility of the revolutionary national and social liberation movements is further demonstrated by the growing victories of the oppressed masses in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and the inability of the imperialists and Zionists to crush and destroy the glorious revolution of the Palestinian people under the leadership of their revolutionary vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organisation. It is now clear to all that it is only a matter of time before the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe reach their cherished goal of national independence and peaceful social progress under the leadership of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front. In South Africa, the Apartheid regime of terror is entering into a deep crisis as the struggle of the oppressed masses under the leadership of the African National Congress intensifies. Various spokesmen of the regime including leaders of the military brass now accept the stark reality of a growing armed struggle by the oppressed masses. This admission does not sound nicely in the ears of the racist white minority nor is it reassuring the multi-national corporation on the prolonged safety of their super-profits reaped from the super exploitation of the black working people.

Arguments that the multi-national corporations operate in the Apartheid economy for the benefit of the black masses in South Africa are collapsing under the pressure of the growing revolutionary struggle. In a recent memorandum, the General Motors Corporation in South Africa has revealed that it is now preparing to create its own combat forces for the protection of its plants in South Africa. These combat forces or commando units will fall under the command of the Defence Forces of the South African regime in times of national emergency.

On the other hand, the two General Motors Corporation plants in South Africa have been designated “Key Points” by the military authorities of the fascist regime. This means that, as stated in the memorandum, “major elements of this industry

would be taken over by an arm of the Ministry of Defence...which would completely regulate out put...” The GM plant will thus specialise in the production of all types of military vehicles for the regime.

All this is eloquent proof that the imperialist monopolies are there to buttress the most ferocious regime on the African continent.

The Vorster regime’s military programme has been greatly expanded in the face of the growing military threat from the revolutionary forces. Despite the recent arms embargo resolution of the U.N. Security Council, the South African fascist regime



relies on and receives arms from its traditional imperialist allies prominent amongst which are France, West Germany, the United States of America, Britain, Israel and Iran. Israel and Iran act as conduits for the imperialist arms to South Africa.

With the active help of the Federal Republic of Germany and France, fascist South Africa now has a growing nuclear capability which constitutes a threat not only to the peoples of our country and Africa but also to world peace.

Since the Soweto uprisings of 1976, the initiative has inexorably passed into the hands of the revolutionary forces. There can be no doubt that an important contributory factor to the Soweto and subsequent events was the capacity and ability of the ANC and its allies to continue the struggle at different levels in the face of one of the most sustained reign of terror in modern times.

The aggravating decline of the socio-economic standards of the oppressed people — for example 2 million Africans are now unemployed — the intensified racist and national oppression exerted on our people and the policy of no-surrender pursued by the national liberation and working class movements in South Africa has helped to raise the political consciousness of the oppressed masses, in particular the youth, to new and higher levels.

The struggle in racist South Africa has reached a qualitatively new and higher level. The mass arrests, torture and brutal murder of thousands of our people have not and shall never bow us into submission.

Daily we are improving and strengthening our underground structures, recruiting more and more people into our political and military wings and overcoming the problems of not only initiating but sustaining armed activities inside the country. The racist regime has been compelled to admit that in the last 18 months more than 30 armed actions were carried out by units of Umkhonto we Sizwe the military wing of the African National Congress.

Fully aware of the very complex and difficult period that lies ahead and of the enormous resources at the command of the fascist political machine and its imperialist backers we declare to this Conference



with all the sincerity that we command that the armed activities and mass political actions of our fighting people shall grow in scope and depth.

The ANC and its allies shall never rest until the murderous brutal fascist regime and the inhuman system of Apartheid and racism is relegated to the dustbin of history.

We are absolutely certain that in the coming exceedingly difficult battles that we shall fight, the world-wide forces of peace, democracy and socialism shall as before render political, material, military and diplomatic support to the African National Congress. Let us intensify the campaign to isolate racist South Africa economically, politically, culturally, and in the sports arena.

Let us together as comrades-in-arms put an end to one of the world's greatest crimes: the inhuman evil ideology and policy of Apartheid and racism.

**Forward to a Free and Independent South Africa!**



# APARTHEID IN CRISIS

CURRENT NEWS AND COMMENT FROM  
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

## ARMED ACTIONS

The Northern Transvaal, that is where kudu, impala and other big game proliferate. It is well-known to game hunters. But these days it has been a hive of activity: military vehicles and aircraft have taken over in quite a different style.

The whole area is in a state of commotion in Rooikoppies near Brits, on the outskirts of Potgietersrus, near Tshipise, near

Nylstroom, in Louis Trichardt, Pretoria and Thabazimbi there is unrest.

As usual the South African press suppresses information and if they cannot, they distort it. They try to connect our armed struggle with crime: "Crime wave sweeping the Northern Transvaal" is a characteristic headline in the South African press. There are reports about robbery gangs and stock thieves. But what has actually happened? Much has happened. But we shall deal with two events which took place recently.

On October 27 our guerrillas clashed with the racist forces in Bophuthatswana. Two of our cadres were shot dead and a third escaped. "A South African Police task force was flown to the area to help in the manhunt on Friday. Yesterday about 40 Bophuthatswana policemen continued the search" reported the Citizen of October 31st.

Three days later, on October 30, a guerrilla unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe ambushed a police patrol, seriously wounding the Commander Sgt. Thinus Nel who crawled nearly 100 metres to the safety of a police truck through a sparsely vegetated area in the Mara district of the Northern Transvaal, 30 miles west of Louis Trichardt. Sergeant Nel and his party of six, armed mainly with stenguns were combing the area when our guerrillas opened up with automatic rifles from about 100m. It is said that after a 15 minute gun battle: "The victims didn't even get a glimpse of the terrorists through the foliage."



This incident was followed by massive ground and air searches using helicopters and a spotter plane, dogs and the country's "crack police anti-terrorist unit" headed by Colonel Sarel Verwey. Roadblocks were set up in and around towns along escape routes and police vehicles patrolled roads in the vicinity. Policemen were seen setting off from their headquarters at Deudren with automatic rifles resting on their laps — the muzzles pointing out of the windows. They never got them!

It is reported that a feeling of tension is growing among white farmers from the Limpopo River border with Zimbabwe, along the long Botswana border and even

inland. Nearly all farm shops are closed. C.J. Steenkamp, a farmer from Pietersburg said: "My rifle goes with me wherever I go."

The fascist regime is in panic and its spokesmen do admit that the ANC is a threat to them. Recently Brigadier Coetzee was quoted as saying:

"Attempts by the banned Pan Africanist Congress at organised terrorism had however, had little or no success...

The ANC was another matter — it had a far more sophisticated organisational structure and it was from its ranks that most of the terrorists active in South Africa in recent times had come..."

## VENDA ELECTIONS

Recently elections took place in Venda to elect a Chief Minister. Previously on such occasions there had been a curious crowd of onlookers. But this time only goats were spectators trotting through the mud in the streets outside. The people stayed away expressing their disgust at recent events.

It all started on August 19 when school principals, magistrates, teachers, government clerks, businessmen, students, peasants and prominent leaders of the opposition Venda Independence Party (VIP) were detained. Among those arrested are senior officials of the Venda Independence Party who have been closely concerned with a probe into irregularities and malpractices in the election. The affidavits had been filed with the registrar of the Pretoria Supreme Court alleging irregularities in the Dzanani constituency. The VIP supporters were detained in terms of a South African Government regulation (Proclamation R276) issued on October 19 — the day of the crackdown against black consciousness organisations — which empowers the Venda authorities to

detain people without trial for up to three months. The detentions were carried out by the South African police on the orders of the Venda "Minister of Justice".

The Venda Independence Party is by far the leading political party in Venda: in the July elections it won 31 of the 42 elected seats. But Chief Minister Patrick Mphephu had already taken steps to try to prevent the VIP from coming to power. Two days before the results in the "popular election" were announced, defeated Venda National Party (the ruling party) candidates in the election were nominated to the Venda Legislative Assembly. Under the Venda constitution 42 members are elected and another 42 nominated by regional authorities of chiefs and headmen.

With 31 elected seats in the Legislative Assembly, the VIP needed to win over 12 of the nominated members to secure power. Mr. Baldwin Mudau, leader of the VIP, was sure to win support of enough chiefs to bring him to power and within his party there are chiefs who are prepared to serve as

Chief Minister until the Legislative Assembly amends the clause in the constitution which entitles only a chief to be Chief Minister. Mr Baldwin Mudau, a Soweto sociologist, is a "commoner". In September at a special weekend meeting in Soweto, the VIP resolved to boycott the Venda Legislative Assembly session which opened in the Venda capital, Sibasa. The people responded.

It should be remembered that the ruling party, the Venda National Party, is experienced in political manoeuvres. In 1973 the chiefs were mysteriously invited on a trip to tour Manyelethi Game Reserve. Gifts were promised: 38 morning suits costing R70 each were bought by the Venda government for "parliamentarians" supporting Chief Mphephu and his Venda National Party. He entertained them; threatened them. They returned by bus five minutes before the opening of the Legislative Assembly and Chief Mphephu was elected as Chief Minister by an overwhelming majority. This strengthened the alliance between Chief Mphephu and the 42 designated chiefs and headmen although the VIP had captured two-thirds of the elected seats (13 of the 18 elected seats). *In other words Mphephu's support comes from nominated chiefs and headmen and therefore he owes his position to something other than his popularity among the territory's voters.*

### Poverty

Venda, a 600,000 hectare homeland, borders on Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana on the north-eastern borders of the Transvaal. It is a more vital strategic area, especially that there are prospects of a new political structure in Zimbabwe. It consists of two pieces of territory separated by a strip held by the Shangaan homeland of Gazankulu. The Vendas are on both sides of the Limpopo River — the southern part of Zimbabwe is inhabited by Venda speaking people. But the South African Defence Force decision to set up a "no mans buffer" — a strip of about 50km long and 10km wide — created between the Limpopo River and Venda meant that the inhabitants

must be resettled elsewhere in the homeland so as to control the flow of people between Venda and Zimbabwe. This is where the South African Defence Force operates in a "narrow" corridor along the border with Zimbabwe.

Economically speaking, the area has been neglected partly due to its distance from the chief markets of South Africa; transport costs are high — we are told — and that is why there is no railway.

But two years ago coal mines have been discovered and Iscor has taken over coal production near Masisi: hence talk of a railway link — up from Messina — Mopane to Masisi. Coal deposits in Venda are said to comprise one sixth of South Africa's reserves and the production is expected to be between 600,000 and a million tons a year. Mphephu and his government will be given a royalty of 3 per cent!

Venda is greatly overcrowded — the population density is 53 per square km and the figure for the common area is 18 per square km. There is virtually no manufacturing industry; only 14 per cent of the population is economically active. Migrant workers numbered 58,000 in 1975 i.e. nearly seven out of every ten economically active Venda men work in so-called "white South Africa" but seven out of every ten Venda live in Venda homeland. It is a labour pool for South Africa. Venda has a population of about 500,000 of whom about 70 per cent "actually live within its borders".

It is said that the South African government is to lease a site in the Kruger Park to the South African Broadcasting Corporation for a transmitting station for the Venda-Tsonga radio service and the Venda Development Corporation is developing several multi-million rand projects and also looking into the possibility of building a Casino at the international hotel near Sibasa, the capital.

Yet the people are starving: the tea pickers in the area earn just over R1 a day at the R3,400,000 Tshivhashe Tea Factory about 12 km from Sibasa. Mphephu, the Chief Minister, drives a mercedes and lives in a R122,000 four bed roomed house.

## Venda "independence"!

One of the burning issues in Venda is the question of "independence" which Mphephu raised when he met Vorster in April. Vorster agreed that the end of 1979 is the "appropriate" date for Venda "independence". This question of "independence" for Venda people "wherever they might be working and living at the moment" raises the serious question of South African citizenship and giving them the citizenship of the "newly independent" homeland.

There is also the question of landlessness: in Venda there are already voices which claim that Louis Trichardt and Messina should be incorporated into the homeland and that the white farms along the rich Levubu agricultural strip should be part of Venda.

What about the question of a "possible establishment of a nucleus for a Defence Force for Venda"? This was approved by the Venda Legislative Assembly in March after opposition members walked out and it is reported that a Venda National Army was at present being trained in South Africa and would serve to combat any "terrorism" in the homeland after it becomes "independent" next year.

## Student Unrest

These current developments in Venda cannot be viewed in isolation from what took place at the end of last year. By the end of last year there was in Venda an almost total collapse of the educational system. The students at Tsitsimane Training College and Kweha High School boycotted classes, stoning government buildings in Sibasa, setting fire to buildings and attacking the Chief Minister's car. In the Sibasa area alone eleven schools were affected and by the end of August 1977, 115,000 children were estimated to be absent from school and 357 schools had closed. So great was the youth revolt that emergency laws were gazetted on October 19, making it an offence to : hold meetings gatherings and assemblies without permis-

sion of a magistrate; threaten the person or belongings of any Venda; boycott any meetings convened by the government; threaten a pupil or his family against attending school or taking an examination or treat a chief or headman with "disrespect, contempt or ridicule or fail to show that respect and obedience... to such chief or headman as should be shown in accordance with Bantu law and custom."

## Serious Questions

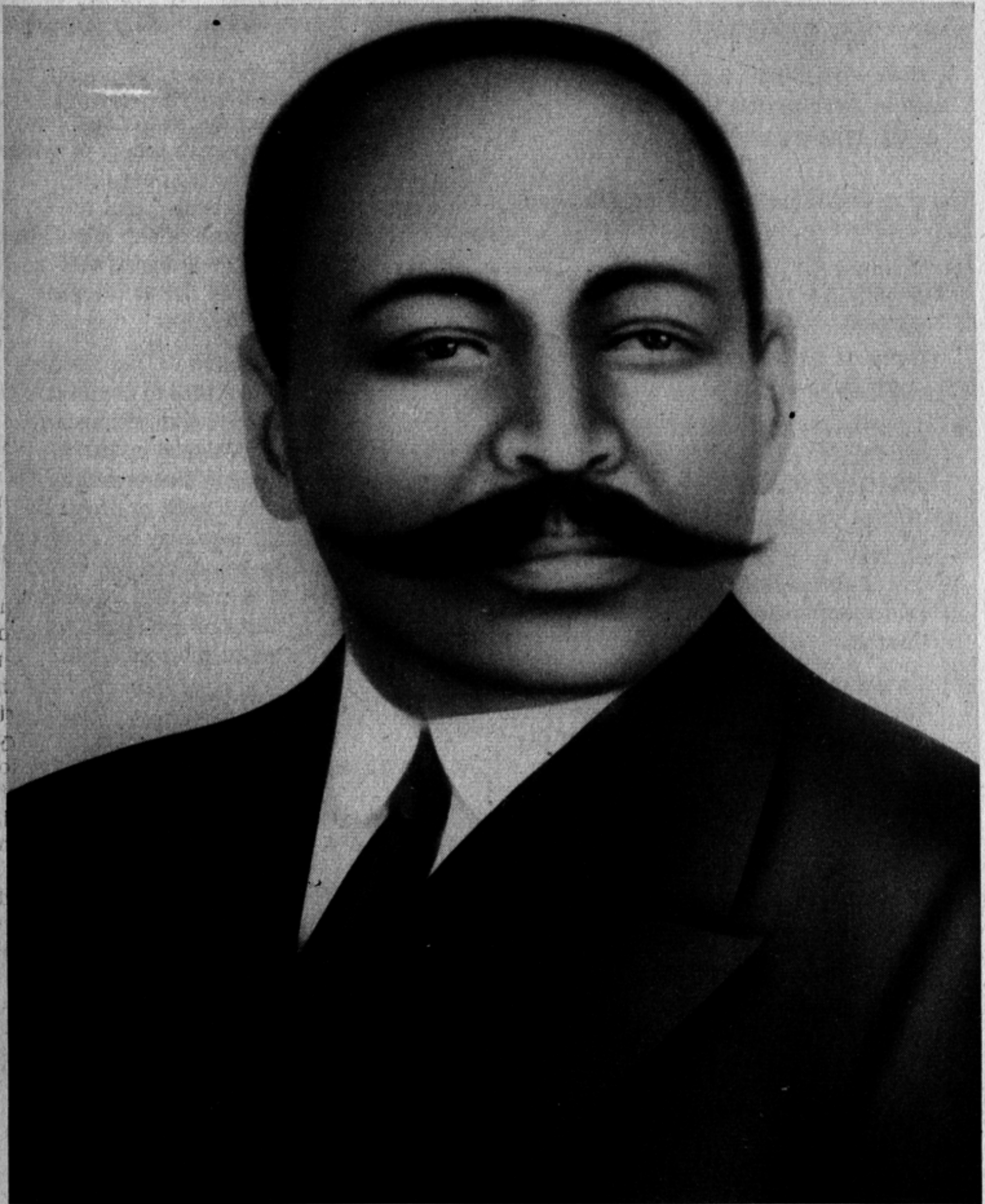
It is with this background in mind that we should understand the political manoeuvres of Mphephu, his Venda National Party and the racist South African government. They are all out to decimate the Venda Independence Party by detentions without trial and "legislative" measures. The arrest of 56 leading Venda citizens — 13 of them members of the Venda Legislative Assembly are meant to intimidate chiefs, Legislative Assembly members and the people.

What sort of "independence" is this which is preceded by locking up opposition leaders? Why should Bantustan "independence" mean the imprisonment of the public representatives of a political party that has won a sweeping electoral victory? Why should BOSS agents visit opposition leaders? Why should black magistrates who took affidavits from voters in the Dzanani constituency about alleged election malpractices be locked up?

Surely Mphephu must resign. Anybody who can allow himself to be manipulated in this fashion is not fit to lead any people. The issues involved are too serious to allow this kind of thing to happen: lives of millions of black people cannot be decided by a few chiefs. Down with Bantustan "independence"!

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# CONSTITUTION OF THE ANC



*John Dube — Co-founder of the ANC*

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## **1. NAME**

The name of the organisation shall be the African National Congress, hereinafter referred to as the 'Congress'.

## **2. AIMS AND OBJECTS**

The aims and objects of the Congress shall be:

- (a) To unite the African people in a powerful and effective instrument to secure their own complete liberation from all forms of discrimination and national oppression.
- (b) To promote and protect the interests of the African people in all matters affecting them.
- (c) To strive for the attainment of universal adult suffrage and the creation of a united democratic South Africa on the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter.
- (d) To support the cause of national liberation and the right to independence of nations in Africa and the rest of the world.

## **3. MEMBERSHIP**

- (a) Membership of the Congress shall be open to any person above the age of 18, who accepts its principles, policy and programme and is prepared to abide by its constitution and rules.
- (b) Any person desiring to be a member of the Congress shall apply to the secretary of the nearest branch or to any member of the Congress authorised to receive application for membership. Such secretary or member shall immediately submit the application for consideration by the local branch committee, or in the

absence of a branch committee, such application shall be made to the provincial secretary who shall refer it to the provincial executive committee within whose jurisdiction the applicant resides.

- (c) The branch committee or provincial executive committee, as the case may be, shall have power to accept or refuse any application for membership submitted to it, provided that the acceptance or refusal of any application by any organ of the Congress shall be subject to review by the next higher organ.
- (d) Upon any application for membership being granted by a branch committee or provincial executive committee, a membership card, signed by the Treasurer-General and endorsed by the secretary of such branch or provincial secretary, as the case may be, shall, on payment of the prescribed subscription and subject to the result of any review instituted in terms of sub-clause (c) above, be issued to the applicant.

## **4. ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE**

The Congress shall consist of the following organs:

- (a) The National Conference, which elects the National Executive Committees.
- (b) The Provincial Conferences, which elect the provincial Executive Committees.
- (c) The Regional Conference, which elects regional committees.
- (d) The branch meetings, which elect a branch committee.

## **5. DECISIONS**

Subject to the rules and regulations of

## Congress:

- (a) Decisions of the National Conference and those of the National Executive Committee shall be binding on all members and lower organs of Congress.
- (b) Decisions of a provincial conference and those of the provincial executive committee shall be binding on all members and lower organs of the Congress in the particular province concerned.
- (c) Decisions of a regional committee shall be binding on those members and lower organs of the Congress whose branches are constituent parts of that regional committee.
- (d) Decisions of a branch meeting and of a branch committee shall be binding on all members and generally.
- (e) Decisions of the majority shall be binding on all members and those of higher organs shall be binding on lower organs.

## 6. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS

- (a) **RIGHTS:** A member shall have the right:
  - i) To take part in the discussion and formulation of the policy of the Congress;
  - ii) To criticise any official or decision of the Congress; such criticism shall be made to members of Congress or at a properly convened meeting of the members of the Congress;
  - iii) To take part in the elections and to be elected to any committee, commission or delegation of the Congress; and
  - iv) To submit proposals or statements to his branch and to his provincial executive committee.

## (b) **DUTIES:** A member shall have the duty:

- i) To take an active part in the work of his branch;
- ii) To understand thoroughly and to carry out the policy, aims and programme of Congress;
- iii) To raise the level of his understanding of the political, economic and social problems of South Africa;
- iv) To explain the policy and programme of the Congress to the people;
- v) To combat any propaganda which is detrimental to the interests of the Congress;
- vi) To observe discipline and to submit loyally to the decision of the majority or to decisions of the higher committee; and
- vii) To inform his branch committee before leaving his area, and to report to the branch secretary of the area to which he has moved.

## 7. AUXILIARY BODIES

### A. WOMEN'S LEAGUE

Women who are members shall enjoy equality of status in the Congress and shall be entitled to join ordinary branches and take part in elections for and be elected to any position or office in the Congress. However, in order to arouse the interest and assist the widespread organisation of women, there shall be established an auxiliary organisation to be known as the African National Congress Women's League. The League shall:

- (a) Be under the political direction and control of the Congress and shall follow the policy and programme of the Congress.
- (b) Recruit and organise the African women 13

into a strong organisation which shall act as an auxiliary force to the Congress in the struggle for national liberation.

- (c) Take up special problems and issues affecting women.
- (d) Carry on propaganda against apartheid and discriminatory laws among African women.
- (e) Be entitled to have its own rules and regulations provided that these shall not be in conflict with the policy of Congress.

## B. ORGANISATION FOR YOUTHS

For the purpose of drawing the youths into the struggle and preparing them for leadership, the Congress shall organise the African youths into an organisation for youths to be known as the African National Congress Youth League, which shall be open to any person whose age does not exceed 30 years provided that such person shall upon reaching the qualification for Congress membership become a registered member of Congress subject to all the privileges and obligations of Congress membership in addition to such special privileges and duties of a member of the Youth League. The League shall:

- (a) Mobilise the African youth and mould their political and social outlook in accordance with the Congress principles.
- (b) Promote social and cultural activities among the young people.
- (c) Popularise the policy, programme and decisions of the Congress among the youth; and
- (d) The provisions of Clause 7.A.(c), shall mutatis mutandis apply to the Youth League.

## 8. NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The National Conference shall be the Supreme ruling and controlling body in

Congress. It shall:

- (a) Consist of delegates from the branches of the Congress elected by branch general meetings on the basis of one delegate for every twenty members; provided that the number of delegates from any branch shall not exceed ten; provided further that members of the National Executive Committee may attend ex-officio and shall have the right to speak and vote.
- (b) Be held once a year; provided that Special National Conferences may be convened by the National Executive Committee at its own instance at such times as it may deem fit, and shall be convened upon requisitions addressed to it by not less than two provincial conferences.

## 9. DUTIES AND POWER OF THE ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The National Conference shall:

- (a) Decide and determine the policy and programme of the Congress.
- (b) Receive and discuss the reports of the National Executive which shall include the Presidential address and the Treasurer-General's report, the Provincial Executive Committees' reports, the African National Congress Women's League report.
- (c) Lay down the basic principle and policy, examine and where necessary revise the programme and constitution of the Congress.
- (d) Have the right and power to review, ratify, alter or veto any decision taken by any of its constituent bodies or unit of the Congress.
- (e) Elect the President-General, the Deputy President, the Secretary-General, the Treasurer-General and eight other National Executive Committee members,



who shall hold office for three years and be eligible for re-election. Nomination shall be by delegates at the Conference; and elections of all officials and members of the National Executive Committee shall be by ballot.

- (f) Have the power to elect or appoint any Commission or committee and assign specific tasks and duties to such Commission or committee.

## **10. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

The National Executive Committee, which is elected by the National Conference once every three years, shall:

- (a) Consist of the President-General, the Deputy President-General, the Treasurer-General, eight other members, the provincial presidents and secretaries of the Congress or their respective deputies, and the national presidents or national secretaries of the African National Congress Women's League and the African National Congress Youth League, who shall be ex-officio members of the National Executive Committee.
- (b) Meet on the day of its election to appoint the National Headquarters, the National Speaker, the Deputy National Speaker, the National Chaplain and shall thereafter meet at least twice a year. The National Speaker, the Deputy National Speaker and the National Chaplain need not be appointed from among the members of the National Executive Committee.
- (c) Appoint from among its members the National Working Committee of not less than seven persons residing within a radius of fifty (50) miles of the National Headquarters.
- (d) Appoint the National Organising Secretary.

- (e) Carry out the decisions and instructions of the National Conference.
- (f) Issue and send directives and instructions to and demand and receive reports from the provincial committees, regional committees and branches.
- (g) Supervise, direct and control the work of the Congress generally.
- (h) Be responsible for ensuring that provincial committees and other committees of the Congress discharge their duties and functions properly and efficiently.
- (i) Supervise the work of the auxiliary bodies.
- (j) Manage and control all the national property and funds of the Congress.
- (k) Submit annual reports to the National Conference.
- (l) Do all things necessary in furtherance of the policy and programme of the Congress.

## **11. NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE**

The National Working Committee is a sub-committee of the National Executive Committee. It shall:

- (a) Meet as provided for in the rules and regulations.
- (b) Carry out decisions and instructions of the National Conference and the National Executive Committee.
- (c) Conduct the current work of the Congress and ensure that the provinces, regions and branches carry out decisions and instructions of the Congress.
- (d) Issue propaganda and educational material to the provinces; and
- (e) Submit a report to every National Executive Committee meeting.

## 12. DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF OFFICIALS

### (1) President-General:

The President-General is the head and chief directing officer of the Congress and the leader of the house in a National Conference. He shall:

- (a) Present to the Annual Conference a comprehensive statement of the state of the nation and the political situation generally.
- (b) Make pronouncements for and on behalf of the National Executive Committee outlining and explaining the policy or attitude of the Congress on any question.
- (c) Preside over meetings of the National Executive Committee and conduct the business in conformity with the Constitution, bye-laws and rules of procedure adopted by the National Executive Committee.
- (d) Be an ex-officio member of the National Working Committee; and
- (e) Have a casting vote only.

### (2) Deputy President-General:

The Deputy President-General shall assist the President-General and deputise for him whenever necessary.

### (3) Secretary-General:

The Secretary-General is the chief administrative officer of the Congress. He shall:

- (a) Keep the minutes of the National Conference, the National Executive Committee and the National Working Committee, as well as other records of the Congress.
- (b) Conduct the correspondence of the National Executive Committee and the National Working Committee and send out notices of all conferences, National Executive and National Working Committee meetings.

(c) Convey the decisions and instructions of the National Conference, the National Executive Committee and the National Working Committee to the Provincial Committees, regional committees and shall see to it that all units of the Congress carry out their duties properly; and

(d) Prepare yearly reports on the work of the National Executive Committee and the National Working Committee and such other documents which may from time to time be required by the National Executive Committee and the National Working Committee.

### (4) Treasurer-General

The Treasurer-General is the chief custodian of the funds and property of the Congress. He shall:

- (a) Receive and bank all monies on behalf of the National Executive Committee, and shall, together with any two National Executive members, operate a banking account.
- (b) Keep such books of account as may be necessary to record clearly the financial position of Congress.
- (c) Submit annually to the National Conference a report showing the Income and Expenditure Account and the Balance sheet of the Congress for the past year, and shall submit periodical reports to the National Executive Committee and the National Working Committee; and
- (d) Be responsible, together with the President-General and the Secretary-General, for working out plans and schemes for the raising of funds for the Congress, and shall direct and take an active part in a campaign for the raising of funds.

### (5) National Speaker:

The National Speaker shall preside over and sign minutes of all National Conferences. In

his absence the Deputy Speaker shall preside at such Conference.

**(6) National Chaplain:**

The National Chaplain shall lead the delegates in prayer at National Conferences and shall conduct the National Service or otherwise provide spiritual leadership for the organisation.

**(7) National Organising Secretary:**

It shall be the duty of the National Organising Secretary acting in consultation with and under the direction of the Secretary-General, to organise the Congress nationally and to strengthen the organisational machinery throughout.

### 13. PROVINCE

For organisational purposes the country shall be divided into provinces. A province shall be determined and defined by the Congress.

### 14. PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

The Provincial Conference shall:

- (a) Be the highest organ, subject to Clause 8 and 10, of the Congress in each Province.
- (b) Be held annually in each province. Special provincial conferences may be convened at such times as the Provincial Committee may deem fit, and shall be convened upon the requisition addressed to the Provincial Executive Committee by at least one-third of all branches or one Regional Committee.
- (c) (i) Delegates from local branches of the Congress in the province who shall be elected by local branch meetings on the basis of one delegate for every twenty members, provided that no branch shall be represented by more than 10 delegates, shall attend.

- (ii) Members of the Provincial Executive Committee who shall attend ex-officio and shall have the right to speak and vote.

- (d) Carry out the decisions and instructions of the National Conference, the National Executive Committee and the National Working Committee.
- (e) Receive and consider reports submitted by the Provincial Executive Committee.
- (f) Elect the Provincial President, Secretary, Treasurer and eight other members of the Provincial Executive Committee; and
- (g) Carry out the policy and programme of the Congress in the Province.

### 15. PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Provincial Executive Committee, which is elected annually by the Provincial Conference, shall be the administrative body of the Provincial Conference. It shall:

- (a) Consist of the Provincial President, the Provincial Vice-President, the Provincial Secretary, the Provincial Treasurer, the Provincial President or Secretary of the African National Congress Women's League and the African National Congress Youth League, and eight other members of the Provincial Committee.
- (b) Meet on the day of its election to elect the Provincial Working Committee, and shall thereafter meet at least once every three months.
- (c) Carry out the decisions and instructions of the Provincial Conference and the National Executive Committee or the National Working Committee.
- (d) Manage and control the funds and property of the Congress in the Province.
- (e) Submit reports to the National

Executive as often as required on the state of organisation, the financial position of the province and such other matters as may be specified.

- (f) Appoint the Provincial Organiser, the Provincial Speaker and the Provincial Chaplain, all who need not be members of the Provincial Executive Committee.
- (g) Organise and establish branches and Regions in the Province.
- (h) Enforce the Constitution of the Congress in the Province.
- (i) Give members of the Congress in the Province political education; and
- (j) Carry out the policy and programme of the Congress and do all things necessary to further the interests, aims and objects of the Congress.

## **16. PROVINCIAL WORKING COMMITTEE**

The Provincial Working Committee is the sub-committee of the Provincial Executive Committee. It shall consist of not less than seven members who reside within a radius of 100 miles of the Provincial Headquarters, and shall:

- (a) Perform the duties and functions of the Provincial Executive Committee; and
- (b) Submit reports to the Provincial Executive Committee.

## **17. DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS**

With the exception of Clause 7, provisions of Section 12 shall with necessary alteration of detail apply to the duties and functions of the provincial officials of the Congress.

## **18. REGION**

Any three or more branches in a given area may, for the purpose of coordination of activities and better organisational efficiency, be formed into a region at the instance of the Provincial Executive Committee or on application to the Provincial Executive Committee, by at least two branches within an area of a proposed region.

## **19. REGIONAL COMMITTEE**

Whenever a region has been established the branch executive of such region shall at a properly convened meeting, elect a regional committee, which shall consist of a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, two members, and a member from each branch within the region. The duty of the Regional Committee shall be:

- (a) To meet as provided for in the rules and regulations.
- (b) To coordinate the work and activities of the constituent branches and submit reports to the Provincial Executive Committee; and
- (c) To see to the implementation of the instructions of the National Executive Committee, Provincial Executive Committee or the Provincial Working Committee.

## **20. BRANCHES**

- (a) The basic unit of organisation in the Congress shall be the branch.
- (b) The branch shall consist of a minimum of twenty members, provided that the National Executive Committee or Provincial Executive Committee may establish a provisional committee as provided by the rules and regulations.

- (c) Every new branch shall apply to the Provincial Executive Committee for registration.
- (d) The branch shall:
  - i) Meet as provided for in the rules and regulations.
  - ii) Elect at an annual branch general meeting, a branch Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and six other branch committee members.

## 21. BRANCH COMMITTEE

The branch committee shall:

- (a) Meet on the day of its election to elect a branch sub-committee and thereafter shall meet as provided for in the rules and regulations.
- (b) Carry out propaganda and organisational work among the people in its area in pursuance of the policy, programme and decisions of the Congress.
- (c) Build and increase the numerical and political strength of the Congress within its area.
- (d) Submit reports on its work to the branch meeting, to the Regional Committee periodically as provided in the rules and regulations and to the Provincial Executive Committee every quarter; and
- (e) Carry out such instructions as may from time to time be issued by the Provincial Committee or the Provincial Working Committee.

## 22. CONGRESS FUNDS

- (a) The basic membership subscription for Congress shall be two shillings and sixpence (2s. 6d.).
- (b) All subscriptions shall be payable in

advance.

- (c) The National Executive Committee may impose a national levy on all members of the Congress and all such money derived from a national levy shall be paid into the national treasury.
- (d) The Provincial Executive Committee may with the prior approval of and subject to such conditions as may be laid down by the National Executive Committee, impose levies on all members of the Congress in their respective provinces. All money from Provincial levies shall be paid into the provincial treasuries.
- (e) All levies, national and provincial, shall be for stated periods and specific amounts.
- (f) The branch Treasurer shall pay to the Provincial Treasurer and National Treasurer respectively, one third of the total subscriptions.
- (g) The Provincial Executive Committee shall pay to the National Executive Committee an agreed proportion of all money received by them through donations, collections, concerts, functions, etc.
- (h) Proper records shall be kept of all money received and expended by branch committees, regional committees, Provincial Executive Committees and the National Executive Committee.

## 23. DISCIPLINE

- (a) A branch committee, Regional, Provincial and National Executive Committee shall have power to reprimand, suspend, expel or take any other disciplinary action against a member for breach of the Constitution or conduct detrimental to the interests of the Congress or the African people.

- (b) Any higher organ of the Congress shall have power to investigate, reprimand, reorganise, suspend, dissolve, dismiss or take any other appropriate disciplinary action against any lower organ under its jurisdiction for breach of the Constitution or conduct detrimental to the interests of the Congress or the African people.
- (c) Before any disciplinary action is taken against any member or organ in terms of clause (a) and/or clause (b) of this section (section 23), such member or organ shall, in the absence of extraordinary circumstances justifying the contrary, be given an opportunity to appear before the relevant tribunal and there admit, deny or otherwise account for the conduct complained of.
- (d) Any member or body of members against whom disciplinary action has been taken by any organ of the Congress, shall have the right to appeal to the next higher organ and the National Conference shall be the final court of appeal.
- (e) When a member is suspended, the committee suspending him shall state the period and conditions of such suspension.
- (f) A member who fails to pay his subscription for a period of six months and who does not pay his subscription after he has been personally spoken to about the matter, by a representative of his branch committee, shall be lapsed from membership.
- (g) All cases of suspension, dismissal, expulsion or dissolution by way of disciplinary action shall be fully reported to the Provincial Executive Committee and the National Executive Committee.
- (h) No case of expulsion by a branch or region shall be published in the press without the consent of the Provincial Executive Committee.

## 24. QUORUM

- (a) A third of the members shall form a quorum.
- (b) Fifteen members or 50 per cent of the branch membership, whichever is the lesser, shall form a quorum of all meetings of a local branch.
- (c) Delegates from 40 per cent of the total number of branches in a province shall form a quorum for all provincial conferences.
- (d) In the case of a National Conference, delegates from two provinces, representing at least thirty three and one third per cent of the total membership of the Congress, shall constitute a quorum.

## 25. VACANCIES

The office of any member of a committee of the Congress shall be vacated by resignation, suspension, expulsion or absence from meetings for a period prescribed in the rules and regulations.

## 26. RULES AND REGULATIONS

- (a) The National Executive shall have the power to frame rules and regulations relating to the control and administration of the affairs of the Congress.
- (b) Each Provincial Executive Committee may frame rules and regulations for the conduct and management of the affairs of Congress organisation within its jurisdiction, provided that any rules and regulations so framed shall not become operative until they have been approved by the National Executive Committee.
- (c) Rules and regulations framed in terms of clause (a) and clause (b) of this section

(section 26) shall not be inconsistent with the provisions of this Constitution.

## 27. AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION

This Constitution may be amended by resolution passed by a two-thirds majority of the delegates present and voting at a National Conference. Notice of such a resolution shall be submitted in writing to the Secretary-General not later than six months before the date of the National Conference. The National Executive Committee shall circulate all proposed amendments to the Constitution to the Provincial Executive Committees and all branches of the Congress at least two months before the National Conference.

## 28. GENERAL

The Congress shall have perpetual succession and power, apart from its individual members, to acquire, hold and alienate property, enter into agreements and do all things necessary to carry out its aims and objects.

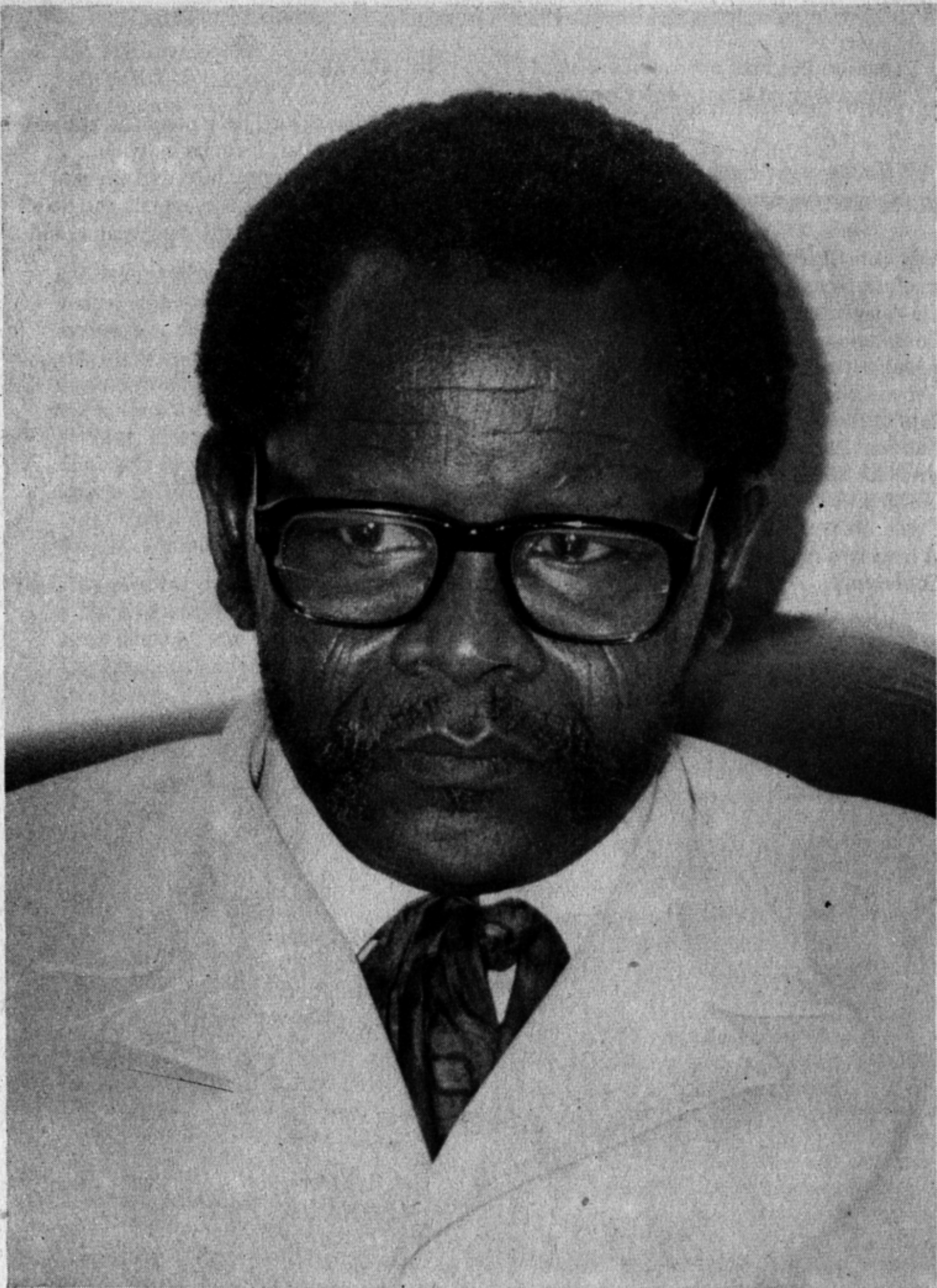
*(Signed)* **A J LUTULI**  
President-General

*(Signed)* **O R TAMBO**  
Secretary-General

January 1958



*Chief A.J. Luthuli, Nokukhanya, his wife and M.B. Yengwa*



*President O.R. Tambo*

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# UMKHONTO IS BORN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Afrika Mayibuye!**

Issued by command of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

## ANC OFFICE IN BERLIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

# LEIPZIG SEMINAR ON APARTHEID

A two day seminar was held at the Karl Marx University, Leipzig, GDR. The theme was "Apartheid — massive violation of human rights". Many scientific papers were delivered at this seminar. An interesting feature of the seminar was the active participation of the representatives of the liberation movements — ANC, SWAPO and Patriotic Front. An ANC student delivered a paper on his experiences in South Africa.

Permit me, Comrade Chairman, comrades and friends, to thank you for allowing me to address your conference. I would like to present you with a short sketch of the situation in South Africa based in the main on my experience in the country of my birth. I left South Africa last year after having worked in the underground machinery of our national liberation organisation, the African National Congress. I had only

been in that organisation for a relatively short time. Before that, I had been a member of SASO (the South African Students Organisation) which I believe is an organisation of which you have some knowledge.

I joined SASO at the University of Zululand (Ngoye) which is one of the tribal colleges in South Africa where I had enrolled to do a Law Degree in 1972. SASO, until its banning in October last year, played undoubtedly — despite its limitations — by and large a positive role in South Africa. I found that at the University of Zululand the black consciousness philosophy — which SASO espoused — heightened the sense of identity of the black students, increased their initiative and their faith in the righteousness of the cause of the oppressed people, as well as cementing the unity of the black people.



Harry Gwala

In this sense it served as an important source of inspiration for the students' demonstrations which took place at the university campus.

So in the course of 1972 we boycotted lectures in solidarity with the expelled Abram Tiro, a leading member of SASO at the University of Turfloop — another one of our tribal colleges in South Africa. No doubt, you have heard of Tiro who was killed by a letter bomb while he was in exile in Botswana in 1974. The boycott of lectures lasted about three weeks and many students were victimised because of the strike. Some were not readmitted the following year and some of us could not sit for examinations in certain courses because we did not write tests during the strike. Again in 1975 there was unrest at the campus because of the food we were eating. We boycotted food for about a week until the Rector called in the police who used teargas in order to disperse us. The university was closed down before the end of the first semester. I completed my studies at this university in 1975.

In 1976 I was articled in a firm of attorneys in Durban. At that time our firm was handling a political case on behalf of 10 ANC militants. Those ten men were among those taken in a massive wave of detentions in November 1975. They were alleged to have been involved in a nationwide ANC recruiting network. Scores of people detained in the swoop were severely tortured while detained. One of those charged with ANC activities Anton Xaba, had been interrogated for over 40 hours at a time. He was punched, kicked and beaten. At one point he was held out of a window and told he ought to know how Timol died. As you may have heard, Timol died in detention by being thrown out of a 10th floor window in John Vorster Square.

Another man, Michael Gumede, was beaten up and had weights tied to his testicles. Other detainees were given electric shocks, beaten, kicked and threatened with death. For months they were kept in total isolation, removed from their cells only for interrogation, and returned battered and bruised to await the next session of torture.

severely tortured and who was the first accused in this trial, Colonel Dreyer (Chief of Natal Inland Security Branch) stated in court that extreme methods of interrogation had to be used because it was believed that the ANC was planning an uprising on 16 December 1975. He further said that he regarded communists and ANC members as being at war with them and that this attitude affected the way people suspected of ANC or Communist Party links were treated during interrogation.

It was during the course of this trial of brave ANC and SACTU men that I came to the conclusion that it was necessary for us young people to identify ourselves with the revolutionary liberation movement headed by the ANC. SASO and other so-called "black consciousness" organisations were undoubtedly playing in general a positive role in mobilising the young people and instilling a militant spirit but clearly black consciousness offered no strategy of revolution. It was not just pride and self confidence which would win the battle against a brutal enemy, backed by world imperialism. We had to have a strategy to defeat him. And this the ANC which had mobilised the people over many decades could offer. It was such considerations which encouraged me to get in touch with the ANC underground which was busy extending and consolidating its clandestine political machinery within the country.

Then came June 16, 1976. On this day the fascist Pretoria regime unleashed her terrorist police to gun down schoolchildren, some only seven and eight years old, who were peacefully demonstrating against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. The Soweto events indicated that the oppressed people have regained the initiative and that they are ready to die, if need be, for their freedom. An important aspect of these events, too, was the alliance that emerged after the initial demonstration on the 16 June between the schoolchildren and their parents, and the entrance into the struggle of the black working class who took part in several massive political strikes during August and September.

A most remarkable feature of the situation is the persistence with which the people have maintained their militancy in

the face of the terror. Now it is for the liberation movement, headed by the ANC, to spread mass activities throughout the country, above all by mobilising the people of the countryside — both in the white farms and in the Bantustans and consolidating the alliance of all strata and classes of the black people and their democratic allies amongst whites.

As our President, comrade Oliver Tambo, said shortly after the Soweto events, a

burning necessity is to step up preparations for and begin the armed struggle within our country. The Soweto events were indeed a dramatic vindication of the ANC's strategy for a revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people to overthrow the racist colonialist regime and to take power. As comrade Oliver Tambo has said, the liberation movement orientates itself in two main directions for the achievement of this goal — political mobilisation and armed



struggle. The Soweto events convinced the large majority of the young people that it was necessary for them to identify themselves with the revolutionary liberation movement. So it is, that in the past two years hundreds and hundreds of young people — many only in their teens — have passed across the South African border in order to obtain military training and the other skills which will be necessary to run their country in the future.

I was one of the young people who crossed the South African border with the assistance of the ANC's underground machinery. For about a year I worked in the Publicity and Propaganda Dept. of the ANC in Dar es Salaam where I was doing a weekly programme called 'The South African Scene' for the external service of Radio Tanzania.

Meanwhile the ANC was making headway in launching the armed struggle. But true to type, the racist regime had attempted to discredit the ANC by distorting, or attempting to suppress information about the armed actions which have already started within the country. But the trials that have taken place have begun to put the picture straight. One of our comrades, 'Solomon Mahlangu has been sentenced to death following a shooting incident in Johannesburg last year. He is not a criminal but a patriot who like hundreds upon hundreds of his fellow compatriots, had answered the call of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of our organisation.

Every few months the South African authorities announce that they have broken the back of resistance but always the resistance continues. Late last year the Rand Daily Mail reported that the racist security police had smashed a large guerrilla organisation, seized caches of Soviet made weapons and said that they had foiled a foreign plot to invade South Africa. It was alleged that machine guns, rocket launchers were seized in raids over 24 hours in Natal and Transvaal and that the invasion was a brainchild of the ANC.

The actions of our fighting cadres are indicative of the growing strength of our movement as well as the advanced stage of preparations for armed struggle. In the recent period several black members of the

police force and informers have been eliminated and there is evidence of the growing skill of the underground as well as of the support of the people. Moreover, the telling blows of the ANC have forced the regime — at least on occasions — to admit the immeasurable pressure exerted by our movement. For instance Brigadier Zietsman, head of security, admitted that there have been several "skirmishes" between the South African troops and ANC partisans in the eastern Transvaal and that both sides had suffered casualties.

On August 1, 1978, a small detachment unit of Umkhonto was forced into combat with large contingents of the South African Defence Force in the Rustenburg area, western Transvaal. The ANC combatants killed 10 racist soldiers and injured many. One cadre of Umkhonto we Sizwe was captured. The sudden mowing down of the ten, scattered the rest into panic till large reinforcements including Bophuthatswana National Guard Forces in French Super Frelon helicopters were sent in. Our fighters spared the lives of the Bophuthatswana National Guard Forces who were obviously used as Kalashnikov or Scorpion fodder by the enemy.

One of my functions on the radio was to inform the people of Africa as well as the oppressed people at home of the struggle of the ANC and to give them up to date information in the face of the lying or distorted propaganda of the South African mass media. After a year of this work I was offered a scholarship by the Solidarity Committee of the GDR. Although I shall be doing a post graduate course in Law, many of our students studying in the Socialist countries are pursuing natural and engineering courses which we are denied in our country. It is hardly necessary for me to stress the importance of this training not only for use in the course of our armed struggle but more especially when we will be in a complicated and long term process of building a new democratic South Africa. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the government and people of the GDR for their solidarity with us.

# SOLOMON MAHLANGU

Solomon Mahlangu has spent almost 300 days in a death cell at Pretoria Central Prison. He was sentenced to death on March 8, for his part in the Goch Street shooting in June last year in which two Whites were killed.

Mrs. Martha Mahlangu, his mother, says she "has taken his plight to God in prayer". Solomon's attorneys, Ayob and Associates, are applying for a retrial. The application was heard on Friday, November 24 in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Mrs Martha Mahlangu said in anguish: "What else can I do for my son, but to pray daily for him to be given another hearing".

Solomon is not allowed visits other than from his family and a minister of religion appointed by the State and he has lost weight considerably while in the condemned cell.

His brothers and sisters Lena (36), Girley (28), Steven (31), Lucas (25) and Sabina (33) are alternating with the mother in paying him daily visits. It is said that Solomon is not allowed reading material from outside but is supplied with novels and a Bible by the prison. Let us intensify the struggle to save the life of this noble son of our people!



*King Cetshwayo*

# ISANDHLWANA

On January 22 our movement commemorated the centenary of the battle of Isandhlwana. Indeed, it was more than just a commemoration; it was a celebration. On that day Cetshwayo's impis outmanoeuvred and wiped out to a man an entire column of the British invading force — the most modern and well-equipped that the world's leading colonial power could put up into the field. 900 British troops were speared to death. This was one of the most humiliating defeats in the annals of British military history. Victorian England and the British Commander, Lord Chelmsford, retreated to Durban in disgrace.

The remarkable heroism of our people resisted the robbery, rape and plunder of our land by white invaders. The intruders paid dearly in life and blood. The indomitable fighting spirit among our people is based on the revolutionary and military traditions of our people: Griqua, Pedi, Sotho, Shangaan, Tswana, Xhosa, Zulu and others. The Shakas, Makandas, Sekhukhunis, Moshoesoes and Cetshwayos of today are in Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In our next issue of Sechaba we shall report fully on this historic battle.

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DOCUMENTS OF OUR MOVEMENT

1955—1977

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# LESSONS OF ANGOLA

## Secret Weapon in Africa:

By Oleg Ignatiev, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977.

"I know very little about politics... and (I have) never attended all those meetings and rallies... At about six or seven in the morning of the third day of my stay we heard shots fired. And soon afterwards many military lorries with strange-looking vehicles in front appeared on the road. My nephew said they were tanks. They were covered completely with green iron plates, the body, too, and many white soldiers with sub-machine guns were sitting on them. They shouted in a foreign language and kept on firing without a stop. We dropped to the ground to avoid being killed."

This is how a peasant who arrived in Luanda describes the South African racist forces when they arrived in Sa da Bandeira. They shot, killed, looted, set fire to the huts of the local population, raped and committed more atrocities in Angola.

The story of the CIA and mercenary intervention in Angola is told in great detail by Ignatiev, a Soviet writer and Pravda's foreign affairs analyst who has written a number of books on the problems of the tricontinental world.

In this book he describes the history of the struggle of the people of Angola in the context of the African revolution and gives details about imperialist manoeuvres in Africa. He analyses the forces at work in Angola; exposes the CIA intrigues and its attempts to build up the FLNA chief Holden Roberto as the "future president" of Angola. FNLA and UNITA are subjected to a thorough analysis and Savimbi's collaboration with the Portuguese colonialists is well documented. The chapter on U.S. involvement in Angola is fascinating.

"Peking Enters the Game" is a chapter dealing with the role of China in the

Angolan struggle for independence. He remarks: "The Chinese leaders did not confine themselves to supporting the reaction in Angola alone, hoping that it would gain the upper hand over the MPLA. Peking had far greater designs and planned to play a major role in bringing about division among the African countries. Believing that right-wing forces in the African continent had better chances for success, the Chinese began strengthening their links with South African racials. It should be noted that China was already receiving South African cotton, wool, copper, gold and diamonds and had signed an agreement with the Republic of South Africa to deliver it Chinese oil, and was importing chromium and graphite from Rhodesia. Some of the commercial operations with these countries were conducted through Japan and the Portuguese colony of Macao." (p. 118-119)

The South African racists entered Angola in full force: in December 1975 there were "at least" 6,000 racist regular troops in Angola. (p.141) They were equipped with U.S. M-41 Walker Bulldog and French AMX-13; they had Panhard armoured cars equipped with 90-MM guns; Marmion-Harrington light armoured cars; armoured personnel carriers, jeeps and Unimog lorries with 160-MM and 57-MM automatic guns and 105-MM howitzers. Air support was provided by Allouette 111 helicopters and the Namibia-based South African C-130 aircraft dropped supplies to the columns. "Later the planes used the airports at Sa da Bandeira and Silva Porto" (p.140)

They were armed to the teeth. But they failed. How and why they failed is related in detail in the book. The power of proletarian internationalism, especially the support rendered by the Socialist countries to those fighting for national independence and social progress is invincible. The MPLA and the struggle of the people of Angola are a wealth

of information for those who want to study the trends of development in the modern history of Africa. Not only the history, but also the future of Africa and particularly Southern Africa.

Ignatyev's "Secret Weapon in Africa" is a book worth studying by African freedom fighters, especially African guerillas, for it identifies the enemy, his intentions

and tactics whilst at the same time it shows us who our friends are. The Socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, are our natural allies in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid in our continent.

F.M.

## THE HARDER THEY FALL



Cock-sure in white skin  
shirt sleeves rolled to shoulders  
like boa-constrictor coils  
trousers tight to crutch  
as if on Durban beaches  
or flaunting physique for dollies  
round Pretoria bio's  
only in 'Bophuthatswana' bush  
there aint no meisies  
to 'somma' oggle them biceps  
and bulging triceps...



Crusader for Kristelike siviliesasie  
hunting as if for dames  
scrutinizing domain  
with masculine contempt  
come to shoot himself a terrorist  
FN barrel flaunted  
like symbol of manhood  
die baas van Bulhoek...

Only no ladies to oggle  
those bulging credentials  
just cool eyes of  
u'Dingaan's descendents  
talking only language  
hunterman understands  
RAT-TA-TAT-TAT!!!  
hero of rugger-pack  
quietly crumples  
just like Soweto kid  
or Sharpeville mama...

Only bigger they are  
harder they fall...

ANC Kumalo.

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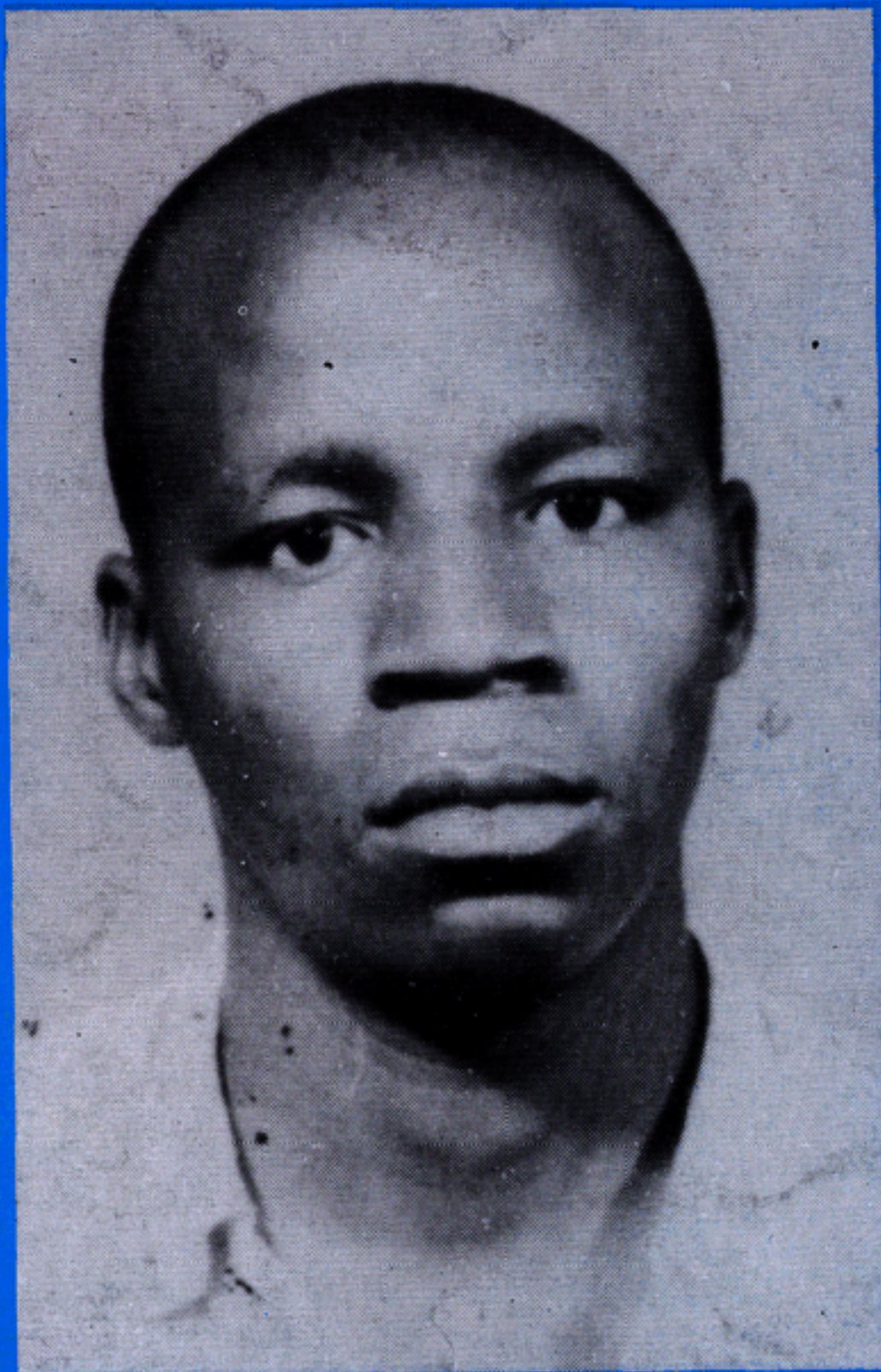
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