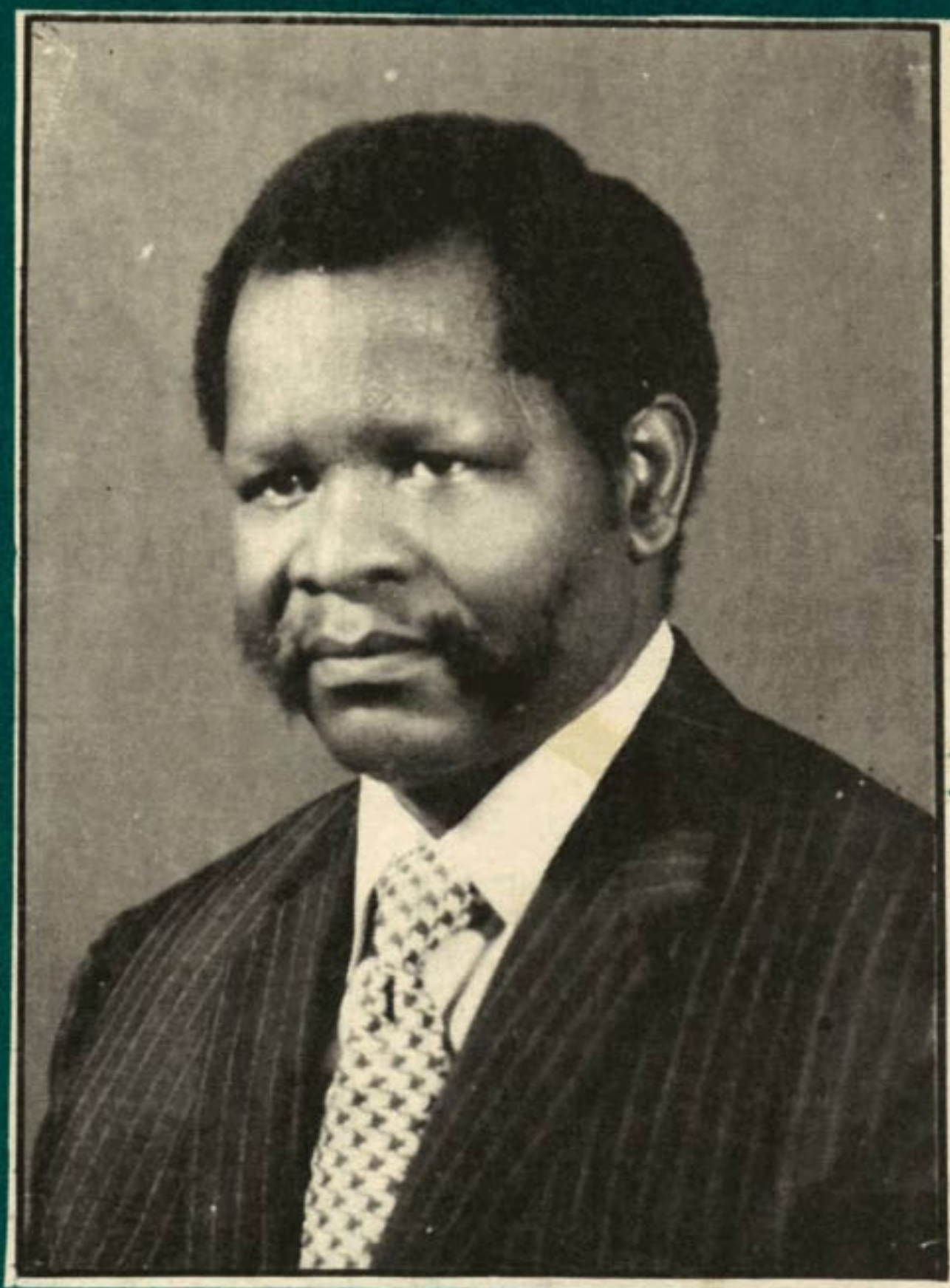


MAYIBUYE

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National Congress South Africa



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President of the A.N.C. (S.A.)

1. Editorial

2. Six sentenced men sing

3. Statement by the African National Congress of South Africa to the 31st ordinary session of the OAU liberation Committee held in Dar es Salaam 19 - 25 June, 1978. Page 1.

4. Statement by ANC of South Africa on behalf of the National Liberation Movements Recognised by the O.A.U. Delivered by T.T. Nkobi Treasurer General to the 31st Meeting of the Organisation of African Unity, Dar es Salaam, 19 - 23 June 1978. " 4.

5. Important "Radio Freedom" Script Recently beamed to the Black soldiers of South Africa. " 7.

June 26th or SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY as we know it is, to the A.N.C. (S.A.), the oppressed struggling masses of our country and all those who support our struggle for national liberation in South Africa, an occasion of political significance. It is a day of MOURNING; a day of PROTEST, and an occasion for REDEDICATION.

On this day we mourn and remember the thousands of oppressed people in South Africa who are robbed of their lives in the jails, farms and industries of racist South Africa. Examples of this are legion. The world is still reverberating to the shock of the brutal murder, at the hands of the South African police, of the late Steve Biko. A.N.C. members like JOSEPH MDLULI, NKWENKWE LOZAN and S.A.C.T.U. (South African Congress of Trade Unions) activists of the calibre of LAWRENCE NDZANGA and ELIMON MALELE have also gone the same way. At the time of writing this, scores of national liberation movement cadres are known to have lost their lives while they were under interrogation by Vorster's Gestapo police and, according to what is "normal" in our country, the Pretoria regime is not obliged to offer any redress or logical explanation for these misdeeds. Hilda Bernstein, in a monograph called "South Africa: THE TERRORISM OF TORTURE" (PUBLISHED BY INTERNATIONAL DEFENCE AND AID FUND, LONDON; 1972) has written a well-documented account of some of the known political assassinations.

Scores of African labourers and workers have lost both life and limb in their places of work in the mines, factories and other industries of our land. This form of racial injustice stems directly from the fact that, according to the dictates of apartheid, the white minority regime of South Africa looks at the Blacks as nothing else but a cheap source of migrant labour. This systematic oppression is enforced through the much-hated pass laws, the violation of which lands thousands of Africans in jails, which are generally overcrowded. To overcome this problem, it is common practice in South Africa for the prison authorities to hire out black prisoners, usually at a nominal fee, to white farmers who, with impunity, never hesitate to shoot or beat African labourers to death.

The accidental collapse of mines, because of inadequate safety measures, is a common occurrence. One of the largest in the history of South Africa was the COALBROOK disaster in the '50's,

when

when large numbers of Blacks and some whites were buried alive. In typical South African fashion, even though it was obvious that nothing could be done to save the victims, rescue operations continued for a long time because racist white South Africa could not stomach the idea of having a common grave for blacks and whites! As for the victims of mass police brutality, the SOWETO and SHARPEVILLE massacres are but recent and glaring examples.

South Africa Freedom Day is also an occasion for PROTEST: Our anger, fury and disgust are directed first, at the apartheid regime itself, and secondly at all those in the western world who support this racist clique, largely because of the profits that capitalist multinational concerns reap from their investments in our country.

The oppressed people of South Africa, under the leadership of their vanguard and revolutionary movement, the A.N.C. are totally opposed to the racist regime of Vorster that represents only a section of the white population, in a country where the blacks outnumber the whites by about 6 to 1. We are totally against being ruled by an undemocratic white-minority regime which, besides being racist, is also authoritarian and indeed, a fascist dictatorship that rules through the barrel of a gun and political repression. The signs of South African fascism are manifest for all to see, to wit, the naked dictatorship, an economy that is on a war-footing, and a rabid and hysterical anti-communism. The war machinery of the South African fascists is directed both at the struggling masses of our people and the progressive states in Africa, particularly the FRONT LINE STATES.

This year, we focus our attention and protest particularly on the fate of political prisoners in South Africa. The O.A.U., the U.N., the World Council of Churches and indeed, all of progressive mankind, support and endorse the legitimacy of our armed struggle, which is currently being waged inside our country by the militants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the A.N.C. According to a Protocol of the Geneva Convention, which deals with the rights and protection of prisoners-of-war, umkhonto we Sizwe militants should be treated as such by their enemy - the Vorster regime. But then the Pretoria regime, in defiance of world opinion, persists in torturing, maiming and murdering our combatants in cold blood.

A.N.C.

A.N.C. leaders like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others are still languishing on Robben Island.

We have the case of Comrade SOLOMON MAHLANGU, who was recently sentenced to death for alleged involvement in the killing of whites in the heart of Johannesburg. Solomon Mahlangu and a compatriot, MONDY MOTLOUNG, were cornered by armed police and white civilians in a Johannesburg ware-house where a shoot-out followed. (The world will be reminded that in South Africa all whites have an automatic right to bear arms, but not the blacks). Mondy Motloug, who is alleged to have fired the killing shots, was brutally assaulted by the police with the butt of a gun. As a result of the head injuries he sustained, he has now lost his sanity. He could, under the circumstances, not be sentenced.

The A.N.C. demands that SOLOMON MAHLANGU, and all other Umkhonto combatants in a similar situation should be released unconditionally. We appeal to the conscience of the world to join us in this protest against the Vorster regime and June 26th 1978, is an appropriate occasion for this. Our stand is that it is Balthazer Vorster and Co. who should be behind bars, and not the freedom-fighters of our national liberation movement. It is apartheid which is a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace, and not our just struggle which aims at eradicating apartheid and all exploitation of man by man in our country.

This year, 1978, has been designated by the U.N., at a conference held in Lagos last year, as INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID. It is only fitting then, that on 26th June we REDEDICATE ourselves to the armed seizure of political power in South Africa. Our aim is to eradicate, not only apartheid, but the capitalist exploitation of the working people of our country as well, and in this regard, the FREEDOM CHARTER, which is the basic minimum programme of the A.N.C. (S.A.), spells out our aspirations succinctly.

Adapted from JUNE 26 - SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY issued by A.N.C. (S.A.) OFFICE, DAR ES SALAAM on 26/6/1978.

Six sentenced men sing

• FROM PAGE ONE

Simon Mohlanyaneng — 10 years, Martin Ramokgadi — 7 years and Jacob Seathlolo — 12 years.

As they were driven out of the Supreme Court building in Pretoria, crowds of waiting blacks sang: "We don't mind if they make us prisoners. We must unite to get our freedom."

Before delivering sentence, Mr Justice Myburgh referred to both a Supreme Court judgment and a pronouncement by a jurist quoted by the defence in its argument on sentence.

The judgment recalled the judicial tradition of "cool heads with the necessary humanity" in dealing with politically motivated crimes. The pronouncement advised prudence and cautioned against harshness in political offences.

Mr Justice Myburgh said: "The suggestion of prudence and the warning against excessive severity. I heartily support."

Describing both Sexwale and Tsiki as men dedicated to the ANC cause rather than to personal gain, Mr Justice Myburgh went on to quote from statements made from the dock by Sexwale and Tsiki.

One portion quoted from Sexwale's statement read: "When I joined the ANC I realised that the struggle for freedom would be

ROM 8/4/78



Naledi Tsiki — 14 years' jail.



Mosima Sexwale — 18 years' jail.

difficult and would involve sacrifices. I was and am willing to make those sacrifices."

A section quoted from Tsiki's statement read: "I wish to make it clear to the court that what I did, I did with my eyes open. By so doing, I was merely trying to make my contribution towards a free and democratic South Africa . . ."

Mr Justice, Myburgh later referred to a statement from the dock by the oldest of six men, Ramokgadi, a 68-year-old former Robben Island prisoner.

Ramokgadi who was responsible for ANC finances and who had associations with members of a "terrorist den" in Alexandra township, had given the "greatest problem in determining what should be

an appropriate sentence," Mr Justice Myburgh said.

Mr Denis Kuny, counsel for Ramokgadi, had earlier pleaded with Mr Myburgh not to sentence Ramokgadi to prison for the rest of his life.

Mr Kuny recalled that Ramokgadi had even won the admiration of people who gave evidence against him for the State.

STATEMENT BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE 31ST ORDINARY SESSION
OF THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE HELD IN DAR
ES SALAAM 19 - 25 JUNE, 1978.

Our meeting today takes place at a moment in the history of our march to freedom when African and the entire progressive world commemorates with us the heroic uprising of our revolutionary youth and students two years ago, at Soweto, Langa, Gugulethu and numerous other areas throughout the country. The uprisings, the general political strikes carried out by the black workers in support of the uprisings, and the new level of unity in action of all oppressed South Africans are an historic assurance of the victory of our cause. The recent Arrests of hundreds of students and young workers throughout the country on the eve of June 16th, clearly shows that the white racists continue to be shaken by the events of June 16, 1976.

In spite of massacres of hundreds of students, in spite of the arrests and detentions and the killings in detention, and in spite of the fact that hundreds of students activists have had to flee the terror, the students have continued their resistance. The paralysis of the Bantu Education System has continued thousands of students throughout the country, including the Bantustans, boycott classes. "Riots" continue to flash at many schools. It is quite clear that the white racist authorities are not able to restore the situation in the field of education to what they regard as "normal". The Rand Daily Mail of 25/5/78 reports the Johannesburg Regional Director for Education and Training, Mr. Jaap Strydom, giving figures showing that the number of secondary school students in Soweto has dropped to 14,000, a decrease of 20,000 since 1976. Mr. T.W. Kambule, former principal of Orlando High School says: "One would have expected the number to have in fact gone up to 40,000 with a stream of new students".

There has been a steady growth of the strength and combat capacity of the underground machinery of the African National Congress and its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe. The evidence of the growing strength of our revolutionary movement has been testified to by the increasing number of sabotage actions that have taken place

in various parts of the country, the majority of which are not reported in the South African press. The activities of the urban combat of Umkhonto We Sizwe have increased to the extent that even other leaders of the fascist regime have joined their Minister of Police, James Keuger, in concluding that it is impossible to crush and destroy the African National Congress.

Brigadier C.F. Zietsman, Head of the South African Security Police, recently revealed that "police have clashed several times with ANC 'terrorists' since they intensified their border operations in the Eastern Transvaal in June last year."

Brigadier Zietsman said that "two policemen were injured in one of these clashes six weeks ago...." The Brigadier added that the "concentrated attack on South Africa is being conducted in two phases. The African National Congress is attempting to smuggle into large cities for urban 'terrorism' while keeping up running attacks on the border to pin our manpower down... 'Terror gangs' cross ... into the triangle of South African territory in an area which is mountainous, underdeveloped and is ideal guerilla territory" (Rand Daily Mail 17/4/78.)

The Head of the Security Police has no illusions as to which organisation leads and unites the revolutionary forces in South Africa. To Brigadier Zietsman, and other leaders of the fascist state, their "enemy" is the ANC. James Kruger, the Minister of Justice, who has so often in the past boasted that he had "broken the Back" of the African National Congress through numerous arrests and killings, was recently forced to state: "The African National Congress has come to stay with the people; what we can do is just to contain it". Thus the enemy identifies its enemy as the ANC which "has come to stay with the people" and which it cannot destroy or crush, but "just to contain". And as we steadily intensify the struggle, the ability of our enemy to contain the African National Congress must diminish.

In characteristic reaction to the growing struggle, the Vorster regime has intensified its repression. At the same time, the minority regime is intensifying its search for ways to weaken the united resistance of the entire Black community.

Several political trials involving hundreds of people, mainly ANC cadres, are continuing throughout the country. The African National Congress wishes, once again, to emphasise the urgent need to raise our voices to prevent the execution of Solomon Mahlangu who was sentenced to death recently following an

incident in Johannesburg last year.

In the course of the trial Comrade Solomon Mhlangu was referred to as a member of the African National Congress who had entered South Africa after receiving military training abroad.

Solomon Mhlangu is not a criminal, but a patriot who, like hundreds of his compatriots, answered the call of the African National Congress and its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe. Solomon Mhlangu is a prisoner of war and must be treated as such under the relevant Geneva Conventions.

The fascist enemy has not refrained from violating the territorial integrity of neighbouring independent African states in its attempt to halt the onward march of the revolutionary forces in Southern Africa - the most recent being the bloody massacre of hundreds of Namibian men, women and children in Southern Angola.

Partly as a direct consequence of the steadily intensifying struggle of our people, the already serious economic crisis facing South Africa has continued to deepen. The growing economic crisis in turn imposes heavy burdens on the Black people of South Africa through spiralling prices of essential commodities, rising transport costs, high rents and unemployment. As a result of the latest budget, prices of a large number of consumer goods, particularly dairy products, went up by 15% on June 1st. The Rand Daily Mail of 18/5/78 reports: "The S.A. Council of Churches consumer watchdog, Mr. Eugene Rdelofee, accusing the government of 'grinding the consumer to dust' said in Johannesburg: 'It is this type of action that will undermine the stability of South Africa. Empty stomachs keep people awake at night, and people who are awake think'".

The white minority regime, is stepping up its war preparations. "South Africa's defence budget could top R2,000 million soon" Mr. P.W. Botha, Minister of Defence told Parliament recently. He went to explain that 'while the cash amount budgeted for this year appeared to be lower than the previous budget, the actual value was higher'. He also announced...that a new army combat school is to be established at Sishen (in the Cape Province)". (Natal Mercury, 18/4/78.)

"The South African Defence Force is to build a major new army base close to the Mozambique and Rhodesian borders, confirming the continuing military build-up in the area. The move follows a decision last year to site a new airbase in the area, of which

the first phase will be finished this year... The new Army base will be at Phalaborwa, in the North Eastern Transvaal, 50 km. from the Mozambique border and 150 km. from Rhodesia. This base would be ready next year. The new airbase is at Hoedspruit, 40 km. further south along the edge of the Kruger Game Reserve....". Financial Times, U.K. 19/4/78.

In conclusion we state that the ANC is now more determined than ever to confront and intensify the struggle for liberation, in the process unifying all groups and organisations which are genuinely engaged in the struggle inside the country. Given the increased support from the OAU and other progressive forces, we are certain to rid of the last bastion of fascism and racism on the continent.

THANK YOU.

STATEMENT BY ANC OF SOUTH AFRICA ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS RECOGNISED BY THE OAU DELIVERED BY T.T. NKOBI TREASURER GENERAL TO THE 31ST MEETING OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, DAR ES SALAAM, 19 - 23 JUNE 1978.

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies and Comrades in arms,

On behalf of the Liberation Movements of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa, leading their respective struggling and oppressed masses against fascism and colonial domination in the sub-continent, we take this opportunity to thank the Prime Minister for his brilliant opening speech to this august meeting of the Liberation Committee. We have no doubt that your speech will lay the basis for serious discussion which will culminate in concrete decisions in furtherance of the political armed struggle which are currently being waged in Africa and in Southern Africa in particular.

Once again the eyes of the world are cast on Southern Africa. The destruction of the criminal regimes of Vorster and Ian Smith is once again being discussed throughout the world. It remains the cardinal issue in the world wide struggle against racism, colonialism and fascism. It remains central in the work and the survival of the OAU, African Unity and sovereignty.

Significantly this meeting takes place on the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Organisation of African Unity and during the United Nations' Year against Apartheid. This moment indicates to us the extent to which the peoples of Africa and the world of progressive mankind have committed themselves to the eradication of imperialist oppression with its inhuman policies of colonialism, national oppression and the brutal exploitation of the whole population of the world.

In the 15 years since the foundation of the O.A.U. the peoples of Africa have scored great victories against the dark forces of colonialism, racism and imperialism. A living example of this is the glorious victory of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau and other peoples against Portugal.

In Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, the struggle for liberation has reached new heights. The level of confrontation between the oppressed and their oppressors is at its sharpest in a decade which has made the imperialist powers evolve a new look into a so-called peaceful settlement in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

We would all like to get our freedom peacefully, but with the stubbornness of the imperialists whose objectives are to maintain their stronghold in Southern Africa, they are now creating and prompting reactionary internal forces in Zimbabwe and Namibia and South Africa.

The new situation, Mr. Chairman, that obtains in Southern Africa is therefore characterised by the emergence of conditions that not only favour the passage of the initiative into our hands, but demand also that the National Liberation Movements and all our oppressed peoples should seize the initiative for the seizure of political power.

World imperialism, led by the USA together with its Southern African outpost, which is the bastion of reaction and the citadel of the imperialist sanctuary, studied and prepared for this situation with great care. They have decided that unless they recapture the initiative, white minority domination faces immediate doom. On this basis the enemy has already taken action to enable him to maintain the sole right and power to determine the content, direction and pace of change in Southern Africa. On this score it is no accident that the five Western Powers are busy negotiating peaceful settlement with South Africa, urging SWAPO to accept the package deal. SWAPO is willing to discuss peace provided the integrity of Namibia is maintained,

including Walvis Bay.

In Zimbabwe the Patriotic Front is compelled, while carrying on the armed struggle, to participate in the negotiations spelt out in the Anglo-American peaceful settlement scheme. We have no doubt that the patriots in Zimbabwe will only accept genuine independence in their country. In South Africa the imperialists have also got a plan of peaceful settlement which is the balkanisation of our country into Bantustans.

The imperialists, sensing the growing menace to themselves by the growth of revolutionary pressure of the armed struggle throughout Southern Africa, embarks on a series of desperate manoeuvres to achieve "settlement" which would effectively perpetuate foreign and minority domination in new guises. This solution is not accepted by the revolutionary movement in South Africa. This explains the Kissinger initiatives, the speeding up by the Vorster regime of their programme, the apparent encouragement of Black Business enterprise and willingness to concede minor reforms.

The speed of advance of the African Revolution is threatened by these counter-revolutionary manoeuvres. The gains of that revolution as represented by the reality of independent Africa are also threatened by compromise.

The National Liberation Movements strongly condemn the cowardly assassination attempt on Comrade Antonio Cubillo, the Secretary General of the MPAIC. In condemning this desperate act by the Spanish colonial forces in the face of the intensification of liberation struggle in this region whose strategic importance to the Apartheid regime and international imperialism is well known, we urge the progressive mankind to increase its assistance to the MPAIC. The struggle MPAIC is waging is inextricably linked to that raging in Southern Africa.

This situation demands of all of us that we look at the whole of Southern Africa as one sphere of confrontation between the revolutionary forces on the one hand and the imperialists and internal reaction on the other hand. It calls upon the Liberation Movements and the O.A.U. to redouble their efforts to hasten the destruction of the Vorster and Smith regimes and thus deconstruct the imperialist stronghold in Southern Africa.

IMPORTANT "RADIO FREEDOM" SCRIPT RECENTLY BEAMED TO THE BLACK SOLDIERS OF SOUTH AFRICA:

THE VORSTER REGIME IS FORMING BLACK UNITS of the South African army. It has even been reported that they have already been sent into what the racists call "the operational zone". The Boers have always opposed the arming of Africans. During the last world war, when the anti fascist forces of the world called for the arming of Africans to oppose the racialist Hitler regime, the South African Government refused to do this, but used African soldiers only as labourers, as ditch-diggers and transport drivers. Why, then this change of policy now? Why do they use the threat of unemployment which hangs over the head of every African man, to recruit you into an army, which fights against your own people?

The truth is that the white soldiers are suffering heavy casualties in the so-called "operational zone", because they are under attack from freedom fighters everywhere. South African white troops are engaged in Zimbabwe, in Namibia, and they even invade the independent African states of Angola, Zambia and Mozambique, where our brothers and sisters have gained freedom from apartheid and oppression.

The South African army is the enemy of the people everywhere. They are not only used against freedom fighters, but they are also used in the guise of policemen to shoot down our innocent children in the streets of Soweto, Gugulethu and many other places.

Now some whites are getting tired of doing this dirty work. Many are leaving the country rather than serve in the army. Many have been killed and injured by the heroic freedom fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed force of the African National Congress. Many have been destroyed by our comrades from SWAPO and the forces of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe.

So they need Blacks to replace them. They want Black soldiers to do their dirty work for them, to suppress their own people in the border areas, to help hold down our people in South Africa, and to help in the shooting down of our children. Brothers in the Army! Remember that you are being used by your own enemies.

Remember that you are being called on to help maintain the pass laws.

Remember .../R

Remember that the S.A. army is there to uphold all the laws of S.A. which make you a slave and a third-class being! Remember that the that the S.A. army is there to enforce the laws which turn into foreigners in your own country.

Remember that his army protects the apartheid system which keeps wives apart from husbands and children apart from their mothers!

Remember that the S.A. army upholds the system of low wages and high rents, unemployment and homelessness!

Remember that the S.A. army is there to help perpetuate forever the system which has deprived you of your land, your political rights and your manhood.

Do not be a traitor to your own people, for we shall seek out the traitors when the time comes to deal with them.

Remember that in history only names of freedom fighters live forever, whilst the names of traitors stink in the nostrils of every decent man and woman.

If you have already joined the oppressor's army, (maybe because you are out of work and you have to feed your own family) then think carefully how you can best serve your own people.

If they give you arms, then learn well how to use them; but refuse to shoot your brothers and sisters!

At the first opportunity take your arms and the training you have had to nearest freedom fighters!

Seek the advice of the old experienced members of the African National Congress. But do it carefully; you must outwit the Special Branch. Do not allow yourself to be caught!

But when the time comes and the moment is ripe, then turn your guns not on your own people, but on the enemies of the people, on the Vorsters and the Bothas, on the Apartheid Government.

Join the secret forces of Umkhonot we Sizwe, who are fighting for the liberation of South Africa!

FOR FULL POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR ALL!

For the wealth and the land to belong to all the people!

For an end to all slave laws and to all discrimination on the basis of colour!

FOR A FREE AND BETTER SOCIETY FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS.

AMANDLA!