

**1. Editorial****FREEDOM MARCHES NEARER!**

The resounding victory of the MPLA in Angola over South African fascist troops and the puppet forces of FNLA and UNITY; the intensification of the Armed struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia; the dramatic closure of the Mozambique-Rhodesia border by the Mozambique government and the placing of the entire Mozambican population on a war footing- all these are making a powerful impact upon the oppressed people of SA. These events have strengthened the desire of our people to overthrow the hated and evil regime of Vorster. Vorster's plans to use Namibia and Zimbabwe as buffer zones to ward off the march for freedom are tumbling like a house of cards, and the oppressed people in Southern Africa are drawing fresh inspiration and strength in preparation for a final onslaught to topple white domination.

At home, our people have fully supported and identified themselves with the struggle and victory of the MPLA. Savimbi and Roberto have become swearwords in the same way that the late and unlamented traitor Tshombe used to be. In trains and busses heated discussions on attitudes to SA's wars of aggression in Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe are clear and unequivocal; the oppressed are saying loud and clear that they will have nothing to do with Vorster-Botha wars against their brothers and comrades. Surveys carried out by the white-owned newspapers tell the chilling news that the oppressed blacks will not go and be canon-fodder for a white state that denies them freedom and human rights. This pressure of our people has been such a mighty force that waverers like Buthelezi and others have come out openly and associated themselves with the sentiments expressed by the people.

The events at our doorsteps have dealt a crushing blow to Vorster's "Trojan Horse" of détente. It has exposed those African Independent states that collaborated with the South African fascists in order to halt the progress of the freedom struggle in South Africa.

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

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

The following are the organizational tasks facing all of us:

- (a) Build a small, secret ANC cells to discuss the situation in our country, ANC policy and the Freedom Charter; and spread the revolutionary ideas making use of ANC publications.
- (b) Wherever you work, organise Trade Unions for the rights of workers.
- (c) Organise protest meetings against the rising cost of living reflected in increasing prices of food, coal, high bus/train fares and rents. Organise mass boycott actions like the Kwa-Thema one, building unity and solidarity of the people.
- (d) Speak out against Bantustans and all separate dummy institutions.
- (e) Attend, as well as encourage others to do so, all meetings and explain the real nature of Bantustans and expose the traitors who lead them.
- (f) Strengthen those groups which are already campaigning against the Bantustans and their so-called independence.
- (g) Boycott meetings called by Bantustan traitors and instead organise counter meetings to expose to the people the dangers of the Bantustans and artificial divisions of the oppressed.
- (h) Wherever you stay or work, speak out against all forms of tribalism and

racialism.

- (i) Wherever you stay or work, constantly preach the idea of a single, united South Africa.
- (j) Organise the youth and students against Bantu Education, separate colleges, and their right to demand in what medium they must be taught, by whom, how, where and what to be taught, and to demand free, compulsory & proper education.
- (k) Organise complete non-participation in the so called border wars of the fascists. The oppressed people must refuse to help Vorster in his military adventures against the people of Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

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

The struggle goes on! Amandla! Matla!

## **2. STEP UP-CAMPAIGN AGAINST BANTUSTANS AND ALL DUMMY INSTITUTIONS !**

"Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;  
 All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;  
 The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;  
 All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

(from the FREEDOM CHARTER, programme of ANC)

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

The offer of phoney independence to the Bantustan traitors-Matanzima & Mangope-is a hopeless attempt to divert the people from the path of revolutionary armed struggle as advocated by the ANC and its allies. The Bantustans are so designed as to foster a narrow local nationalism based on tribes, which surrenders the people's birthright to the whole of our country. The separate pigsties or pondokkies being offered to these Bantustan puppets encourages petty rivalries, territorial jealousies and inter-tribal conflicts among the various Bantustans. It is a real case of Vorster throwing a dry, meatless bone to the dogs so that they can fight for it amongst themselves. Even the faction fights among Black miners can be directly attributed to the Bantustan scheme. One can imagine what joy there is in the corridors of Pretoria, with Vorster-Botha-Treurnicht rubbing their hands with glee as they begin to see their schemes bearing fruit.

Never meant to be really independent, the Bantustans are designed to be reservoirs of cheap, unskilled, migratory, contract labour; they are dumping grounds for all those rejected as 'redundant' by white industry; they are concentration markets for cheap, shoddy goods produced by the so called white part of SA. With SA economy starved of foreign cash, the Bantustans are serving as advertisements to attract foreign imperialist investment in SA, taking advantage of the low wages and huge profits from the sweat and toil of the African masses. Further,

the Bantustans are geared to create, in a sinister B.I.C. experiment, a collaborative class of Black capitalists who are prepared to sell their Black brothers to the White rulers for a few crumbs. That would then set a stage for new favourable conditions for colonialism, that is neo-colonialism-where the African masses will be oppressed by whites but indirectly through the Pretoria boot-lickers in the Bantustans. The main aim

of the neo-colonial oppression is counter revolutionary, that is, counter to (against) the revolutionary aspirations for real and complete freedom, cherished by the people.

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

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

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

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

### **3. ORGANISE, ORGANISE, ORGANISE**

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

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

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

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

(a)Set up a small cell of not more than five-the fewer the number, the better in order

to be able to check any leakages. Before setting it up, study very carefully the background, character, habits, political thinking, reliability of each person you want to select into your unit. Such units can be set up at places of work, in the townships, villages or schools.

(b)The existence of such a unit or cell must not be known, except strictly by its

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

(c)Start regular political discussions on the events inside and outside the country,

and on policies and programme of the ANC. For your discussions,



Make use of ANC material:

- Spread the influence of your unit without exposing the existence of the unit. This can best be done by each member of the unit going out to share the unit's views and ideas with his friends in the factories, in the clubs, churches etc.
- Carefully and secretly organize, lead and guide mass action, strikes, bus boycotts, rallies, street meetings etc.
- Organize workers into Trade Unions in the factories, mines, farms and other places of work. Trade Unions will enable workers to act together and be united in demanding higher wages, better and safer working conditions and skills, shorter working hours, paid holiday and sick leave, etc.
- The unit must receive and distribute ANC pamphlets, newsletters, leaflets, etc.
- Prepare secret places for hiding any material that is 'illegal'. This includes all ANC publications.
- Each member of the unit must be given a task that he will be able to do.
- All work must be done secretly; the S/Ps and informers must not know of the unit's existence and what it is doing.
- The unit must know where the S/Ps and informers are staying and working.
- Every member of the unit must observe the activity of the police and see whom they show any interest in the unit.
- If any member suspects that he is being watched by the Special Branch, he must not continue with his task and must lie low in order to avoid leading the police to the underground unit.

(To be continued)

#### **4. PRICES, PROFITS GO UP-WAGES DON'T (INFLATION)!**

Bus boycotts and workers strikes have become a common occurrence in the country since the introduction of B. van der Merwe's Township 'Anti-Pass' law in 1967. There have been militant boycotts, as well, in Gelvandale Coloured Township, in KwaNtate, in Chatsworth Indian ghetto, in Madadeni and Oakwani, and now in Ewa Tsona and Payneville.

What makes the Black people, alone go out to boycott or strike? The answer lies with the inhuman system of greed from huge profits, exploitation, racism and oppression. The system forces Blacks to be housed far away from their places of work and have to spend a great part of their wages on transport. It lays down that Blacks be paid less, and their rights not to be recognized. And now the present 'inflation' has made the plight of the Black workers even worse. What inflation means, simply, is that huge profits and price-increases jump up and even before skills wages remain low.

For us, inflation causes unemployment as many Blacks are laid off work. Inflation disguises a new stage for more fierce exploitation of our cheap labour. It hits hard on the miserable Black paralytic and the poorest section cannot afford regular hospital attention. Often many children are pulled out of school. Whites are not really affected by this. This is a lie that inflation 'hites' everyone the same. The Business press says that big company profits are ever increasing.

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

Thus we must continue to fight this capitalist exploitation-whether it comes as low wages, cheap labour, longer hours of work, rises in bus/train fares, rises in rents, in foodstuffs, in school fees, in clothing or hospital fees. We must do this by forming free and democratic Trade Unions in the factories, and in the townships or villages. We must have our elected representatives in them who are not 'yes-men' or cowards. Also whenever our brothers boycott or strike, as it was here, we must not just admire them but must give them active support and solidarity, by walking to work, for one or two days; or by going on strike for 24 or 48 hours. In that way we will

speed up and ensure their victory; at the same time we will make it difficult for the white exploiters to make a new law. There, certain Black workers at our own factories. Remember an injury to one is a injury to all.

## **5. OUR YOUTH NEEDS A.N.C. REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP**

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

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

The ANC correctly defines the enemy as White Domination and its imperialist backers; and hence every revolutionary, black or white, ought to take part in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow white domination. Thus the youth should discard the 'go it alone' policy and strive to build a broad front of all White Domination, anti-colonialist forces. The correctness of such a revolutionary approach of unifying all progressive forces has been vindicated in Mozambique, ANGOLA ETC. The liberation movements in these former Portuguese colonies consistently defined their enemy as Portuguese Colonialism and NOT the White Portuguese people. As a result many white Angolan and Mozambican patriots of Portuguese origin fought side by side with MPLA and FRELIMO militants.

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

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

The immediate task, therefore, are for the youth to organise and reach wherever youth are-in the factories, mines, townships & villages, in schools, universities a& professional societies, in sport, church & other cultural bodies in order to mould all youth into a fortress of fearless resistance to white oppression. That youth, organised, must now be activated and taken out into the streets in demand of their day to day needs like higher wages, an end to victimization, subsidies in bus fares, free, compulsory & proper education, integrated sports at lowest levels, etc. Small-scale actions (whether downing of tools, picketing, demonstrations, protest meetings, go-slows, work to rule, sit down strikes, boycotts, stay at homes, defiance etc.) are important and lead to higher revolutionary activities (sabotage, guerilla action & seizure of power.) Forward!