



MAYIBUYE NUMBER 6  
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Anti-celebration victory

## UNANIMOUS VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA BY COMRADE PRESIDENT O. R. TAMBO. (JUNE 1ST, 1981.)

At no time in the past 20 years has the majority of the people of our country so effectively acted out their united opposition to the apartheid racist regime. Seldom has the polarisation between the racist minority and the mass of the people been more strikingly dramatised.

Any mandate which racist Prime Minister Botha may claim to have obtained from an electorate in April this year has been completely annulled by the unanimous voice of the voteless, supported by white patriots and true democrats who firmly, loudly and demonstrably declared: No to a white minority racist republic!

### Authentic voice

The nationwide boycott has been the authentic voice of South Africa, clearly distinguishable from that of racists and colonialists together with their spies and puppets.

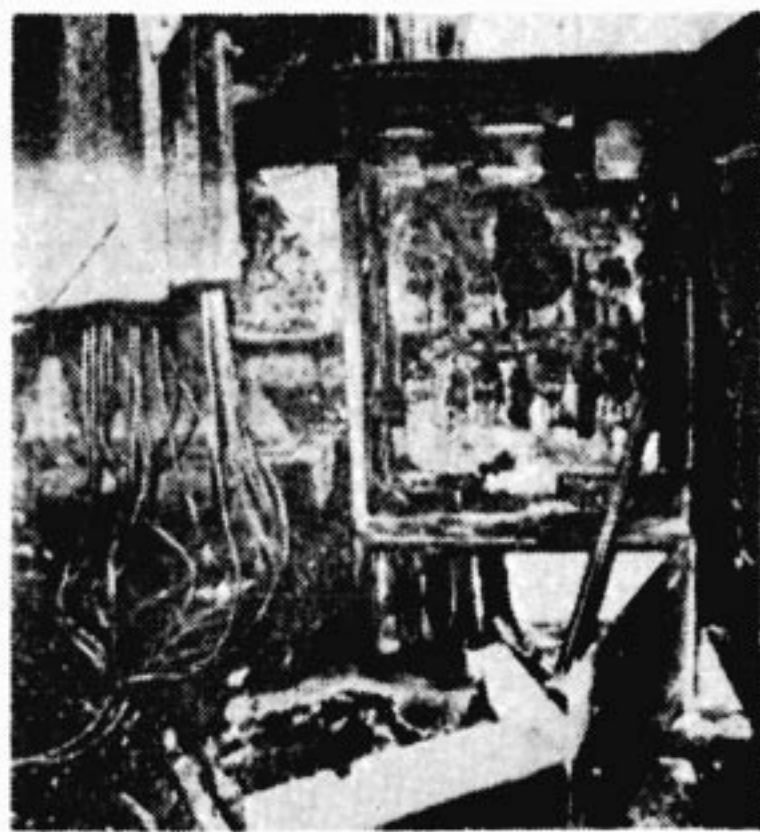
The African National Congress does not claim any exclusive responsibility for the success of the boycott. We are united in demand-

ing a new South Africa.

What we have needed and sought was an occasion for acting together in unity. That occasion and opportunity came when the fascists called for celebrations of their republic. We all seized upon that opportunity. The youth and the workers, the churches and the women, in urban and rural areas, leading personalities in our country, various political, youth and students', civic religious and cultural organisations all took up the great theme: There is nothing to celebrate!

### Congratulate

*For our part we congratulate you all! We congratulate our people; we congratulate the leaders, the organisers, the campaigners*



and other fighters for a just, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The ANC sought to contribute to efforts at united action - to encourage, to give effect to united action, including action by way of a nationwide stay-at-home for three days, a call which was commensurate with the monstrosity of the crime that is being perpetrated against us. For it is not just the day, the 31st of May, that is at issue. It is our life, our country, past, present and future. We have to act boldly, we have to sacrifice in a big way if we are to deserve the victory that awaits us.

The armed units of the ANC, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation, sharpened and gave a cutting edge to the people's protest at the celebrations. Umkhonto added a qualitative element to the massive dimensions of the boycott. The Spear of the Nation is the Spear of the

A heightened offensive: Part of the electric substation destroyed by Umkhonto in Durban.

people. It is as strong as the people and it will relentlessly pursue the goal of liberation through the people and as an integral part of the people.

We call upon our people, all our patriots to support, to defend, to protect and to fight with the Spear, the people's Spear, the nation's Spear. The struggle must continue and continues.

### Joint Action

The end of May is of course not the end of the struggle to win power for the majority of all South Africans. But the end of May should mark the end of disparate unco-ordinated mass actions. We are united. Let us stay united and use that unity in joint action and mutual support.

## We are 35-million people!

SEE PAGE 3 FOR EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH BY MOZAMBICAN PRESIDENT, SAMORA MACHEL AT THE PUBLIC RALLY IN MAPUTO IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE MATOLA ATTACK. READ FUTURE ISSUES OF MAYIBUYE FOR MORE EXTRACTS!

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Andrew Mlangeni

# THE DAYS WE OBSERVE

IT IS JUNE ONCE AGAIN, THE MONTH OF KLIPTOWN AND SOWETO  
JUNE 26TH AND JUNE 16TH, DATES WHICH STAND OUT PROMINENTLY  
IN THE HISTORY OF OUR STRUGGLE AND BEAR WITNESS TO THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RESISTANCE TO WHITE DOMINATION....

Though the events which give these two dates their importance occurred many years apart, they have a lot in common and are both turning points in the course of our proud history.

Thirty-one years ago, we'll remember, the people of our country came out in a national stay-at-home on June 26th in memory of the martyrs of May 1st the same year who were murdered during the strike to protest against the impending outlawing of the Communist Party of South Africa.

## Charter

From then onwards this day became a national holiday for the majority of the South African people and saw its climax in the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955 by elected representatives of the people of all races and from all walks of life - a document which embodies the true aspirations of the people and in which is enshrined the principle of a People's Republic as opposed to the white republic of Botha and Malan. June 26th has thus come to be known as South Africa Freedom Day.

Five years ago, we'll also remember, a peaceful students' protest march against Bantu Education was met with police gunfire, which saw hundreds of schoolchildren massacred. Because of this, a country-wide uprising ensued and the police reacted with similar devilry all over the country.

Both these days are a product of mass political action against oppression, degradation and humiliation. In both cases our youth were active participants in the forefront of struggle. Whilst the 1950 uprisings which heralded a departure from passive actions were a direct result of the militant Programme of Action drafted by the youth and



No force on earth can extinguish the flames of June 16th! COSAS President, Eph Mogale (above) is one of the many youths who have been imprisoned for fighting oppression.

adopted at the ANC annual conference a year earlier, the 1976-77 national uprisings were a product of the defiant actions of the students against the imposition of the oppressor's language on them.

It is in this confrontation between liberation and oppression - reflected most clearly by these dates - that many of our youth and people were murdered in 1976 and after, and that the Freedom Charter, the very embodiment of our aspirations was put on trial in 1956-60, its adoption branded by the fascist hordes as a 'treasonable act'.

## Political Growth

It is June, and once more the historic days are with us. From 1955 we have moved over a map of political growth. Many have fallen by the wayside, yet many have stood the test and still others continue to swell the ranks of the revolution. We have learnt over these past 26 years the importance of principle and consistency; the importance of strategy and tactics and we have matured into and

through the Congress Alliance, an alliance of principles.

We have survived through unity: a unity of purpose. We have seen many a stormy day and we have reacted by closing our ranks and forging ever forward.

1976 was to confirm once again that the people's hornets' nest can never be calmed. Young men and women picked up the spear of their ancestors and since then it has remained in their hands held tighter at every stroke.

Whilst many have swelled the ranks of the People's Army and continue to strike ever harder blows against the enemy guided by the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter, many more have continued along with their elders to rally the masses of the people into action against all forms of oppression and exploitation; to form new organisations when others are banned and to join and strengthen existing organisations; to participate in their hundreds of thousands in open mass struggles and to work like bees in the underground.

Of the distinguished am-

ong them are those like Solomon Mahlangu who gave their lives with pride, those whose bodies rest in the mountains and valleys of Zimbabwe, the Silverton 3 and those who chose to go to jail for years rather than abandon the people's cause. It is because of these factors that our vanguard, the ANC has declared this the Year of the Youth. As we observe these days and embrace their legacy, we also have to reflect upon the lessons that we draw from them in order to advance faster to the time when South Africa Freedom Day will be a reality! What are these lessons?

We have learnt that political success and development is a child of mass political struggle. That the people must be involved in the process to liberate themselves. The slogan: 'we must be our own liberators', becomes true when the people become the wheels of the struggle. In this context, the overriding aim over the years has been and still is to ensure that the mass political organisation is rooted within the people.

## Mass Activity

Mass political activity by the people involves boycotts, strikes, and protests. This has to be built around the people's bread and butter issues; issues that concern them; issues which directly display their oppression and slavery such as inferior racist education, exorbitant prices, rent and bus fare hikes, low wages, forced removals, the pass laws and taxation, police harassment, detention without trial and so on. The people's involvement in mass struggles around such issues will make them discover the real cause of their problems which is national oppression and exploitation.

We have also learnt over the years as a people  
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# 'THE WAR WILL END IN PRETORIA!'

(EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH BY PRES. MACHEL AT THE PUBLIC RALLY IN MAPUTO: 14. 2. 1981.)



Mozambican youth expressing their solidarity with the struggling youth and people of South Africa.

"We were here about a year ago. We met to make the first evaluation of the organisational offensive.

"We said then that conditions had been created for peace in the region. We said that conditions had been created for us to concentrate our efforts on the tasks of our country's reconstruction and development. We said this was the decisive battle for our total liberation from underdevelopment...

## Peace

"We want peace because it is peace that enables us to work and improve our life; to put an end to hunger, misery and disease.

"We do not want to go to South Africa, but if they come here what are we going to do? South Africa must decide. They want to come here. They want to come and murder. Let them come. Let the racists come, even all four million of them. We have room for them here. And then the oppressed majority there, the 23-million will take power. Let them come so that the end of apartheid will be closer...

"Let them come. And we shall put an end to war once and for all. There will be true peace in our zone, not the false peace that we are living now. An attack against Mozambique, an invasion, are not just simple aggression. They are an act of war.

"How do wars start? They start with actions of this kind. The first and second World Wars began

with aggression and occupations. But each time the invader was defeated:

"The first war was launched from Berlin, capital of imperial Germany. The result: the empire was dismantled. They lost their colonies: South West Africa, Togo, Tanganyika, the Cameroons. Consequence: the USSR, the first socialist country was born.

"Hitler planned and launched the Second World War from Berlin, capital of Nazi Germany. Result: the war ended in Berlin, nazism fell. Consequence: The socialist camp was increased, the German Democratic Republic was born. Imperialism's aggressiveness continued after the second world war. This aggressiveness produced Cuba, the first socialist state in America, 90 miles from the United States.

"During the years 1950-53 it attacked Korea. Socialist Korea triumphed. It is true that the country is still divided but it is only temporary division. The Korean people are one and will make the union triumph.

## Vietnam

"The Vietnam war began with aggression launched by the anti-people Saigon regime. Despite the massive support of American imperialism, the war ended in Saigon. Result: the anti-popular regime fell. Consequence: the socialist camp increased...

"Ian Smith started aggression from Salisbury. Result: the war ended in Salisbury. Consequence: Ian Smith was thrown into the rubbish bin of history.

"When somebody takes a can of petrol to set fire to his neighbour's house, he always leaves a trail of petrol which will carry the fire back to his own house. When a snake abandons its hole, no matter how poisonous, strong and feared it may be, it becomes vulnerable. Even a child can kill it with a stick. He does not even need a weapon.

"Let the South Africans come. But let them be sure that the war will end in Pretoria, and that the majority will take power in Pretoria.

"We are a courageous people and tempered by

war. We know how to bear sacrifices... We are the people and the people never die. No oppressor ever managed to liquidate a people. The people always emerged victorious.

## Our Tasks

"Let us organise ourselves. We all have tasks. We are clear about the objectives we are defending. We defend peace, freedom, security. Let each one arm himself with stones, sticks, hoes, pickaxes, arrows and spears. Let us sharpen the blades of the hoes and pickaxes to make a hole in the head of the Boers.

"Let us prepare ourselves with every kind of weapon, so that not one aggressor leaves our country alive!"



LISTEN TO

## RADIO FREEDOM

VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

### Radio Tanzania

External service, Dar es Salaam, on:  
15435 KHz, 19 mb shortwave; 9680 KHz, 31mb shortwave.  
Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays at 8.15pm (S.A. time)  
Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays at 6.15am (S.A. time)  
Sundays at 8.45 pm (S.A. time)

### Madagascar

6135 KHz, 49Mb and 5010 KHz, 60 Mb shortwave,  
7.30 - 9.30 pm daily.

### Lusaka

9580 KHz, 31 mb shortwave, Monday-Friday 7.15-8pm,  
Wednesday 10.00-10.30 pm, Friday 9.30-10.00pm,  
Saturday and Sunday 7-8pm  
Sunday: 8 - 8.30 am, 19 Mb (17895 KHz)

### Luanda

40 and 30 mb, shortwave; 27.6 mb on medium wave  
7.30 pm (S.A. time)

# STOP THE VICTIMISATION



Police repression: the easiest resort of the ruling class against the workers.

When the Firestone bosses selectively reinstate their striking workers after a dispute over the new pensions regulations at the beginning of February; when they hired new workers from the conveniently huge army of the unemployed to replace the 150 'agitators', they naturally drew inspiration from the fact that the dust had, after an eventful fortnight or so, finally come to 'settle'.

Even if they had been forced by the workers' actions to concede to the demand for an exemption from the workings of these pension regulations, the fact that all had returned to 'normal' was something they could find solace in.

After all, at Hella Auto-

motive Lighting and other companies the same recipe had produced wonders: If they dare to go on strike first tell them there is nothing to discuss. They will obviously protest, so dismiss them. If they insist and are difficult to replace because of their valuable experience

and skills, concede to the demand provided it is not too 'radical'. Then rehire them but make sure you exclude all the union 'radicals'. Certainly you have the situation under control! ...Or so the bosses thought.

## Consciousness

It was not long before they had to reckon with the reality of the South African black workers' developing class and national consciousness. At the beginning of March, workers at the Ford Motor plant in Port Elizabeth started to act in solidarity with the workers of Hella Lighting, whose union executive was victimised; they refused en masse to handle car components manufactured by the factory until all their colleagues had been reinstated.

Now, with the recent strike at Ford (towards the end of May) by the 15 hundred workers and many more at General Motors and Firestone in solidarity with the 150 victims of Firestone's selective re-hiring, all indications are that at least the workers of the motor industry in the Eastern Cape have learnt to put to good use the all-powerful weapon of the working class: class solidarity - to show in practical struggle that for the working people, an injury to one is an injury to all, a slogan that punctuated the speeches at the meeting of Ford and

General Motors workers to decide on this action!

The dire need for such organised, united resistance by the workers is made the more urgent by the unprecedented wave of dismissals which have occurred in almost all the industries where the workers rose to back up their demands for the recognition of their trade unions, for better working conditions, a living wage and so on.

In the majority of cases the dismissals were not followed up, the unemployed came in to take the strikers' jobs. At the Everite factory in Meyerton 700 workers went on strike in February over a wage dispute; many were arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act and later many were not reinstated. At Raleigh and Toyota Companies the practice was essentially the same. While at Union Co-operative Bark and Sugar Company in Durban the strikers were arrested and the following day bundled into buses and dumped in the KwaZulu and Transkei bantustans.

## Solid Strength

Yet in a few inspiring incidents the bosses' intransigence met with the solid strength of workers united. In addition to the solidarity actions in the Eastern Cape, where prospects for victory for the dismissed workers are bright, there are other instances such as the Pick 'n Pay (Randburg) and Checkers (Sasolburg) disputes where workers' actions resulted in the reinstatement of their victimised colleagues. The Irvin and Johnson strike in Benrose is also one such case in point where the workers did not only achieve this victory, but also secured recognition of their popular union by the bosses. These instances serve as inspiration to all the black workers of our country for they are practical examples of how workers can unmask and defeat the power of the bosses.

As the exploiters use  
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# OF WORKERS!

harsher methods to cushion their superprofits, so should we evolve new and better methods of defending our class and advancing the general struggle for national emancipation. Solidarity action within an industry and even beyond the confines of related industries constitutes one such weapon to ensure that the current spate of dismissals, police harassment, arrests and 'deportation' to the bantustans do not go unchallenged.

## Consumer Boycott

Another method that has proved helpful in the fight against dismissals is that of a consumer boycott. As we go to press 21 workers of the Wilson-Rowntree company in East London are in detention in the Ciskei bantustan following the workers' strike late last year. At the same time about 500 of their colleagues were dismissed during the strike, and so were 19 workers at the Huletts subsidiary, Warehousing Services in Durban. In response, the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) to which the workers belong called for a consumer boycott of Huletts sugar and Wilson-Rowntree products in March. Is this very important campaign being taken up by the people? If not, why? These are some of the practical questions which the Fatti's and Moni's workers for example had to answer in resolute action and so emerged victorious.

As the workers of Fatti's and Moni's themselves noted, this tactic relies for its strength on community awareness and therefore demands widespread mobilisation of the people by the workers and their organisations. Also, for the boycott to be sustained and not hijacked, the workers themselves have to be at the head of the campaign, to direct it and call it off when they so prefer.

## Unemployed Workers

The critical nature of

the current wave of dismissals has been further underlined by the launching last March of an Unemployed Workers' Union under the aegis of SAAWU. As the participants at the conference noted, such a move would go a long way in helping to counteract the systematic victimisation of

the existence of a docile, starving and unorganised reserve army of labour that the bantustans have been created - a reserve which will flow in only when the need arises (as during strikes) but which must otherwise stay put in the paddocks. As the National Organiser of SAAWU put it:



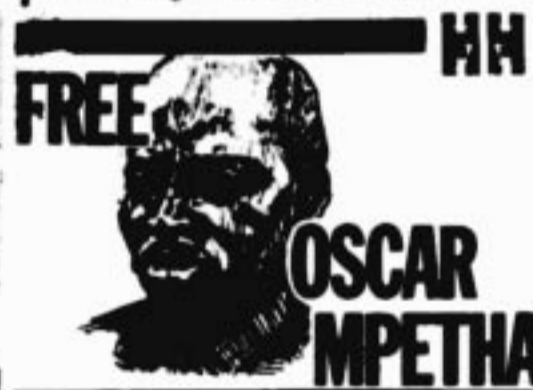
INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY: British Trade Union leaders demonstrating in front of the South African embassy in London.

workers by the bosses. During the recent strikes we have seen that the bosses do not even have to undertake a strenuous campaign to replace the workers they fire. More often than not, a simple rumour of a strike leads the unemployed to crowd the factory gates in their hundreds. Like wolves ready to devour a fallen prey they ignorantly scramble for the jobs of their dismissed comrades.

It is certainly from the existence of this huge army of unemployed workers where the bosses acquire the dubious joys of hiring and firing at will. After all, it is precisely for the purpose of ensuring



a mammoth task demanding active national campaigning to organise our unemployed colleagues in the urban and rural areas. All independent unions have to be involved in this important campaign. A big force of field workers at regional and national levels has to be mustered to create this body which will not only minimise the scourge of scabbing, but will also lead the unemployed in the fight for the basic right to work and



for a fair and equitable distribution of unemployment benefit funds.

## Campaigns

Added to these campaigns for the defence of the workers against dismissals, that is, workers' solidarity, consumer boycott and the formation of an unemployed workers' union - campaigns which have emerged out of the practical experience of the workers themselves - is the call for the establishment of a Dismissal Code by the workers' organisations at factory, regional and national levels. Such a code would have to include in its provisions, a grievance procedure agreed upon by the workers and management, the right of the worker to defend himself/herself against allegations of the management and to be represented by his/her shop steward, and that all the workers at the factory should be informed and they should agree with such a dismissal if it is to take place.

Let us use this rich experience, combine all possible tactics to fight against dismissals. Only through organised and united action shall we defend ourselves successfully against the employers' practice of hiring and firing at will.

**ORGANISE OR STARVE!**  
**AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!**

## Not Unionised

"The only reason for this is that these people are not unionised. Employers exploit the opportunity and in most cases do not even listen to the strikers' grievances. They simply dismiss today and employ tomorrow". To the rural reserve is also added the thousands in the urban areas who have been retrenched or who are themselves victims of mass dismissals in other disputes.

The significance of the formation of an unemployed workers' union cannot be overemphasised. Yet at the same time it is in itself

# IMPERIALIST MANOEVRES REBUFFED

**INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE HAGE GEINGOB, DIRECTOR OF THE UNITED NATIONS INSTITUTE OF NAMIBIA AND MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION.**

**MB:** *In the aftermath of the African tour by the American envoy, Chester Crocker, Pretoria's foreign minister Pik Botha visited the United States where, according to reports, some agreement has been reached between the racists and Washington on the question of Namibia. What are the essentials of this agreement and what is SWAPO's position on this?*

**HG:** Thank you very much for this opportunity, comrade. First of all let us look at Crocker's visit. When Crocker came here we were told that he was coming to meet interested parties, that is frontline states and South Africa about the future of Namibia. We would have thought that, as they were doing in the past, they would have also asked to talk to SWAPO. But Crocker flatly refused to see any SWAPO officials, claiming that he came to talk only to governments.

Now there already we can see the new attitude:

## Most Concerned

We are the most concerned party in this struggle. We are the ones who are fighting, but the man who came to discuss Namibia's future refused to see us. That is the first sign of the new development that is taking place now.

Then after he had come and seen the South Africans, told them what he was proposing and had gone back, they invited all of a sudden the racist foreign minister to go and see not only Haig but also Reagan himself. Now if you just look at that situation in political terms it gives the South Africa government, the racist minority regime such a high standing in international affairs. Here is a racist foreign minister invited by the US government—among the first hon-

oured guests to go and see the foreign minister as well as the president of the country. That in itself already means that apartheid South Africa has scored diplomatically over us because of Reagan and Haig.

We are told that while they were there they discussed amendments to Resolution 435 of the United Nations. As you know, Resolution 435 was already accepted by South Africa, also by SWAPO and frontline countries. It took about three years to negotiate that resolution. And I may add here that it is not our resolution, it is a resolution initiated by the 5 western countries including the United States of America. Now they want to amend it.

## Naivete

Why is it so? Firstly, they, for their own reasons, for their naivete believed that the puppets were going to win the elections. That is why they in the first place agreed to UN supervised elections. Now they realise that the puppets do not have a chance, especially after the Zimbabwean elections. They realise that the

nationalists who are carrying guns can win in the battlefield and also at the ballot-box. So they are now trying to change that.

To come to your question about the so-called new agreement I must first say that as we have been left out we do not have the actual text of the agreement. But from what we have been gathering through some sources we are learning that they want to have a constitution first before elections. And what is funny about this proposal is that the five western countries, in fact the Americans will draft this constitution. It is a very trivial situation. I personally believe, and even in the foreword I wrote for one of the constitutional studies manual here I stated, that a constitution must come from the people themselves. And we intend to do that in Namibia.

The British used to write constitutions for their colonies and they were disastrous. The British were working under the assumption that they knew the people and so on. Now in the case of Americans, first they don't know our culture, they did not colonise us and they want to draft a constitution for us. I don't even know which country they were ruling in Africa - of course neo-colonialism yes, but not directly - but they want to draft a constitution for us and that in itself is already a big problem.

## Property Rights

The purpose of this constitution is to guarantee white minority rights including their property rights. Now this is a very serious situation. When it comes to rights of Namibians they will all be guaranteed under our constitution. The white minority will be Namibian and therefore they will also be protected by the laws of the new government. Above all when we went to Geneva we were also ready to give principles about human rights which

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The people of Namibia will "win in the battlefield and also at the ballot-box"!

# Profile:



## Andrew Mlangeni

Comrade Andrew Mlangeni was sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1964 after being tried along with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others in the 'Rivonia Trial'.

Charged under the notorious Sabotage and Suppression of Communism Acts he was condemned by the racist court to 'spend the rest of his life' on Robben Island.

Mlangeni was born in 1923 in an African township near Johannesburg. Being one of the 12 children in a poor family, the young Andrew had to work as a cad'ie in order to earn school fees to try and quench his thirst for knowledge at the St. Peters Secondary School. Here he obtained his Junior Certificate in 1946.

### Experience

Unable to proceed further for financial reasons he took a number of jobs. At school and at work, he saw and experienced oppression and exploitation and this sharpened his desire to become part of the forces actively involved in the struggle for freedom. He joined the

ANC Youth League in 1951 and the 'mother body' in 1954.

During the campaign for the Congress of the People, comrade Mlangeni took an active part in organisational activities and he was one of the delegates to Kliptown where the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955. An outstanding member of his branch, he was elected branch treasurer in 1955. He was also a member of the Ad Hoc Committee elected to supervise the 'Stand-by-our-leaders' Campaign and to run ANC affairs during the Treason Trial.

In 1957 he took part in organising and leading the

Putco bus drivers' strike for better working conditions and a living wage. Though he and a few others were expelled, the company complied with the demand that drivers should have conductors, albeit temporarily.

He was Regional Secretary for Soweto from 1958 to 1960, and it is also in this period that he carried out important tasks for ANC/HQ. A man of quick gait, though patient and steady, comrade Mlangeni fulfilled many dangerous missions with speed and efficiency - qualities which earned him the nickname, "Lightning" from friend and foe alike.

In 1961 comrade Andrew was one of the organisers of the All-In-African Conference in which he participated as a delegate from Dube. In the same year, he accompanied comrade Joe Gqabi, New Age reporter (and former Robben Island inmate) to investigate the forced removal of the com-

munity near Lydenburg.

Both were arrested 'for being in a Trust Land without permission'.

### Union Buildings

It is in the same year also, that comrade Mlangeni addressed a crowd which had converged to the Union Buildings to see the then United Nations Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold. The racists had just briefed the Secretary-General about 'good race relations in South Africa' etc, when the daring Andrew ascended to the platform to disprove these lies and to explain the nat-

ure of our struggle for universal franchise and full liberation. He refused to give his name to the stunned pressmen.

In mid-1961 he left the country for military training abroad in the first batch of cadres selected for the People's Army. On his return, he fulfilled a number of MK missions before his arrest.

Comrade Mlangeni is married with four children. Whether he shall indeed 'spend the rest of his life' on Robben Island is a question that only you and me can answer, in resolute mass and armed actions!

## Interview with cde. Geingob

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we thought could have covered this question of so-called "minority rights".

But when it comes to guaranteeing the privileges of the whites - because when you talk about property rights you are talking about privileges, you are talking about the land that the whites are owning now our followers, the people are going to ask us, 'what was the struggle all about?' So this is a very serious question and SWAPO will definitely oppose that. We are fighting so that all people should be equal in Namibia. They will be protected by the law of independent Namibia's constitution. So we do not see any reason to give especially property rights to some people, including the multinationals if that is the case. That we cannot accept.

### Sovereignty

Then secondly, another element is being added, which will in a way limit the sovereignty of the new state. We are told Namibia must be a 'neutral' country, that there should be no foreign troops or bases in Namibia.

This is a new development in international relations, where some countries can, before independence, limit the sovereignty or actions of of a future government. That That in terms of international law is just illegal. We do not see how any state, even if it is powerful, can tell us

that we must be 'neutral', we must not have foreign bases! It is our own choice. So that question is really uncalled for. I do not know who is dreaming it up. We cannot accept that.

### Absurdity

To add to this absurdity, they go on to say that the constitution itself must be guaranteed, apparently by the 5 western countries. Meaning that, as they and South Africa claim, Africans can draft a constitution - a good paper - but they can tear it up after independence, so what guarantee is there that they are going to honour that constitution. So therefore this clever Haig and the other cowboy Reagan come up with the idea that they are going to guarantee that the constitution is going to be honoured.

So you can see that the reactionary forces have really worked hard. If those things are true then we have a very long way to battle a about a new round of negotiations. It is going to be very tough for us, but we will fight our way out.

*MB: Would you say, judging by their dilly-dalling and the veto by the US, Britain and France at the recent Security Council meeting, that the imperialist countries are interested in a genuine solution to the Namibian problem?*

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HELP SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF THE ANC!

PASS MAYIBUYE ON:

- \*GIVE IT TO YOUR FRIENDS AND FAMILY
- \*DROP IT IN A NEARBY POSTBOX OR YARD
- \*STICK IT ONTO A PUBLIC WALL OR BUS SHELTER AT NIGHT
- \*DISCUSS THE ISSUES RAISED WITH THE PEOPLE YOU MEET AND YOUR FRIENDS.

BE CAREFUL!!!



# NAMIBIA INTERVIEW - from Page 7

HG: From what I have just told you, the western countries are not interested in a genuine solution. May be there are some, but we know that the western countries are motivated by the well-known capitalist interest, that of profit. They have their vested interest there, economic that is. And they have now added this so-called 'strategic interest' as the racists have always been singing.

We Namibians are supposed to suffer because some capitalist somewhere wants our minerals. Therefore we should be denied our human rights to decide our own future. So given that background, we know that the western countries really are not interested in the genuine independence of Namibia.

*MB: Given that the diplomatic struggle constitutes the secondary front of your struggle for freedom, could you tell our readers what achievements have been made on the main front: that of armed and mass activity by the people led by SWAPO?*

HG: As far as the armed struggle is concerned I think we have made tremendous progress. Firstly, to show what kind of progress we have made, the enemy was not recruiting Africans into the racist army in the past. But now there is forced conscription taking place. Africans are being recruited to fight Africans. This in turn is also creating contradictions. For the first time we are going to have Africans who have been in the racist South African Army who have seen some of their techniques coming to our side. That means progress for us because we will be informed about enemy techniques and their plans. That is a new dimension in the struggle.

Also this conscription of Africans is due to the fact that the racists are running out of manpower, because some whites are starting to refuse to go and fight because they are asking why they should die in a foreign country that the regime says

it claims no inch of. So this is a new dimension forced upon the regime by the struggle which is so effective.

If we talk about our own work on the ground, we are using more and more sophisticated arms. We are using rockets, and whilst they say we are just confined to the northern part of the country, our forces are going down to Tsumeb, far from the north. And recently in Oshakati which is supposed to be the capital of the north, rockets were raining there. I remember one of the South African reporters for the racist radio saying that it was deadly accurate but missed everything. I cannot understand that contradiction! That shows you that the struggle has really developed and our people are now using sophisticated arms and that of course thanks to the socialist countries who are assisting us.

With every day that passes our people are not only gaining in experience on how to use the weapons, they are also gaining in understanding what they are fighting for. They understand the forces that are. We have politicised them not only to mobilise them against the system but we have also pointed out to them the forces, the international actors on the arena. Even our students here know today the difference between the capitalist world and the socialist community of nations.

Through this knowledge they will better appreciate the assistance we get from socialist countries and they will, after independence, better understand how to protect, how to defend the gains of the revolution. Because it is very hurting, as some countries have done, to have struggled all these years, to have lost some of the best sons and daughters in the struggle only to lose the gains after you have achieved independence - to become a neo-colonial state.

So because of that, this mass mobilisation of the people to understand what we are fighting for is very

important. And in that sense we have also scored a great deal both in the battlefield and in making our people understand what the struggle is all about.

*MB: After the attainment of independence by the people of Zimbabwe, we in South Africa and Namibia are the last on the continent to live under the yoke of racism and colonialism. What is more, our oppressor is one: the Pretoria racist regime. How do you in this light assess the significance of active solidarity between our peoples?*

HG: Firstly, our active solidarity is not by choice. It is not a thing one can decide one wants to be or not. It is solidarity that we have to have because of our geo-political situation. We have been colonised by one enemy. We are actually waging the same war. Encouraging enough for us ANC and SWAPO is the fact that we are not trying to forge this relationship today because of the stage the struggle has reached.

It is a natural relationship. It started a long time ago when some of us were very young. So we are just continuing the tradition. SWAPO's origin as you know is in Cape Town. The idea of SWAPO was actually started in Cape Town amongst those Namibians who were students or who were working in Cape Town and who were attending ANC meetings.

Some of us even, the first lectures we had in our lives about real politics was in Francistown from ANC leaders. So this relationship really is not such as we are trying to forge now because the struggle has reached this stage. It is a relationship which we have to continue and strengthen.

It is supremely important and imperative that we maintain this solid front, this firm solidarity now and also after independence because we are neighbours and we have gone through the same history. We have many things in common and therefore whether it is during the struggle or after, this relationship must be strengthened, it must be maintained. About this we have no choice!

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that mass political activity and mobilisation rest on our ability to organise ourselves. Be it a stay-at-home, a rally or a protest march, organisation must go into it. We must sit down and look at what is possible and not possible and decide exactly not only what we want to do but also what we want to achieve and how we want to achieve it - both on short-term and long-term basis. Organisation also entails disciplining ourselves as organisers first and then relaying this to the people.

We have learnt over the years that our success rests on people's unity. Our aim therefore should be to unite all patriotic forces of the motherland - unity not just for convenience but based on principle. That is why the strength of the Freedom Charter is that that it emanated from unity of all South African patriots. We have learnt to include within the organi-

sation people from different strata and sections of the society for the attainment of a People's Republic.

We have also learnt as students that it is not enough to involve ourselves with student politics. Students' problems are connected in many ways with the problems of the country - 'separate development' for instance is the father of tribal universities and separate and unequal school amenities. The fact of low slave salaries affects us directly at school, and so do rents, bus fares, evictions and forced removals. That is why our slogan should be 'From the schools to the People!' because that is where the struggle is.

These and other lessons of June 16th and 26th must necessarily guide us for they are lessons of struggle, lessons for victory!

LONG LIVE THE YEAR OF THE YOUTH!!