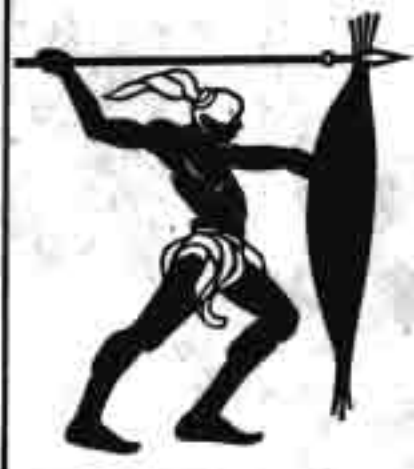


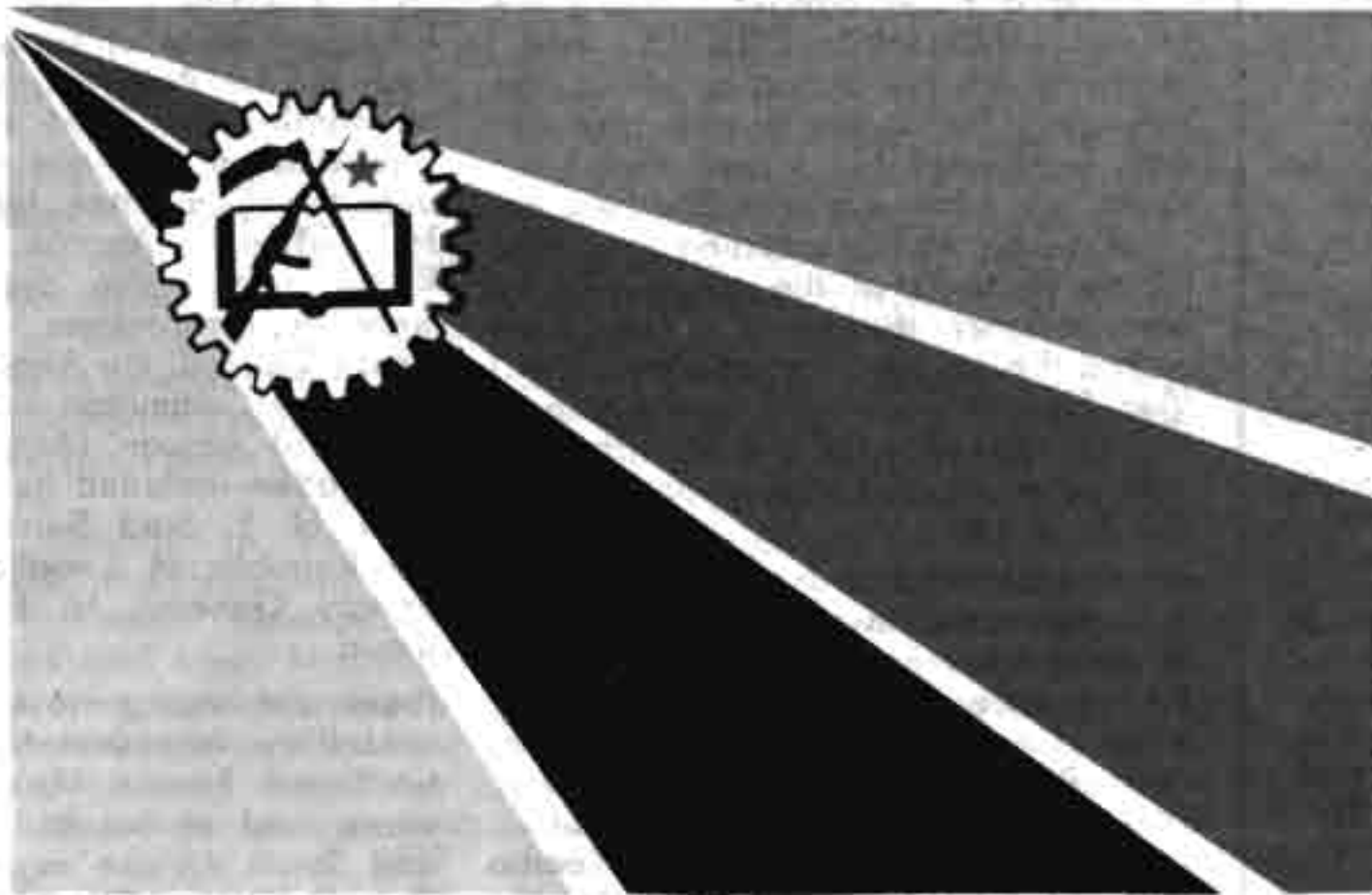
Vol 9  
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# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



The new  
Republic of  
Mozambique



# SECHABA

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"I welcome my friend,  
my comrade, my brother-in-arms,  
Oliver Tambo,  
President of the  
African National Congress  
of South Africa."

With these words, Comrade President Samora Moises Machel of Mozambique introduced Comrade Tambo to the fifteen hundred foreign and local guests gathered at a State Dinner to celebrate the establishment of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Spontaneously the entire gathering broke into prolonged and enthusiastic applause. They were joined by scores of members of the Frelimo armed forces and Mozambican militia who were on duty at the reception.

This enthusiasm for our President and our organisation - the African National Congress - was not confined to this one event. For instance, when Comrade Tambo arrived at Lourenco Marques airport from Lusaka to attend the independence celebrations, he was met by a crowd, mostly women, carrying a huge banner bearing the legend: FRELIMO EQUALS ANCI. When he left the airport buildings, the thronging thousands outside the airport, who until his arrival had been quiet, broke loose and mobbed the car in which he was proceeding to a villa in the outskirts of the city where he was to stay during his visit. They rocked the car and roared: Viva ANCI Viva Frelimo! over and over again to the consternation of the security men who were charged with accompanying the President.

A similar demonstration of solidarity was expressed by the thousands of Mozambicans gathered outside the former Lourenco Marques' City Hall, when, Comrade Joachim Chisano, interim Prime Minister, and at present, Foreign Minister of the new Republic, introduced Comrade Oliver Tambo from the balcony of the hall after the

investiture of Comrade Samora Machel as President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The strong and committed solidarity between Frelimo, the government and peoples of Mozambique and the African National Congress and the struggling peoples of South Africa were expressed in many other ways, too numerous to mention here.

The official guest list was dominated by representatives of African, Asian and Socialist States. Liberation movements represented at the celebrations included, SWAPO, the ANC of Zimbabwe, the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Comrade Augustino Neto, President of the MPLA of Angola, was an honoured guest.

Representatives of support movements such as the Anti-Apartheid Movement of Britain, the AAM of Ireland, the International Defence and Aid Fund and the Committee for Freedom for Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, were also present. So also were representatives of the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Committee and the Organisation of African Unity, whose large delegation included its outgoing President, H. E. Siad Barre, President of the Republic of Somalia and the Secretary General, H. E. Etaki Mboumou.

Prominent among those not invited included the representatives of the United States, France, Malawi, West Germany, and of course, the Rhodesian and South African regimes. Black US Congressmen, Charles Diggs and



# FRELIMO = ANC!



Part of the crowd in Lourenco Marques that welcomed a delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa to the Mozambique independence celebrations.

Cardiss Collins were invited as individuals.

Only seven Western countries were invited – Portugal, Sweden, Britain, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Holland.

## Junkyard

Most city streets, named after Portuguese "heroes" or "important dates" in Portuguese history, will have their names changed soon. Already missing from the capital's broad, flag-festooned boulevards are dozens of statues erected in colonial days to honour such Portuguese colonisers of old as Lourenco Marques and Vasco da Gama, who brought the first Portuguese presence to Mozambique in 1498. Only the pedestals remain in place, while the stately stone and iron images of Lourenco Marques, who founded the city in 1545, Vasco da Gama and others stand in disarray in a junkyard.

Each Province held its own celebrations – meetings, demonstrations, youth festivals, sporting events, athletic displays, cultural activities etc.

The highlight of the celebrations was a meeting held in Lourenco Marques, the capital, to proclaim independence and inaugurate the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Machava, a suburb in Lourenco Marques, where the infamous Machava Prison, in which hundreds of Frelimo militants and other Mozambican democrats were tortured, murdered and imprisoned under the most barbarous conditions by the Portuguese colonialists is located, also has a stadium.

The Machava Stadium, which the colonialists used for bull fights, has seated

accommodation for 80,000 people. Long before midnight on June 24, despite insistent rain, the stadium was packed to capacity. Only those which special invitation cards were allowed admittance. Thousands without such cards were turned away disappointed. Those invited, apart from the international guests, were representatives of workers from the different factories and plantations, miners and railwaymen, intellectuals and civil servants, Students and Women, the Mozambican army and militia . . . Representatives from every walk of Mozambican life.

## Viva Samora

It was not a celebration by the elite . . . it was a celebration by the people . . . all the people!

As the Presidential convoy, flanked by militia outriders, entered the stadium, the entire crowd rose in unison, burst into applause and yelled: **Viva Samora! Viva Frelimo! A Lutta Continual** (The Struggle Continues!) **Unidade! Trabalho! Vigilancia!** (Unity! Work! Vigilance!)

Once Comrade Samora completed greeting his distinguished governmental guests on the canopied platform, which incidentally included Comrades Neto and Tambo, three Frelimo soldiers, led by their Commander – in – Chief, Comrade Alberto Chipande, marched to the flagmast in front of the platform where the Portuguese flag was flying. Simultaneously, two Portuguese marines and a Portuguese sailor marched to the mast from the right of the platform.

The moving and colourful ceremony began with the lowering of the Portu-

guese flag by one of the Portuguese marines. As the flag reached the ground the two marines folded it and placed it in a silver tray carried by a Portuguese sailor and all three of them marched away.

The time was 0.22 hours, the date June 25, 1975. An era of Portuguese colonialism had ended in Mozambique. Five hundred years of colonial domination had come to a final, irrevocable end.

As the Black, Green, Gold, White and Red Frelimo flag (the colours denoting the people, the land, the wealth, peace and the blood of the martyrs respectively) was raised, the emotion-packed audience – many openly weeping – rose and sang the Republic's new national anthem.

Throughout the ceremony President Samora Moises Machel stood at attention with his hand raised in salute to the birth of the new State – the People's Republic of Mozambique.

In the following pages we report the three main speeches delivered by the President and the speech by Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, the Vice-President of Frelimo at the investiture of Comrade Samora as president of the Republic.

In doing so we join Comrade President Samora Machel in saying:

A Lutta Continual  
The Struggle continues!  
Unidade! Trabalho! Vigilancia!  
Unity! Work! Vigilance!  
Long Live Frelimo!  
Long Live the Solidarity and Friendship of the Frelimo and the ANCI  
Long Live the Unity and Brotherhood of the fighting peoples' of Mozambique and South Africa!

**Mozambique...**

# A LUTTA CONTINUA! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

The Portuguese flag comes down . . .



. . . and the flag of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique goes up







Samora salutes the birth of the new Republic. On his left is Frelimo Vice-President Marcelino dos Santos and on his right H. E. Siad Barre - President of Somalia and Chairman of the OAU

"Mozambicans . . .

Workers and peasants, workers in the plantations, in the saw-mills and in the concessions; workers in the mines, in the railways, in the harbours and in the factories; intellectuals, civil servants, students, Mozambican soldiers in the Portuguese army, men and women, young people, compatriots:

In the name of all of you

FRELIMO today solemnly proclaims the general armed insurrection of the Mozambican people against Portuguese colonialism, for the conquest of Mozambique's total and complete Independence.

Our struggle will not cease until the complete liquidation of Portuguese colonialism.

Let us unite from the Rovuma to the Maputo.

Long live Independent Mozambique!

Long live FRELIMO

Long live united Africa!"

It was with these words that almost eleven years ago, on 25th September 1964, the Central Committee of FRELIMO issued the historic declaration for the launching of the general armed insurrection against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

This declaration met with a deep response from among the broad masses who, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, were equally subjected to the savage rule of the occupier; to the greediness of his exploitation; the infamy of his continuing humiliation. The Mozambican found himself deprived of his national personality, his civilization and culture completely denied and despised, his habits and customs ridi-

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### **Comrade Samora Machel's speech on the proclamation of independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique**

---

culed, transformed into an enslaved foreigner in his own country.

The brutality of repression and the terror it aroused, the cultural obscurantism systematically and deliberately aimed at uprooting people from their environment, the cold blooded spreading of alcoholism and other vices, prostitution, the establishment of racism with its inherent complexes, the programmed division of the people on the basis of religion, and ethnic and regional origin, the systematisation of passive and submissive behaviours towards colonialism, with the active support of the churches, were some of the various methods used by foreign domination to stifle the creative ability of the masses, and keep them divided and impotent.

However, if colonialism succeeded in its purpose of conquest and domination, it did not manage to dominate the spirit of the masses and destroy their desire for freedom. The more blind the repression the more hatred was aroused against the barbarian aggressors. The greater the oppression and humiliation, the stronger became the desire for freedom. The more brutal the exploitation and plunder, the more powerful grew the desire for revolution.

### **Glorious Feats**

Throughout the whole historical process of the war of conquest, the Mozambican people everywhere continually rose heroically against colonial greed. From the resistance of Monomotapa to the insurrection of Barue, Mozambican history can pride itself on the glorious feats of the masses in their struggle to defend freedom and independence. The historic resistance of the People was defeated exclusively by the treachery of the feudal ruling classes, their greed and ambition, which enabled the enemy to divide the people and thus subjugate them. Even after colonial domination was entrenched throughout the territory, opposition to foreign domination persisted and was even intensified: There were successive revolts against the colonial Administration, an increasing exodus of workers abroad, and protest movements were organized in the urban areas.

The transformation of colonialism to colonial-fascism did not succeed in stifling the determination of the people. Throughout the country, mothers educated their children in the traditions of national resistance.

The liquidation of nazism, the creation of the socialist camp, the victory of China, the defeat of the colonial armies in Indochina, the Algerian uprising, and the emancipation of the African and Asian peoples, all stimulated national resistance.

Though still disorganised, there were popular uprisings like those in Xinavane and Mueda. The bloodshed of the workers who were imprisoned, deported, murdered and massacred served



for to increase national consciousness.

It was in this context that on 25 June 1963 Mozambican patriots, under the leadership of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, launched a new and victorious phase of national resistance: the creation of FRELIMO, which made possible the Mozambican people's organised and united struggle.

The creation of FRELIMO provided the decisive and fundamental weapon of unity for the Mozambican people's fight. FRELIMO, rooting itself in the purest traditions of the age-old struggle of the Mozambican working masses, assuming the true interests of the broad exploited, oppressed and humiliated stratas, was able to clearly define the aims and methods of the fight for liberation.

In two years, under the watchword of unity and struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, FRELIMO created the necessary conditions for the liberation struggle to go over to the phase of general armed insurrection, thus cementing and making operative the unity achieved.

It was under the leadership of FRELIMO and integrated in the ranks of FRELIMO that the Mozambican people redeemed the blood spilled over gene-

rations, regained command of their own history, made useful the sacrifice of their own lives, destroyed the enemy's vital forces, fully affirmed their African revolutionary personality, and imposed defeat on the colonial-fascist regime.

It was under the leadership of President Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, whose glorious and unforgettable memory we venerate, that the Mozambican people consolidated their real unity, structured their organisation and, having exhausted peaceful means, launched the armed struggle for national liberation.

It was under the direction of FRELIMO, guided by the political line clear in the formulation of objectives and in the definition of the enemy, that the Mozambican people defeated the Portuguese colonial army.

### **The Republic is Born**

**Mozambicans,  
Workers, peasants, and fighters,  
Mozambican people,**

**In the name of all of you, at 00 hours today, 25th June 1975 the Central Committee of FRELIMO solemnly proclaims the total and complete Independence of Mozambique, and the creation of the People's Republic of Mozambique.**

The newly-born Republic is the concretization of the aspirations of all Mozambicans, the extension to the whole country of the freedom already won during the liberation armed struggle in some areas of our country, the product of the sacrifices of nationalist fighters, the whole Mozambican People; the concretization of our victory.

Our People's Republic is born from the blood of the people. Its consolidation and development is a debt of honour for every patriotic and revolutionary Mozambican.

The sovereign and independent People's Republic of Mozambique is a People's Democratic State, in which all patriotic strata under the leadership of the alliance of peasants and workers are engaging themselves in the struggle to destroy the remaining vestiges of colonialism and imperialist dependence; to eliminate the system of exploitation of man by man, and build the new material, ideological, political, cultural, social and administrative base of the new society.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, a State of the Mozambican working people will be guided by FRELIMO, an instrument for the organisation and the mobilization of the Mozambican People in the struggle for national

**Jubilant crowds greet the new Republic**





liberation, which shall continue to guide them in the new phase of the struggle for the building of the people's democratic State, for rebuilding the Nation, for liquidating the exploitation of man by man.

At all levels the primacy of Party decisions and structures over those of the Government will be affirmed.

The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique under the leadership of FRELIMO, educated and tempered in the liberation and class struggle, is a vanguard sector of our People. This armed wing, is a force for the mobilization of the broad masses, an instrument for national reconstruction, and fundamentally a conscious revolutionary force for the defence of the interests of the working masses.

In the process of the material building of the new society, with agriculture as its base and industry as the propelling factor, relying upon its own forces and supported by its natural allies, the People's Republic of Mozambique will build a prosperous and independent advanced economy, ensuring the control over its natural resources for the benefit of masses and progressively applying the just principle of: to each one according to his work and from everyone according to his ability.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will have political and administrative structures designed to apply the principle of the People's Democratic Power, in which democratically appointed representatives of the working masses will exercise power at all levels.

## Education

The objective of the People's Republic of Mozambique is the cultural well-being of all citizens, to achieve which it will promote the spread of education at all levels through democratization guided by the State: The wiping out of elitism and discrimination in education based on wealth, and the formation of a new popular and revolutionary mentality in the new generation.

## Youth

The youth, the lifeblood of the Nation, will be protected and priority will be given to their education, which will be always closely linked with the life and the interests of the masses.

The State will promote knowledge and revitalization of Mozambican culture and will spread it nationally and internationally, as a part of the consoli-



The late Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane

dation of national unity and as an essential part of the Mozambican personality.

## Health

The wiping out of disease, one of the features of colonialism and underdevelopment, will be a major concern. The People's Republic of Mozambique will extend the network of health services throughout the country, particularly into the rural areas, with the aim of benefitting the working masses.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will protect the family, encouraging its development through the protection of mothers and children.

## Women

The People's Republic of Mozambique, by following FRELIMO's political line, will be engaged in the struggle for the emancipation of women, for the total liberation from the several forms of traditional and capitalist oppression, so that they may recover their role as citizens enjoying full rights in our society, and so giving them political, civic and social freedom.

The People's Republic of Mozambique regards special protection of war widows and orphans, as well as people deprived by war, as an absolute duty of all Mozambicans. They are symbols of the sacrifices offered by millions of Mozambicans during the period of colonial domination and of the struggle for national liberation.

## Religion

The People's Republic of Mozambique will be a secular State in which there will be complete separation between the State and any church or religion. The State will guarantee full freedom of conscience and the right of every citizen to practice a religion or not.

Born of the liberation struggle for national independence, the People's Republic of Mozambique is in fundamental solidarity with national liberation movements, and the militant internationalism is a basic concept of its national and international policies.

The People's Republic of Mozambique regards itself as an integral part of mankind, oppressed peoples and classes fighting to change the world and to establish a new and just social order.

The People's Republic of Mozambique has as its natural allies the socialist countries, which constitute a liberated area of mankind, the young States, in particular African countries committed with the national liberation movement in one of the main fronts of anti-imperialist struggle, the democratic and progressive forces, the working masses of all mankind.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, born of a long, hard and difficult struggle, learned and appreciates the value of peace. It will therefore undertake, with no hesitations, a policy aimed at establishing a genuine peace based on justice, and here and now declares itself to be in favour of general and complete world disarmament. Because of the particular responsibility due to its geographic position, the People's Republic of Mozambique affirms its concern that the Indian Ocean should be made into a zone of peace.

Mozambicans, women and men.

This is the first State in which power belongs to us, this is our own country born out of plunder, ruins, sacrifices, and bloodshed.

We salute our Flag, symbol of our victory, and we salute its honourable insignias of study, work, and struggle.

United under the leadership of FRELIMO from the Rovuma to the Maputo, dedicated to the liberating work that is the basis for all things, with the banner of vigilance raised high, let us build, consolidate and develop our State, and our Power, and our Victory.

**LONG LIVE FRELIMO!  
LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC  
OF MOZAMBIQUE!  
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!**



From the left, T. E. Rashidi Kawawa – Prime Minister of Tanzania, Vasco Goncalves – Prime Minister of Portugal, M. dos Santos – Minister of Development and Economic Planning, President Samora, Siad Barre and Alberto Chissano – Minister for Foreign Affairs

**Comrade  
Samora  
Machel...**

**SERVANT OF  
THE PEOPLE**



**Speech by Comrade  
Marcelino dos Santos,  
Vice President  
of FRELIMO  
at the investiture  
of Comrade Samora  
as President of the  
People's Republic  
of Mozambique**

In May 1970, the Central Committee of FRELIMO decided to elect Comrade Samora Moises Machel President of the Mozambique Liberation Front.

A few days ago, the Central Committee Meeting entrusted Comrade Samora Moises Machel with a new task: that of President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

On both occasions, although they were under different circumstances, the Central Committee's decision was motivated by identical objectives and reasons.

Now as then, the essential thing is to ensure the triumph of FRELIMO's correct political line. Now as then, it is a matter of eliminating the reactionary forces and imperialism, and imposing the interests of the working masses. Now as then, it is essential that the Mozambican people continue to fulfil their internationalist duty.

Comrade Samora Moises Machel is a militant who has been forged and seasoned in the hard process of the people's liberation war, formed in political and armed combat and in class struggle.

Comrade Samora Moises Machel is a veteran of FRELIMO and a veteran of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique who, in every crisis,

every difficulty, every difficult moment; always defended and made his own, the interests of the majority; the interests of the revolution, the cause of the working people – the workers and peasants.

As a militant, as the founder of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, as a member of the Central Committee and as a top leader, Comrade Samora Moises Machel demonstrated in practice that he is, in the real sense of the word, a servant of the people who is prepared to sacrifice himself for the majority. We know his ability to plan and lead and his complete identification with the masses.

The Central Committee's decision, which was joyfully supported by the broad working masses, is a just decision which corresponds to the present requirements and tasks of the Mozambique Revolution.

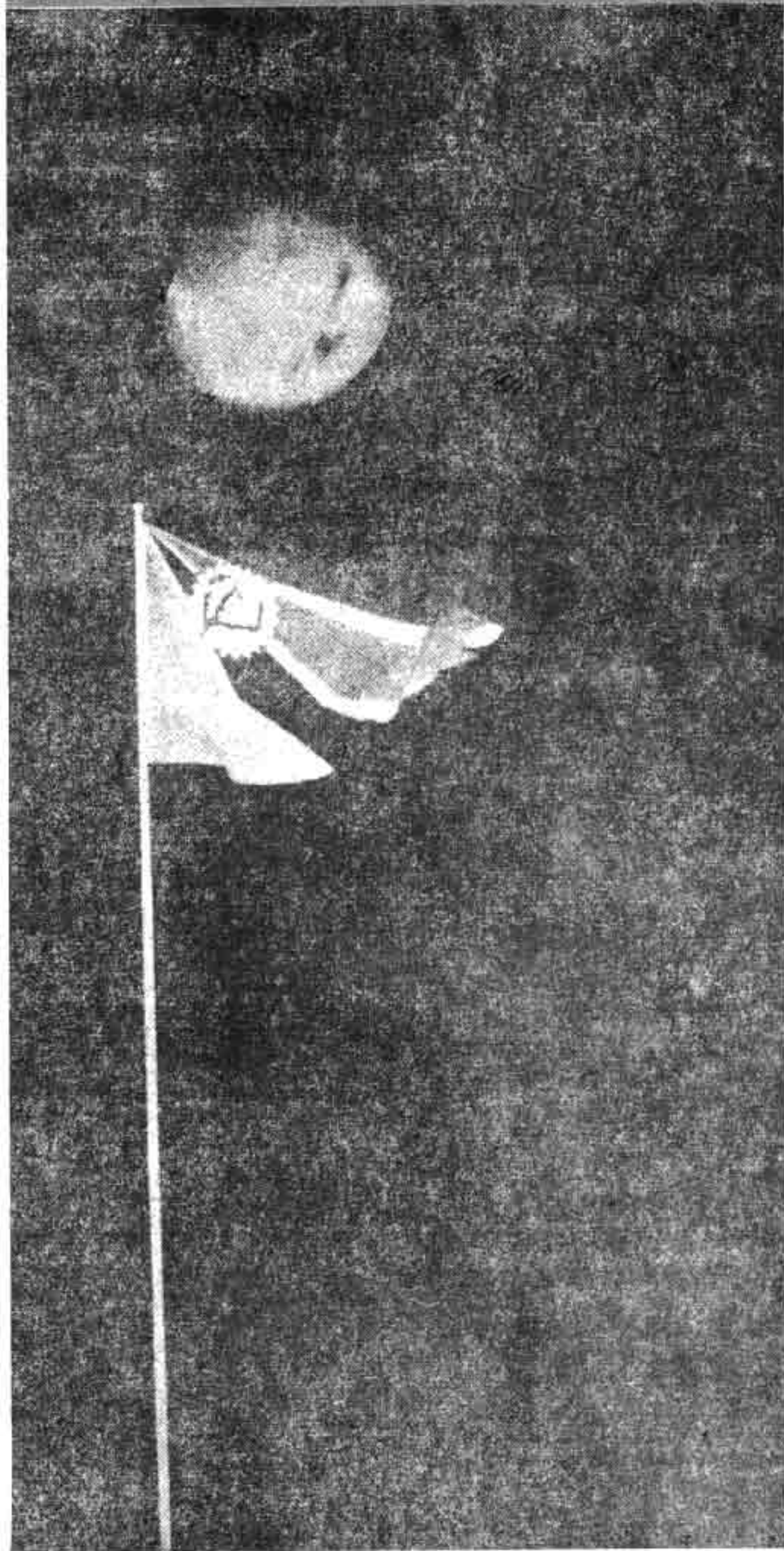
It is within this context that, on behalf of the FRELIMO militants, the workers and peasants, the entire Mozambican people united from the Rovuma to the Maputo, the Central Committee of FRELIMO invests Comrade Samora Moises Machel, President of FRELIMO, with the functions of President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Part of the crowd  
outside the old City Hall  
where Comrade Samora  
was invested  
President of the Republic





The time — 0:22 hours; the date — June 25, 1975;  
the place — Machava Stadium, Lourenco Marques.  
The Flag of the new Republic proudly flutters



From the Rovuma  
to the Maputo ...

# The People March For- ward

Comrade Samira Maibeli's  
speech in accepting  
his installation as President  
of the People's Republic  
of Mozambique

**Mozambican women,  
Mozambican men,  
Workers, peasants and fighters,  
Compatriots,**

At 00 hours today the People's Republic of Mozambique was born, a State born of our people's struggle for freedom and independence, which spanned many centuries, a State in which the power of the alliance of working people is being established in our country for the first time.

The profound historical significance of this moment in the life of our people cannot escape any Mozambican, nor any citizen of any other country, whether free or still oppressed, and neither can the international dimension of this fact in relation to the community of nations, of which we are now





President Samora's triumphant entry into Lourenco Marques with Comrades dos Santos and Chissano

becoming a full and integral part. But it is not so much about the present we are living through, although exalting, which can be seen in our faces, houses and streets, and which exists even more profoundly in our consciousness, it is not so much about the present happiness, enthusiasm and euphoria that we are going to speak. We wish, above all, to recall the past, so as to foresee and plan the future better.

We wish first and foremost to recall the memory of our heroes – those who fell in the struggle against the foreign invaders, those who perished in the slaughter-houses of Portuguese colonialism, through deportation, the slave trade and forced labour, those who were condemned by colonial-fascism to slow death, family disintegration,

spiritual disintegration and depersonalisation.

We wish to honour the memory of all the glorious fighters who have fallen in the course of the armed struggle for national liberation and, before all else to remind everyone, we cite the imperishable memory of the First President and founder of FRELIMO, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. Their blood laid the foundations for the new Mozambican nation which asserted itself in the course of those ten years in our zones of struggle and clandestine work, which already took on material form in our liberated areas and which, before it was transformed into the national reality we are celebrating today, was already alive in our consciousness.

We ask every Mozambican from the

Rovuma to the Maputo to join us in observing a minute of silence in their memory.

The People's Republic of Mozambique is being born as the fruit of the Mozambican people's unshakable will and iron determination to win back their freedom and enjoy the supreme and inalienable right of all peoples – national independence.

At this time when we are winning this independence, we must reflect on the reality which prevailed in the previous situation, under colonial domination. Why did colonialism kill? Why did it seize, deport and massacre people? Why were our mothers and wives raped, our traditions humiliated, our civilisation negated and Mozambicans arrested for the slightest show of patriotism? Why was alcoholism made



widespread and prostitution and the disintegration of the family encouraged, and why were whole families removed from their home regions and forced to abandon their ancestral lands, their cattle, houses and few possessions? Why did all this happen in many places in our country, as the unmistakable mark of the Portuguese colonialists? Could this have been a sadistic manifestation of the evil ge-

nius of a of Mozambicans were enslaved and taken to the coasts of the Americas, where the few who arrived were sold as commodities. It was in order to exploit our sweat that the colonial administrators seized us and sent us into forced labour.

It was in order to appropriate the wealth of our soil that entire regions were set aside for certain crops, such as cotton, which the people were

tality towards the foreigner. Assimilation was not merely the fascist caprice of a senile dictator, but was in fact mental enslavement to the foreigner in its purest form, a deliberate process of negating all the culture, history and traditions of our People. A man thus spiritually destroyed became a living corpse, a docile receptacle for the colonisers' way of thinking, acting and living.



Section of the crowd greeting the investiture of Comrade Samora as President of the Republic

people, the result of the bestial wickedness of a man or group of men?

### **Forced Labour**

Let us not deceive ourselves about this. Portuguese colonialism was the form that imperialist domination assumed in our country, the exploitation of a whole people and their resources by foreign capitalism, both Portuguese and from other countries. It was in order to exploit our labour power that thousands

forced to grow, dying of hunger while the big concessionary companies accumulated fabulous profits.

It was in order to plunder our sub-soil that the big multinationals were granted concessions and mining facilities which they used to drain our country of its wealth.

It was in order to keep our people subjected to its domination that colonialism tried – in some cases, particularly in the urban areas, with some success – to destroy our personality, sow division and create a slave men-

Religion, and especially the Catholic church, was a powerful factor in the cultural and human alienation of the Mozambican, to make him a docile instrument and object of exploitation, and smash any display of resistance in the name of Christian resignation.

This is the heritage we are reaping today. A heritage of poverty and social and economic backwardness which the superficial beauty of the skyscrapers and grassy hills can never hide. One need only travel the length and breadth of our country, one need only



know that the expression "from the Rovuma to the Maputo" is not a mere slogan for us, but a reality we feel in our flesh and blood, to understand that the age-old backwardness, disease, nakedness, hunger and ignorance are the bountiful fruit of the very tree that sprouted, grew and thrived together with colonialism, and which is known as exploitation. It is an evil and noxious tree which

place in it. But a recapitulation of the political process involved, albeit brief, is needed in order to understand the birth today of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the line that guides it. In Mozambican history, the fight for a revolutionary political line has been intrinsically bound up with the fight for unity. The struggle to defend and consolidate unity, the driving force of the liberation



Flowers for the President at the LM airport. In the centre is a member of the Central Committee of Frelimo

we have not as yet uprooted; it is a leech which is still sucking our blood, weakening our resistance, ability and intelligence. It is a python which is today dressing itself in the skin of the very same victim that it would have swallowed yesterday.

### **The Struggle for Liberation**

We are not going to trace here the history of the national liberation process through the events which took

struggle, demanded permanent vigilance and action to neutralise and eliminate the manoeuvres of the enemy and of national opportunist and reactionary forces. This same struggle required a constant fight to clarify and develop FRELIMO's political line, especially as regards the definition of who is the enemy and the nature, methods and objectives of the fight. The successive dividing lines that were drawn within FRELIMO and the process of cleansing our ranks which was established, revealed in practice that

the contradictions which arose reflected antagonistic interests, the contradiction between the working masses and a handful of new exploiters who wanted to take the place of the colonial bourgeoisie as an exploiting class.

By defining racism, regionalism and tribalism as enemies to be fought against, just like colonialism, the Central Committee meeting held in October 1966 deprived the opportunists of the chief instruments of their manoeuvres against the people. The





Section of a Women's Detachment at a celebration parade

same meeting put an end to the contradiction between political militants and military militants by defining the struggle as a politico-military one, thus enabling the most vanguard elements to free themselves from the control of marginal reactionary elements. The historic decision to entrust the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique with creating the Woman's Detachment, women's instrument in their historic struggle for emancipation, broadened the base of mass support for our struggle and brought new decisive forces into the revolutionary fight.

These ideological victories permitted the speedy advance of the liberation struggle, the destruction of substantial enemy forces, the expansion of the armed struggle to Tete Province, the transformation of the semi-liberated areas into areas free from the system of exploitation and the beginning of

the process of creating operational bases.

Our politico-military victories having made Portuguese colonialism more desperate and increased the isolation of the strata among us with exploitative designs, the contradictions between the masses and the exploitative system became more marked.

In a desperate attempt to stave off their inevitable defeat, the colonialist and reactionary forces joined forces and launched an offensive of manoeuvres and crimes against the correct political line outlined by Comrade Eduardo Mondlane.

The Second Congress of FRELIMO, which was held in the liberated areas of Niassa Province in June 1968, exposed and neutralised the reactionary forces and their ideas, enabling the broad masses to consolidate their unity behind FRELIMO's just and clear objectives.

### **Mondlane Murdered**

This fresh victory unleashed a wave of reactionary violence in which new national exploiters, now openly allied with the colonial-imperialist force, started a process of physical liquidation of revolutionary militants and leaders, a process which culminated in the barbarous assassination of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane on 3 February 1969.

The assassination of the leader who embodied the national and revolutionary dimension of our struggle and the actual implementation of FRELIMO's line and practice, was aimed at decapitating the Mozambican revolution and enabling representatives of the new exploiting classes, faithful servants of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, to seize power.

Assuming the heritage of Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, closely integrated with the masses of the people and re-



solutely supported by the fighters of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, the most dedicated sons of the people, the revolutionary vanguard of FRELIMO stood up against the forces of opportunism and reaction during the historic Central Committee meetings held in April 1969 and May 1970, and exposed, isolated, neutralised and eliminated the erroneous political line of the new exploiters.

This victory, which led to the cleansing of our ranks and the deepening of FRELIMO's ideology, created the conditions for transforming the armed struggle into a people's war, for going over from a liberation struggle to the higher phase of a people's democratic revolution.

The ideological transformations which took place led to a new advanced development of the liberation struggle: the strategic defeat of colonialism in the period from May to September 1970, during Operation Gordian Knot, the smashing of the blockade of the Zambezi by the expansion of the armed struggle to the south of the Zambezi in November 1970, and the opening of the Manicae Sofala front in June 1972.

It was from the time of the failure of the big Gordian Knot enemy operation that the irreversible deep-rooted and profoundly popular nature of the revolutionary process led by FRELIMO was affirmed, and it was from that time

that the disintegration of the squalid Portuguese colonialism started to be hastened at a giddy pace.

Neither the transformation of the colonial war into a colonial-imperialist war through the internationalisation of the aggression against our people nor the intensification of the plunder of our resources by the monopolies, the most criminal strategic plans like the Cabora Bassa one, could halt the progress of our struggle and its progressive expansion to the whole country.

The attempt to terrorise our people by widespread terrorism, the systematic bombing of villages, schools, hospitals, cultivated fields, the use of chemical agents and, finally, massacres like those at Wiryamu, Joao, Chowole and Inhaminga, sharpened the contradictions and strengthened the people's determination to destroy the enemy.

### **International Isolation**

At the international level, Portuguese colonial-fascism, which still had some room for manoeuvre, thanks to the active complicity of the capitalist countries, and particularly some members of NATO, started to be denounced with renewed vigour and was isolated abroad, as shown by the expulsion of Portugal from one international organisation after another.

The watchword issued by the Central Committee in December 1972, calling



for a general offensive on all fronts, hastened the collapse of the enemy. It is obvious that the general offensive was not confined simply to stepping up large-scale battles, and neither could it have been successful, even militarily, had it been reduced to this. In issuing the watchword calling for a general offensive on all fronts, the 1972 Central Committee meeting affirmed, first and foremost, the need for ideological unity. In other words, actual practice had shown that unity based on the negation of the enemy and on just the demand for independence was not enough. It was essential that unity be achieved on the basis of a clear and unequivocal definition of the principles of what we want to do, how we want to do it, and what kind of society we want to build, and above all, the principles asserted must be lived by and developed through consistent practice.

The struggle therefore spread, new fronts were opened and the ideological line gained strength in the liberated areas, establishing a clear dividing line in relation to the enemy-controlled zone. Sound foundations were laid for people's democratic power.

It was a correct line combined with correct practice which led to the destruction and defeat of Portuguese colonialism and opened up a new phase in the Mozambican people's independence process which started with the Lusaka Agreement and has just ended with the proclamation of the complete national independence of Mozambique.

The task of the Transitional Government was essentially that of consolidating the power so arduously won, especially by extending popular mobilisation and making it more far-reaching.

We congratulate the Transitional Government for the success it has achieved in its task, for the conditions it created for people's power to be really extended and consolidated in our country.

We need to be conscious of the great difficulties we shall have to face as a

Statues of Portuguese 'heroes' relegated to the junkyard







**A warm greeting from the President for his dear friend and comrade-in-arms Augustino Neto, President of MPLA**

result of the colonial situation, which the Transitional Government could obviously only partially tackle.

With the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique we are starting a new phase of our history in which we are going to put into practice everywhere in the country the political, economic, social and cultural gains won during the struggle.

To say the People's Republic is not to voice an empty and demagogic formula. To say the People's Republic means to give substance to the aspirations of millions of dominated and exploited Mozambicans for whom independence is a precondition for the end of exploitation and the establishment of a people's regime.

To say the People's Republic is to say Independence, to say the People's Republic is to say Revolution.

### **The New Battle**

The State is not an eternal and immutable structure; the State is not the bureaucratic machinery of civil servants, nor something abstract or a mere technical apparatus. The State is always the organised form through which a class takes power in order to fulfill its interests. The colonial State, an instrument of domination and exploitation by a foreign bourgeoisie and imperialism which has already been partially destroyed by the struggle, must be replaced by a people's State, forged through an alliance of workers and peasants, guided by FRELIMO and defended by the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, a State which wipes out exploitation and releases the creative initiative of the masses and the productive forces.

In the phase of people's democracy in which we are now engaged as a phase of the Mozambican revolutionary process, our aim is to lay the material, ideological, administrative and social foundations of our State.

We need to be aware that the apparatus we are now inheriting is, in its nature, composition and methods, a profoundly retrograde and reactionary structure which has to be completely revolutionised in order to put it at the service of the masses.

There are other realities we also need to be profoundly conscious of, the fact that we are winning political power but do not yet have economic power, that the administrative, educational, health, judicial and other machinery still escaped our control.

The new battle is only beginning. Against us are the exploiters and privileged, who will try to impede the revolutionary process with all the means available to them. We must not be deceived by the fact that the enemy are not now resorting to direct action. They are only weakened, not dead. Their methods will therefore become more treacherous. Right now we already have proof of this action, of infiltration, attempts to distort our line and political opportunism.

Our unity will be an essential target of enemy activity. Unity, we continue to repeat, is not just a feeling or something abstract. Vital unity is sustained by a clear concept of our objectives and a precise understanding of the tasks for each moment. Unity implies drawing an ever firmer dividing line between us and the enemy, regardless of the form he may take.

Through practice and its action, FRELIMO has asserted itself as the leading force in our society. For this very reason, the broad masses, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, have quite spontaneously fully identified with FRELIMO's principles and fight.

This popular support has tremendous potential and, properly channelled and structured, is an inexhaustible source of progress, an invincible force. At a time when the tasks of consolidating the power of the worker peasant alliance are a priority and when the new phase of national reconstruction is starting, it is essential that FRELIMO be in a position, structurally and organisationally, to carry through the giant tasks that face it.

### **Party School**

It is primarily a matter of carrying out an ideological offensive to wipe out the colonial and capitalist mentality



which is deeply rooted in the urban areas, as well as the feudal traditional mentality which is predominant in the rural areas. An ideological offensive will enable the working masses to understand their historic role, their leading role in the process of transformation which is now under way. This task must be preceded by the consistent heightening of the political and ideological level of cadres seasoned and forged in the process of the people's liberation war. It was for this very reason that the last Central Committee meeting decided to give priority to the setting up of a Party School.

The task of mobilising and organising the masses in the tough class struggle which is approaching can be entrusted only to cadres who have been put to the test of practice. One of the main bastions of the system of exploitation of man is the complex machinery we are inheriting as regards administration, the judiciary, education, health, etc. Irrespective of the goodwill and honesty of the people who make it up, this machinery was designed solely to

serve foreign domination and the system of exploitation of man. It is therefore imperative for us to create a new mentality and way of seeing things, and to instill new methods in the people who are in it. This work can be done only if authentic representatives of the working class are in a position to assume their leading role.

These factors explain the reasons, why FRELIMO must remain the leading force in State structures.

In the present battle, the people have a most valuable instrument: The People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, forged and seasoned in the tough fight against colonial-imperialist aggression, and also in the fight against both old and new exploiters. The historical circumstances experienced by our people over the past decade have made the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique a great and inexhaustible store of revolutionary cadres.

By consistently raising the political and class consciousness of the



fighters, consistently raising their educational, cultural and technical level, strengthening discipline in our ranks, reinforcing the feeling of internationalist duty and educating the new generation of fighters in the glorious revolutionary tradition of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, we shall always have a decisive force to defend our country, the revolution and the interests of the masses of the people.

Now as in the past, the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique are also a combat detachment on the

Members of the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM)







Less than 8 % of the population is literate . . . education for all is a top priority

fundamental fronts of production, study and mass mobilisation. Active participation on these fronts will enable the fighters to internalise the political dimension which will prepare them always to perform their patriotic and revolutionary duty.

### **Women in the Struggle**

The participation of women in the Peoples' Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, within the framework of the Women's Detachment, is imperative to the battle for women's emancipation, in the fight to involve women in the revolutionary process. Women's participation in work traditionally regarded as exclusively for men is a profoundly mobilising factor, a decisive factor establishing sexual equality in practice.

The Organisation of Mozambique Women (OMM) is called upon to develop its activities everywhere in the country, dealing with crying problems faced by women.

In order to fulfill its task, OMM must rely firmly and surely on the Women's Detachment, which is in practice the Mozambican women's vanguard.

The battle for women's emancipation is also an ideological battle against ideas which stem from decadent traditions and against the multiple attempts by the bourgeoisie to destroy the value of the fight for freedom. The fight is also an organisational one, a fight to establish structures among the least organised and most oppressed, humiliated and exploited women. A great number of democratic mass organisations, particularly for the youth and workers, need to come into being, after prior work by FRELIMO to organise those sectors.

At this time when we are proclaiming our independence, we must carefully avoid being carried away by emotional feelings of euphoria, especially in analysing our economic and social situation. It in no way diminishes the greatness of our struggle and of our people and country to have to acknowledge that the economic and financial situation is catastrophic, as a result of the unbridled plunder, the financial conditions imposed by colonialism and the disorganised exploitation of our potentials.

It is therefore necessary to undertake a cool-headed analysis, sector by sector of economic, social, educatio-

nal, cultural and health conditions in our country, so as to arrive at better methods of fighting. This will be the first task of our Government. Some of the problems to which priority will be given are solving the problems of unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, abandoned children, prostitution and banditry.

We must therefore draw up a national development policy, a correct policy on the use of our resources. The definition of the policy to be pursued is essential to establishing the priorities to be observed.

In establishing our development strategy, we must attach special value to what is our chief strength, the mobilisation and organisation of our people. Here too, we must seek inspiration from our own experience, in particular the liberated areas. One need only compare the success in the work of reconstruction in the liberated areas, which are now apparent to everyone, with the misery in which the people lived in the enemy concentration camps, despite the large sums spent on them. Therefore, we shall not seek solutions to our problems in miraculous palliatives coming from abroad, but we shall rely above all on our own



forces, getting down to work with determination, with a clear programme and clear objectives.

In this respect, we should emphasize the role we continue to ascribe to the liberated areas, to FRELIMO's bases and centres, as a store and source of inspiration for our revolution. It is in these areas that the population has already been living long years outside colonial society and its vices, defects and corrosive influence. It is in our centres and bases that a new and truly free generation is growing up, one which really deserves the name of continuadores (the continuers of the revolution).

Clearly, the creation of a new life in the liberated areas was not an accident or the automatic result of breaking off contact with colonial society. Far-reaching political, ideological and organisational efforts had to be made to overcome the influence of the past, the attempts of traditional form to reassert themselves and the new exploiters.

It is important to remember this experience in order to prepare for the new phase. Anyone who visits our whole country can note the big problem posed by the scattered population and the difficulty, under these circumstances, for the Government to organise social, educational and health services, in short, to improve the living conditions of these people. Hence, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the scattered population in the rural areas will be structured in revolutionary societies, in the final analysis in communal villages, where that people will have an organised life, developing production collectively, on the basis of their traditions, and promoting the exchange of knowledge.

In accordance with available means and observing the principle of self-reliance, the State will give all possible help to these communal societies, encouraging them to multiply and develop.

## Racism

In this way, it will be possible to provide the people with services which will really enable them to enjoy greater well-being, especially by raising their technical and educational level, and by supplying water, electricity, health care and cultural activities.

Organising communal societies must be a priority in our activity, for both the Party and the State. The Party must launch a big campaign to mobilise and explain, the best living and production conditions.

The fulfillment of the gigantic tasks that lie ahead of us implies achieving and consolidating unity. To be united it is not enough to state that one is united. It is necessary to wage a constant battle against all divisive situations and tendencies.

It is necessary to understand the grandeur, diversity and complexity of our country. Knowing this complexity means studying the divisiveness in our country and the ways of combatting it.

Among the various vestiges of colonialism, Mozambican society has to a very high degree one typical form of discrimination, that based on racial and social groups.

In Mozambique we see parallel societies, taking the form of clubs, set up on the basis of race or of greater or lesser pigmentation, which have no contact with one another apart from compulsory and superficial contact during their working hours. This kind of social organisation abounds with superiority and inferiority complexes, with repression and tensions. It is imperative that all these specific peculiarities give way to real unity between Mozambicans. We do not know tribes, regions, races or religious beliefs. We know only Mozambicans who are equally exploited and equally desirous of freedom and revolution.

**A priority for the new Republic - free medical services for all**



## Relations Between State and Church

We should like also to devote our attention to the problem of the relations which have traditionally existed between the church, religion and the State and to state very clearly what these relations will be in the people's Republic of Mozambique.

In the society we want to build, the State will be based on the principle that all change in society is a result of man's struggle on the fronts of class struggle, the fight for production and scientific innovation, and also the contradictions in natural phenomena. Colonialism, capitalism, the different systems of exploitation of man in our society, have always been associated with religious institutions. The colonial state transformed the faith of believers into a tool for neutralising the people's legitimate rebellion.

It is the duty of the State to guarantee freedom of conscience for its citizens which implies especially the protection of children against indoctrination within State institutions, as happened in the colonial schools which subjected children of differing religious origins to the evangelising of the Catholic church.

In order to respect freedom of conscience, the State cannot be connected with any religion or appear to have links with any of them.

It is up to the State to ensure the freely exercised right of every citizen to believe or not to believe. The mobilisation of the masses is a right and a duty won solely by FRELIMO through arduous struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The close association of religious institutions with the machinery of aggression and domination over our people certainly does not give them any right today to demand something against which they have always fought.

The Mozambican people did not struggle alone. Throughout the tough armed fight for national liberation FRELIMO established relations of friendship, solidarity and mutual help with peoples and countries sharing



the same aspirations of freedom, independence and social progress. This assertion does not stem from just feelings of gratitude although, on this day of happiness, we cannot fail to say how much the Mozambican people appreciate and esteem the fraternal and disinterested help they received from peoples, countries, organisations and individuals who made their efforts and sacrifices effective and victorious.

### **Comrades-in-Arms**

In the first lines of this combat front we find the national liberation movements, fighters in the same fight and the same trench, comrades in arms who struggled alongside us and with whom we have established fraternal and indestructible relations of solidarity. To them we wish to affirm, above all, in this liberated African land, that the People's Republic of Mozambique fully assumes the internationalist dimension of the fight for the liberation of Africa and mankind and that our common struggle continues.

Through our Comrade and tried President Mohamed Siad Barre, current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), we wish to hail all of independent Africa, our great and reliable rear base. Through his illustrious person as a revolutionary African militant, we wish to hail the political, moral, diplomatic, and material support of African countries and their consistent solidarity with our struggle.

We wish, in particular, to hail our brothers from Tanzania and Zambia who, without any hesitation or calculation of any kind, accepted all the risks involved in their position as our strategic rear, who suffered loss of life and property because they did not compromise with colonialism and made their contribution to Africa's liberation.

Because our struggle was, correctly, a part of the common anti-imperialist fight, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, took up their posts in the great world front of revolutionary forces. It is within this context of political and ideological solidarity that we see our relations with the socialist countries, a liberated area of mankind where a new society is being built free from the exploitation of man by man.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will develop and intensify its militant relations with all socialist countries, seeking to benefit from their experience, in so far as it is common patrimony of mankind in the political, ideological, organisational, economic, social and cultural spheres. In hailing the progressive forces we cannot fail to salute the Portuguese people, who were always our allies in the fight against colonial-fascism and with whom we have bonds of fraternal solidarity forged through our mutual help and reciprocal contribution in the struggle for the liberation of our two peoples.

### **Peace and Friendship**

Because our struggle never took on a racial character and because our people were always able to distinguish between the colonial-fascist regime and the Portuguese people, today we can extend a friendly hand to the Portuguese people, without complexes of any kind, so that we can build a future of friendship together, without hatred or feelings of revenge, on the basis of mutual respect and respect for the personality of each people.

Within the context of its policy of peace, friendship and solidarity with all peoples, the People's Republic of Mozambique wishes to establish healthy relations of international co-operation with all States, irrespective of their social system, on the basis of non-interference in internal affairs, absolute equality and mutual benefit. These principles, however, do not permit us to sacrifice the true interests of the people to transitory historical circumstances, as has always been the case in the past, we shall not co-exist with fascism and colonialism.

We attach great importance to developing our relations with the States of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which are also victims of imperialist plunder and aggression.

We also consider it important to develop our relations with the Scandinavian countries, Finland and Holland, which were able to understand the justness of the anti-colonial cause.

We are prepared to assume our responsibilities within the African and international community and, within this context, we shall apply for membership of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Organisation, both international organisations which have served the cause of national liberation and peace.

Mozambican women, Mozambican men . . .

We have won our independence by sheer dint of our struggle, our sacrifices and our revolutionary consciousness.

We marched, struggled and died to defend the interests of the masses of the working people.

In starting out on this new path, illuminated by the heroism of our martyrs and guided by FRELIMO's political line, we have one unshakeable certainty:

**WE SHALL MAKE REVOLUTION TRIUMPH!**

**LONG LIVE FRELIMO!**

**LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE!**

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES . . .**

Farm in a liberated area . . . The revolutionary objective is State and Collective Farms





**Profile of a  
Revolutionary ...**

# Comrade Samora Moises MACHEL



Comrade Samora Moises Machel, President of Frelimo and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, is a new type of African leader; a revolutionary steeled during a decade of armed struggle against fascist Portuguese forces.

Born in the Limpopo Valley in 1933, he may have become a priest had he not revolted against the decision of the missionaries at the Catholic school he had attended for six years to go to a seminary rather than a secondary school.

All avenues to further his studies were blocked and young Samora was forced to work and attend evening classes.

Even at this early age he was appalled at the conditions under which his people were forced to live and work. Finally, in 1963 he decided to leave the country and join the newly-formed Frelimo, led by his close friend and comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. He arrived in Dar Es Salaam via Bots-

wana on a flight chartered by the African National Congress which, among others, had the late J. B. Marks, Treasurer-General of the ANC, as a passenger. Almost immediately, he was sent with a few others to Algeria for military training and on his return he was made Camp Commander of Frelimo's first military camp.

When the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism was launched in Mozambique on September 25, 1964, he was among the first 250 combatants to enter the country under the command of Comrade Filipe Magaia.

On the death of Comrade Magaia, he was appointed commander of the Frelimo forces and at Frelimo's second Congress in 1968, he was elected to the Central Committee.

A few months after the assassination of Comrade Mondlane in 1969, he was elected President of Frelimo. He decided to remain within the country and

in the years to follow he led his forces in the combat zones, spent considerable time in the liberated areas discussing the problems of rehabilitation and defence with the people.

Both young and old; men and women; youth and children were still awe-fired by his dynamism and dedication. He is loved by all who came into contact with him, not only for his simplicity but because he constantly consulted the people. As he once said, "the people are the thermometer." This remains his theme. Before going to Lourenco Marques the capital, he toured all the provinces, meeting the people from the factories, the mills, the plantations; urging them to be vigilant and to protect the revolution; exhorting them to work with Frelimo for the eradication of capitalism in the country.

Viva Samora Machel!  
Viva Frelimo!  
A Lutta Continua!





Comrade Neto surrounded by pressmen on his arrival in LM

# WE SALUTE ALL OUR FRIENDS

Comrade Samora's speech  
at the State Banquet  
concluding the Independence  
Celebrations

Comrades, Friends, Excellencies,  
In the free country that Mozambique is, the Central Committee of Frelimo and all its militants, the entire Mozambican people have great joy and honour of solemnly receiving the representatives of the Parties, States, peoples and the forces that have been alongside us in our most difficult hours.

Born out of struggle, the People's Republic of Mozambique is now living its very first moments accompanied by its most faithful friends and allies. We are actually aware of how much many other friends who shared our sorrows and joys would enjoy being with us here, but unfortunately our organisational ability and the present reception structures throughout the country do not allow us to simultaneously receive all our comrades and friends. However, we hope that, with the development of the Republic, little by little, we shall be able to shelter everybody and express our people's brotherly feelings.

Respected Comrade and friend General Siad Barre: the Somalian October

Revolution marks one of the most important moments of the anti-imperialist march on the African continent and is one of the first steps on the way to the installation of a vast revolutionary base in Africa. The political and class fight waged by the Somalian working classes guided by their revolutionary forces is a source of inspiration and stimulus for all of us.

The victories achieved by the working people of Somalia made it possible that poor and underdeveloped Somalia became a vanguard of the movement of solidarity with our struggle. This movement of solidarity assumes a major importance as Tanzania and Zambia which have also assumed the decisive task of a strategic and reliable, rear base in the fight of the Mozambican people. Under the leadership, respectively, of TANU and UNIP, Tanzania and Zambia resisted and wiped out all provocations and aggressions of colonial fascism and imperialism and has kept very high the flame of solidarity with the Mozambican people. During the hard days, solid ideological understanding have been



created among FRELIMO, TANU and UNIP, which were forged and tempered in the process of the very same and common fight against colonialism and against capitalism.

### **African Unity**

Our unity grew up at each victory achieved by the working masses in our countries. To pay homage to comrades Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda is to express the friendship, the respect and the love that FRELIMO militants and the Mozambican people have towards their faithful fellows in arms. In the battlefield, though far from our borders, our comrades in arms of the Guinea Democratic Party and the Labour Party of Congo have been alongside us, and they were bases of support for the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau and Angola, as well as bases of support for the revolutionary fight in our continent.

Our friends and fellows from Zaire and Senegal were also side by side with us, and being neighbours of the Portuguese colonial empire they fulfilled their duty of solidarity. The entire African continent lived our struggle and felt it as their own. From the Mediterranean to the Cape, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean and Red Sea, Africa united against Portuguese colonialism, accepted sacrifices, fought to isolate the most retrograde and barbarous force that dominated our continent. African unity has been affirmed as a real unity, an invincible force.

To all our brothers who are present here, representing the member states of the Organisation of African Unity, representing the African continent, we wish to express our deep joy for having them with us in the major feast day of our people; the celebration of our victory, the common victory, the victory of Africa.

### **The Liberation Movements**

Comrades, Friends, Excellencies: The liberation struggle of the brotherly peoples of the former Portuguese colonies constituted for us a source of inspiration, a stimulus, an important factor for our victory. I welcome my brother and comrade in arms Augustino Neto of the MPLA. The struggle of Zimbabwe is our struggle. The Mozambican people under the leadership of Frelimo will resolutely support the fight of our brother people for real independence, for the end of the racist and illegal regime. As we have always done, we shall fulfill our international



**O. R. Tambo**

duty in Zimbabwe. We shall firmly stand alongside the Namibian people and shall support their struggle for the end of the illegal and foreign domination of the territory, for immediate independence of the area in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the masses, which is expressed in the people's struggle guided by SWAPO.

I welcome my friend, my comrade, my brother-in-arms, Comrade Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress of South Africa. The Mozambican people and the People's Republic of Mozambique, under the leadership of Frelimo, will always assume their duty of solidarity with the interests of the South African masses and of all mankind, whatever difficulties they may face.

The victories of the heroic and brotherly peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia demonstrated once again the invincibility of a peoples' liberation war. Having annihilated the most cruel and barbarous aggression; having for many years neutralized the biggest imperialist power, the Indo-Chinese peoples made a decisive contribution for the cause of the world anti-imperialist struggle.

We wish to salute the representatives of the Arab peoples and to reaffirm our total support for their just struggle for recovering the occupied territories and for Palestine's national rights.

### **The Portuguese People**

Comrades and Friends, Excellencies: The Socialist countries stood alongside us from the very beginning of our struggle. We may also say that the victory of Mozambique is a victory of the exemplary internationalism of the Socialist countries. Having destroyed in their countries the system of exploitation of man by man, they form the liberated area of mankind; they support all just struggles. Therefore, we salute with joy the presence of our natural allies. We also salute the Portuguese presence with emotion, especially the presence of those who participated in the anti-fascist struggle, in the trenches of the patriotic, clandestine class struggle, in the midst of torture and camps of death. We are grateful for their constant fight against tyranny, side by side with us. We have thus erected an unbreakable friendship and the alliance between our peoples, and today they build freedom in Portugal.

Having said this, we wish to particularly mention the Portuguese Communist Party, a revolutionary organisation of the Portuguese people, which is represented here by its Secretary General, Comrade Alvaro Cunhal.

We are also thinking of our Portuguese socialist friends that are represented here by their Secretary General, Comrade Mario Soares.

May I also greet our friend the Vice-Admiral Vitor Crespo who was able to represent before us the real feelings and interests of the Portuguese working masses. He has made a major contribution for the strengthening of the bonds between our peoples.

We also salute the representatives of the progressive and democratic forces and the movements of solidarity created by them in the tough front in the western countries, where they organised broad movements of support for our cause. We used to call them capitalist countries; however, today we change the word, we now call them western countries . . .

We salute the representatives of the United Nations and of the mass organisations, who are actually the spokesmen and the fighters of just causes. We salute all the friends of Frelimo and of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and we propose a toast in their honour, a toast to our common victory.

### **The Struggle Continues!**



# TO POINT A MORAL TO A COMRADE

Marcelino dos Santos

## FIRST PAMPHLET

It isn't that things are easy,  
nor is it being easy  
that's essential.

The sunflower circles with the light  
and that isn't easy but is beautiful.

It is time to understand  
that macala and malapa\*  
grow on strong trees  
in firm ground  
and not in mud.

To go on studying or not to  
is neither your nor my problem  
it's ours.\*\*

A hospital for the people,  
a school for the people,  
it's not true

in our land it's not possible  
without digging the soil of Revolution

To expect rice  
without sowing it  
is not the history of man.

The second step  
comes after the first  
we live today  
not yesterday nor tomorrow  
and the mission of us all

is

REALISE THE PROGRAMME OF FRELIMO  
COMPLETE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE  
AN END OF EXPLOITATION MAN BY MAN

Today's task,  
comrade,

is, dig the basic soil of Revolution  
and make a strong people grow  
with a submachine gun, a bazooka, a 12.7  
in Muidumbe, in Catur  
and to the south again  
in Nampula, Macequece and Inhambane

And a strong people,  
comrade,

will move mountains

create hospitals  
create schools.

As the first young shoots proclaimed  
in Cabo Delgado and Niassa Province

\* these are both types of fruit.

\*\* This is a reference to a long controversy between FRELIMO militants and some students who were more anxious to continue their studies than to go into the liberated areas and use their education in the struggle.

We are FRELIMO soldiers  
accomplishing our task  
digging the basic soil of Revolution.

## SECOND PAMPHLET

What matters is not what I want  
or YOU want

but what WE want

Revolution is like that  
is has its laws

and a secret as well

The laws of Revolution  
are the laws of men united

Each of us  
has a wish  
strong with dream and desire

To be a doctor, pilot or mechanic  
a carpenter, engineer  
or even a political leader

and serve

the people

TOMORROW

as best he can and will

AND TODAY  
COMRADES  
HOW TO SERVE THE PEOPLE TODAY

Each of us  
has a private wish  
but what WE want  
is not what I want or you want  
but what WE want

The dove beats her wings and flies

The chirica sings

True,

But air and space are free  
comrades.

In colonial Mozambique  
No hospital is for the people  
No school is for the people  
No air and space are enclosed.

Today

we must cultivate  
the shamba of the Revolution,  
a hard future  
of sweat, of toil, of blood

with moments of discouragement,  
of despair

but always reviving enthusiasm,  
sidetracked often

but always returning to the road

TODAY

we must cultivate the  
shamba of the Revolution,  
a hard future in the bush

wearing out our hands and eyes  
in the great sustained effort

stumbling, falling  
and getting up again

learning, and forming ourselves  
from man's experience  
of griefs and victories

and gathering the first fruits  
hard and dry still

BUT ALREADY FRUITS, COMRADES

Revolution has its laws,  
the laws of men united  
and what matters is that we want





ALL OF US  
TODAY  
TO ACCOMPLISH OUR TASK  
TO CULTIVATE THE BASIC SOIL OF  
REVOLUTION.

### THIRD PAMPHLET

The effort we make  
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

The march goes on  
Three hours, six hours and more  
until we reach the end,  
with a break or without a break  
one water bottle between six or ten comrades  
or a whole river  
to wash off a fortnight's sweat or a month's  
which, flowing and drying  
endlessly,

encrusts our bodies and our clothes

The effort we make  
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

We are FRELIMO soldiers  
Accomplishing the party's task

Groups of men and women  
Carrying arms, ammunition,  
medicine, clothes

supplying the guerrilheiros

Groups of men and women  
growing fields  
of groundnuts, rice and maize

building a new life  
in the FRELIMO zones

The effort we make  
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

We are FRELIMO soldiers  
Accomplishing the party's task

spreading underground  
the word of command  
in the bush and in the towns

smashing the PIDE network

Bringing news of FRELIMO victories  
to zones still under domination  
by the colonialist enemy

preparing the hour of guerilla outburst

The effort we make  
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

We are FRELIMO soldiers  
Accomplishing the party's task

Learning to read and write

one comrade teaching another  
one teacher to a hundred pupils  
under a wild tree  
discovering anew the colours of the world

or learning mechanics,  
medicine, chemistry  
with a far-off friendly nation

The effort we make  
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

We are FRELIMO soldiers  
Accomplishing the party's task

An ambush, a post attacked  
With a submachine gun or mortars,  
Lorries blown up on a mine  
Enemy soldiers lost,  
fallen dying

a protected village destroyed

### THE PEOPLE FREED

Comrades reunited  
drumming the victory march  
National independence  
The end of exploitation man by man  
The effort we make  
is neither great nor small

It is

what it has to be

We are FRELIMO soldiers  
Accomplishing the party's task

### FOURTH AND LAST PAMPHLET FINALLY

The time of Revolution  
is the time of certainty  
of hopes realised

and it is for us TODAY

No one is responsible  
for being born when he was born  
neither before nor afterwards

We grow up,  
it's true,

Some before, some afterwards

Walking the earth apart  
Each with his own past

But now  
the Revolution rules our senses  
and a million voices, a million hands united  
say what matters

is not what I or you want  
BUT WHAT WE WANT  
and this is how the road is

Engraved on the mountainside  
rising and falling  
Carved into the plain  
through wild grass and dense bush  
even through maize higher than our own heads  
The effort we make  
is neither great nor small

It is what it has to be

A guerrilheiro  
cultivating the earth  
carrying ammunition  
or medicine

Building a hospital, a school  
or studying in a distant land

My place  
is there, where FRELIMO decides  
The line of battle  
is where the Revolution takes me

WE ARE FRELIMO SOLDIERS  
ACCOMPLISHING THE PARTY'S TASK  
DIGGING THE BASIC SOIL OF  
REVOLUTION  
FOR AN END OF EXPLOITATION MAN  
BY MAN  
TO BUILD COMPLETE NATIONAL  
INDEPENDENCE.





# MOZAMBIQUE CABINET

Three White Mozambicans and one woman are included in the list of ministers in the new government of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

## The full list:

Minister of State of the Presidency: Jose Oscar Monteiro

Minister of National Defence: Alberto Chipande

Minister of Interior: Armando Guebuza

Minister of Development and Economic Planning: Marcelino dos Santos

Minister of Foreign Affairs: Joaquim Alberto Chissano  
(the former interim Prime Minister)

Minister of Justice: Rui Baltazar

Minister of Information: Jorge Rebelo

Minister of Industry and Commerce: Mario Graca Machunga

Minister of Agriculture: Joaquim Carvalho

Minister of Finance: Salomao Munguambe

Minister of Transport and Telecommunications: Jose Luis Cabaco

Minister of Health: Helder Martins

Minister of Public Works and Housing: Julio Carrilho

Minister of Health and Culture: Grace Simbine

Minister of Labour: Mariano Matsinha

Vice Minister of Interior: Daniel Mbanze

Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs: Armando Panguene

Vice Minister of National Defence and Chief of the General Staff of the Army: Sebastiao Mabote



Jose Oscar Monteiro



Alberto Chipande



Armando Guebuza



Marcelino dos Santos



Joaquim Carvalho



Joaquim Alberto Chissano



Sebastiao Mabote





# **August 9: South Africa Women's Day**

We dedicate the following pages to our fighting Women on their national day . . .



# INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE



**STRIJDOMI YOU HAVE STRUCK A ROCK!** Section of the 20 000 women who marched on to Pretoria in protest against the Pass Laws

In 1966 the United Nations Economic and Social Council adopted a recommendation of the Commission on the Status of Women, to draw up a questionnaire to be sent to member states. This questionnaire sought the views of government and non-government bodies on the position of women and the role they can play in the social and economic development of their countries. The questionnaire was circulated in 1967, during which year, the U. N. Assembly unanimously adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against women.

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by Ma Ncube

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" . . . they burst into song,  
the warrior's song of the women  
of Natal with new words – 'Strijdom,  
you have struck a rock  
once you have touched a woman.' "

(Mary Benson)

These steps by the United Nations highlight the inadequacies of a world which has, over the years, made strides in the field of science and technology, and prides itself as 'advanced'. Yet only now in the last third of the twentieth century, a large part of that world is shamefully forced to admit that a whole group of its population has been ignored.

It is perhaps not surprising that the U. N. is currently concerning itself about the status of women. The U. N. is bound through its Charter, to the realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without di-



stinction as to race, sex, language or religion. What needs clarification, however, is why it is only now that the U. N. has taken up seriously the question of the position of women. The answer is to be found in the radical struggles of the early sixties. The Third World revolution and guerilla warfare was a lever for further analysis among the various oppressed groups throughout the world. In the Western capitalist states, radicalisation was felt through the struggles of the Blacks, Youth and Students.<sup>1</sup> It is significant that women identified themselves with these three groups. With the Blacks, women shared the economic and social poverty; with Youth, the expression of abhorrence of society's repression and exploitation, and with Students, the experience of ideological manipulation.

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### **Revolutionary Movement**

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Some might argue that the emergence of the women's movement in the Sixties served merely to re-echo the voices of the suffragettes. We believe that the current movement is a revolutionary movement. Common among the women and the radical groups of the sixties is the fact that they were all fighting the same ideological set of rules, and still continue to do so.

It is tempting to discard wholesale the activities of the Suffragettes, but it is certainly true that the present generation of women, especially in the western world, has learnt through some of the past mistakes. For the black woman in the western world, past experience may make her feel ambivalent towards the women's movement. Paramount in her mind is the fact that her western counterpart is not exploited through racism. Furthermore, the history of black people has been so distorted and undermined, especially through the colonial education system, that in many cases black people were convinced of their 'rescue' from a 'barbaric' system by colonisers, and have consequently been sufficiently brainwashed into denying a significant period in their history. In any case, very little was recorded.

In order to understand the apparent confusion around the terms "liberation" and "women's rights", and the parallel difficulties involved in formulating a realistic plan of action, it would be helpful, perhaps, to give a brief background of past experiences of women in differing settings.

In pre-colonial Africa, women were exploited by men through the polygamous system of marriage. Marrying many women was a method of accumulating wealth, through the labour power of women.<sup>2</sup> However, within that system women were accorded dignity and a modicum of rights. Some women had real power in the political sense. Walter Rodney<sup>3</sup> illustrates this through the religious powers held by the widow of a Nguni king, and also reminds us of the formidable queens of the past, e.g., the Rain-Queen among the 'Lovedu' in the Transvaal combined poli-

was seized from its rightful owners, resulting in the decline of the woman's economic role. Africans were crowded into inadequate, over-worked land. A move to urban areas by wives to augment the meagre wages of the husband, and to secure some form of family life, was inevitable. The discriminatory laws helped to slow down the process of liberation from colonialism, because, while various forms of taxation and other laws were ruthlessly introduced, customary law was also referred to, when it suited the money-economy machinery. Some women,



**Lilian Ngoyi, President of the banned ANC Women's League**

tical and religious functions. Women were appreciated as part of the producing and consuming family unit, and undertook a wide range of functions, and although women were perpetual minors, unable to marry or enter into contracts without the assistance of a male guardian, the sexes in a family unit were complementary, with the network of relationships clearly defined so that women did not necessarily feel particular disadvantages.

Colonisation slowly eroded the social and political rights of the women. It also distorted and magnified their subjugation. Through vicious taxation laws and levy systems the men were drawn into the money economy. Fertile land

therefore, remained in the rural areas in order to safeguard the few 'rights' left to them. In the meantime, particularly in the case of South Africa, laws regarding the family, residence, movement and work, in respect of black people, were drafted, and constitute today one of the cornerstones of Apartheid.<sup>4</sup> For the woman in town rights to be fought for were different and more urgent. As individuals women could free themselves from the traditional role, but they could not, on their own, fight the restrictions imposed by a regime which placed all black people in a subordinate position. Black women in the third world countries have therefore been involved in a joint struggle



with the men for full civic rights, rather than against the men for equality. To quote Simons, "By taking part in the national movement against racial discrimination, women have established a claim to equality."<sup>5</sup> The reality of that equality can, however, be perceived and enjoyed in a free society, and that is the goal of all oppressed and exploited people. It is interesting to note that the first African passive resistance in South Africa was the march to the Municipal Offices by 600 black women of Bloemfontein, in 1913, in protest against the degrading monthly bought passes.<sup>6</sup> This was the time of the suffragettes' protests in Britain, but the objectives were different.

In the western world, on the other hand, the membership of the suffragettes was predominantly middle class, and focussed on middle class issues. In Britain especially, political rather than social equality was stressed as a major aim for reform. Once the vote was 'achieved', and by that was meant the vote for property owning women over thirty, the interest in women's rights waned.

In the 1890's, the southern states of America were threatened by the connection between the black struggle and the feminist struggle. A vote granted to women would not only enfranchise another half of the Negro race, but would expose the fact that suffrage was not universal.<sup>7</sup> It should not be forgotten that the Women's Rights Movement of the last century was a radical movement, fully involved in the abolitionist movement. Through this involvement the Women's Rights Movement learnt and sought to fight their own slavery. It is sad that the conservatism of the 1880's won the day. Women were eventually persuaded away from the fight for equality, towards self-interest issues. In addition, the government machine was determined to maintain the interests of the ruling upper classes; predominantly male. It was feared that any change would destroy the established order of things.

It can thus be seen that the suffragettes were made to feel guilty at the repercussions of any achieved liberation. Women's rights could only mean

abolition of the traditional family structure. Women were also made to think they were selfish in pressing for their rights, when their needs were nothing compared with the suffering of others. This is confirmed by the channelling of women's activities into the "war-effort" during the first world war especially - women's struggle for their liberation was conspicuously halted. Meanwhile, in South Africa, the end of the war signalled the renewal of protest by African women, against the pass laws. The founder of the women's section of the Congress, Mrs. Charlotte Maxeke, mobilised the women for demonstrations during which a number of participants were imprisoned.<sup>8</sup>

At the end of the second world war, however, women in the western world were pushed out of jobs in order to find employment for the returning soldiers. In Britain state nurseries were closed. The woman was buttered up with the myth about her importance in the home and her superior role in bringing up children.

Mrs Mini and her children. Vuyisile her husband was hanged after the death of a police informer





## Race, Class and Economic Factors

With this background in mind, and with the general black movement of the sixties, women in both the Third World and the Western World are now very much aware that there are race, class and economic factors which have to be tackled for real liberation to be achieved.

In discussing the class structure, the position of women is overlooked by some, as classes are usually defined by their relation to the means of production, and women seemingly do not have this relation; they therefore do not fit the rigid class analysis. This conclusion is arrived at because household chores are considered outside commodity production, and since the value of a commodity is determined by money, women are said to be uninvolved in 'real work'. In other words, women have a different relation to the means of production when compared with men. We would like to explore this further: Housewives are involved in production. They produce labour power. The caring for and feeding of their young families has one ultimate ending - to fill a place in the labour market. All women with children to bring up are caught up in this position which cuts across class lines. Women sometimes fail to perceive this core factor because of their general isolation from the social experiences of the production line.

When the position is studied from a racial perspective, further significant issues arise. In capitalist societies a very large majority of black women are members of the working class. For centuries the black woman has been a producer of labour power - for plantations, for the mines. Latterly, driven by poverty to western states because the wealth of their own nations has been usurped by the colonisers, black women find themselves on the same old treadmill; at the very bottom of the economic rung through menial jobs in factories and hospitals. Years of slave labour, the post-slavery stereotype of the black domestic servant, and the current competition for lucrative jobs, have tended to emphasize the race issue more than the class issue. The position of the black woman is therefore particularly invidious. Within the working class, because of racism, it is extremely difficult to identify with the class. Selma James in a paper on this topic<sup>9</sup>, provides a lucid analysis. We feel that until there is total revolution in production, the labour situation will continue to dictate the

Marie-Jose Moubaris - demonstrating for the release of her husband outside SA House in London



women's position within the world of men, of blacks in a white society. The situation in Third World countries is not totally different from the analysis given above. Most Third World countries are developing along capitalist class lines, with perhaps more vicious consequences for the peasant family unit. Here one sees the woman as a producer of labour, literally. The man usually leaves his wife and children in the rural areas to eke out a few pence in the city so as to purchase consumer goods not obtainable from the land, e.g., clothes. When the children are old enough to join the labour market, their position, especially that of the women, is mainly in low paid unskilled jobs, or if within a profession, it is invariably nursing, that is, a service position. It is a poor reflection on way society which dehumanizes a family unit to a degree such as is manifest in South Africa -

black women are denied the satisfaction of caring for their children in the cities. Instead, they are nannies for the children of the ruling class, the future oppressors and exploiters. In the rural areas of South Africa the compulsory unpaid labour system is a further onslaught on the black person. It is compulsory for women to prepare meals for the teams of forced labour or to carry fencing materials for these teams. Failure to comply results in punishment. Complaints against these harsh rules also result in punishment.<sup>10</sup>

The focus on black South African women, in this paper, does not imply that white women in that country are not oppressed. The rigid laws of South Africa accord very little social intercourse between the races. One wonders, however, how white South African women can perceive themselves as 'free' when their whole race has no



rights in relation to movement, expression and choice of marriage partner 'outside the race'. In any case, the various laws operating in the country are to their men's advantage. „Their experience, however, can never be comparable to that of black women — — — (they) have been put on a pedestal. A pedestal based on false and mythical bourgeois standards — — —.”<sup>11</sup>

It is hoped that the foregoing discussion will help us in understanding and interpreting the pattern of responses made by U.N. member states in their questionnaire returns on the Status of Women.<sup>12</sup>

and for new patterns to fit the changing roles of women and men. While a number of countries declared that there was nothing to stop women participating, some common factors were offered as obstacles to full participation:

- a) lack of proper education and training;
- b) lack of vocational guidance and counselling;
- c) traditional attitudes of both men and women towards their respective roles in society.
- d) division of the labour market into traditionally 'male' and 'female' sectors;

not employed for a wage outside the home, women produced a large bulk of food or other products for consumption. The majority commented that socially the position of the woman was still low. In some sectors, the economy or service determined the women's position, e.g., in social welfare, education, nursing, women generally held relatively high positions but in industry and commerce the reverse was true. The reason given was that „Women are not seriously considered for promotion to high posts.” This was also true of government/political positions. Women were generally found in the lower grades of the Civil Service. The



Children of Caroline and Elias Motsoaledi

Three broad issues emerged, which are summarised as follows:

- a) In the vast majority of countries, women's role is still limited and leaves room for expansion.
- b) There is a general trend towards more active participation of women in the economic and social life of countries.
- c) Society is groping for ways und means to cope with this situation

- e) lack of child care facilities for working mothers, e.g., nurseries and day care centres;
- f) lack of labour-saving devices in the home.

Most U.N. member states felt that women were actively involved in the social and economic development of their countries, meaning that women supplied labour for the production of goods and services or that, although

rare examples are indeed rare — even then, are they taken seriously? — It is appalling to note the manner in which the media and industry approach women political leaders.

We will briefly outline the extent of participation as gleaned from the responses to the questionnaire —

1) Agriculture: The role depended very much on the type of economy. In subsistence cultures women were



actively involved, sometimes more so than men, but their status was still very low. Among farm workers women were paid lower wages than men. Developing technology meant that mechanized scientific techniques were used, pushing women further down the social and economic scale.

2) In Industry, women tended to be employed at lower wage levels in semi-skilled jobs. The following examples illustrate the situation. Out of a total working force of women in one capitalist country 30 per cent of the women are in clerical positions, 12 per cent as shop assistants, 10 per cent in hotel and catering, 8 per cent in clothing and textiles. Of the 13 per cent in professional and technical jobs three quarters were teaching.

3) In Commerce, the Third World generally has considerably large numbers of women involved in small scale independent trade. In the western world very few women are at managerial levels.

4) In Transport/Communications, Government Service, Science and Technology, the 'male' sector variant is again at play. This is painfully so in Third World countries.

5) The area of Education and Training produced interesting results. In the primary and secondary school levels men were actually deserting the field because the profession was becoming woman-orientated. Most men were now competing for University places - effectively blocking an "encroachment" by women!

6) Other service areas such as health and the social services boasted about their increasing number of women participants. The picture was quickly soured, however, when one discovered that the respondents had not even disguised the fact that the medical teams in Family Planning Projects were led by men, or rather that men held the very senior posts in health and the social services.

The U.N. vaguely set out measures to increase women's participation and thus redress the balance of their status in society. Generally it was suggested

that each member state should work towards a reorganisation of the social and economic structure of society to be clearly conceived as benefitting both men and women. As a gesture towards this conscious reorganisation, the U.N. has declared 1975 "Woman's International Year." It may indeed remain merely a gesture to be recorded in the U.N. annals unless women whole-heartedly work together towards real liberation.

### Every Year a Woman's Year

For the South African woman, every single year in our history has been a woman's year. Men have marched alongside women in passive resistance against repressive laws. Women have been jailed over the years for their beliefs. Some were even gunned down, when their only weapon was the withdrawal of their labour. Families have been separated in the course of the struggle, with the result that children or parents are either in prison or in exile. Nevertheless, the spirit of the liberation movement is a strong uniting force. Near our borders, the Mozambican women proved that women had the right to fight and were able to fight. Samora Machel urges all those involved in the liberation struggle to be clear about the quality of the equality being fought for and suggests that a conscious political commitment should be the basis of a plan of action, through a revolutionary political organisation. Elsewhere the late Josina Machel<sup>14</sup> outlines some of the important duties that can be performed by women, apart from military functions. i.e., the mobilisation and education of the people, and the increase in effectiveness of participation by developing political understanding of the war everyone is involved in. The message was directed at Mozambican women. It is equally applicable to all women and men in any liberation struggle. Women in exile need to be aware of the limitations and direction of the women's movements in the western capitalist states in which they find themselves. While supporting those who are following the true revolutionary struggle against capitalism, black women have still other battles to fight and win, the liberation of their people from racism and colonialism.



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(This article is based on the paper presented at the A.N.C. Women's Meeting on the 8th March 1975 - International Woman's Day.)





In this speech at a meeting held in Lusaka to observe June 26: South Africa – Freedom Day, and broadcast to South Africa over Radio Freedom: The Voice of the African National Congress, REFELWE MOLEFE, urges the women of South Africa to join ...

# THE SOUTH AFRICAN STRUGGLE



Albertina, wife of Walter Sisulu . . . banned and restricted

co-operation with democratic anti-fascist organisations in our country, in particular the South African Indian Congress, decided to set aside this day as a day of re-dedication to those who have fallen in the cause of the long struggle waged by our nation against colonialism, imperialism and racism.

Today, June 26 South African freedom day is a day of international solidarity with the struggle of our people for liberation. It is observed by workers and all opponents of colonialism, imperialism, racism and white minority rule in all parts of the world.

To us of the African National Congress, it is a day when we again reaffirm our unchallengeable assertion that South Africa shall be free.

This year, June 26 is of special significance for the people of South Africa. The African revolution has rolled down to South Africa's door step.

FRELIMO with its dynamic leadership has led the people of Mozambique to final victory. Their victory is our victory too.

## End to Racist Bondage

Brothers and Sisters,  
Today, we observe June 26 at the most critical time in the life of our nation, at a time when colonialism in Southern Africa is collapsing and in our motherland our Youth, Workers, Students and indeed the whole nation is rising up to put an end to colonial and racist bondage.

We have said comrades, that this is a critical time through which our nation is passing. At a time when the people of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau after a long period of armed struggle have defeated the forces of colonialism and ushered in the beginning of the end of colonialism in our country and the whole of Southern Africa. It is a time when the enemy has turned our country into a vast prison, in a vain effort to stave off its impending collapse.

On this day we again meet to pledge once more that Mandela, Sisulu, Dorothy Nyembe, Amina Desai and numerous other patriots who are serv-

## Comrades and Friends,

June 26 is a day of historic importance in the life of our people. It is a day dedicated to struggle and to the memory of all those who have fallen in the cause of struggle as well as to the memory of those who are being tortured, detained, housearrested, banished and imprisoned, for their role in the struggle of our nation for freedom and National Independence.

Countrymen, June 26, as we all know, was born in the flames of struggle. As we all remember, it was a day dedicated to the memory of those who were killed on May 1. It was a day of protest to mourn the death of the 18 patriots who were massacred on that day.

It was under these circumstances as we know from our bitter experience that the African National Congress in

## White women train to defend their privileges







Militant women confront the police during a campaign against the Pass Laws in 1959

ing long sentences have not struggled in vain, because today, the flames of freedom are now burning towards South Africa itself, and we cannot afford to fail the sons and daughters of our country and hence on this occasion, to our people we say; we shall not waver, we shall not be cowed down, we shall fight till the goal for which Lutuli, Fischer, J. B. Marks and many other heroic martyrs who have gallantly laid down their lives in the battlefield are attained.

Certainly, our struggle will be hard and bitter. But certainly also, there is no revolution without sacrifice. What do we mean by sacrifice? We mean that we **MUST** be prepared to fight to the bitter end until final victory is achieved.

In this present stage of our struggle, women have even a greater role to play; for women's full equality cannot exist unless women themselves become more revolutionary and more militant. Only in this way can we as women improve our political understanding and play our part in the overall struggle for national liberation.

### Outstanding Women

We need women of the calibre of Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Elizabeth Mafeking, Frances Baard and Mary Moodley and many other outstanding leaders of the ANC Women's League and the South African Federation of Women.

The ANC Women's Section is a product of these organisations and by playing their role through it in the struggle they are continuing the gallant traditions of South African women under the leadership of our National Liberation movement the African National Congress.

June 26 this year is particularly important because it is international Women's Year. Women not only in our country, but throughout the world are coming out to assert their demands for full equality in all aspects of national life.

It is only in conditions when National oppression and exploitation has been abolished that women can have equal rights. It is for this reason they should

continue more vigorously to take part in the overall national struggle.

To ensure this victory, women must be found in all aspects of our struggle — in the battle front, in the underground cells in the guerilla units. In short they should be fully involved and be found everywhere where the ANC sounds the clarion call.

On this occasion we also take the opportunity to exhort women of South Africa and our liberation movement to understand that morally and intellectually we are equal with men and there is no cause for discrimination against women in any aspect of our struggle. In this challenging period when imperialism and its criminal colonial system in Africa and elsewhere is collapsing the ANC and MK women pledge to re-double their efforts and call on all South African women to come forward in all their numbers and take part in the struggle for the destruction of the racist regime and for the setting-up of a democratic state in our country.

**AMANDLA — MAATLA!**





A demonstration led by (from the left) Dorothy Nyembe serving 15 years imprisonment, Lilian Ngoyi and Florence Mkhize

Africa is necessary so that we can understand the situation in which we now find ourselves. Although this struggle receives little attention in popular historical accounts it is one in which we can take great pride, and from which we can learn a lot, especially as regards the part we can continue to play in our contribution towards the achievement of our freedom.

### Three fold Exploitation

Perhaps at this stage I should point out that it is essential to root our discussion in an examination of the experience of black women in South Africa. Her position within South African society represents the worst form of oppression under Apartheid. Her oppression and exploitation is threefold:

- 1) She is exploited as a worker, being used as a form of cheap labour in the towns, where about 50 % of our black women living there are in domestic service. The remainder are in industry, where, like their brothers, they are denied any form of bargaining power and are compelled to labour for a pittance.
- 2) She is oppressed by the racist regime's Apartheid policy, from which she suffers dehumanizing and degrading forms of treatment.
- 3) She suffers also as a female in a patriarchal family system – especially so under a capitalist economy. Although our tribal family systems have some very positive and democratic aspects, for example their communalism, they also have some traditions and customs which have become obsolete as a result of changes in economic patterns. One revolutionary sister from Zimbabwe (Fungai Tichavapedza) stresses in an article I recently read that we need to assess critically some of our traditions, those which affect the total development of our women in society. She cites the example of **lobola** and forced marriage. I must however emphasize that this level of oppression is related to the woman's **objective position** in the family system under capitalism, a social system we are fighting. I therefore wholly agree with Maxine Williams and our other black sisters that the main enemy is the other two forms of degradation – racism and industrial exploitation. Our history shows clearly that our women have played, and continue to play, an important front-line role in our struggle for liberation.

### Black Heroines

During the early days of tribal resistance to the settlers, our women are known to have played their part

# WOMEN AND SOLIDARITY

by Shirley Mashiane

(written from notes of a speech made to South African women in London)

1975: International Women's Year proclaimed by U.N. March 8th: Important day observed by progressive women all over the world as International Women's Day.

More important for us today is that we celebrate this day as 'SA women in exile', to share the political experiences of women in the struggle for liberation. On the practical side, we hope to hammer out a 'programme of action' for 1975, and (I seriously hope) for the future. That is, we must work out a long-term strategy under the banner of the African National Congress.

I would also ask you to remember on this day our women scattered all over the world. Our thoughts should also

be with the ones we have left behind. We must practise solidarity with the sisters back home. We have not run away from the situation, but have had to go, or else chose to go, in order to continue the fight by means of solidarity work.

The message is urgent. It is a call for the intensification and continued active participation in bringing about the fall of the oppressive and exploitative minority regime in our country. For us in exile, the key word is 'Solidarity'. It is an aspect of our struggle which is tremendously important, an aspect which is an integral part of the over-all struggle.

A brief look at the historical development of the women's struggle in South



alongside their menfolk. The legend of Mkabi, a Zulu elder who in 1879 took her own life rather than face the idea of her king, Cetshwayo, being hunted as a fugitive, testifies to these actions of resistance.

On the solidarity front, we find as far back as 1897, at the birth of Pan-Africanism, women engaged in activity. When black radicals met in London to form an association, Miss Kincoln, an African woman from South Africa, was elected Treasurer of the association. She returned to SA in the following year. Just as our black American sisters had their heroines like Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman, so we had ours. When the ANC was formed in 1912 women did not sit back – or 'lie prone' (to quote an unfortunate phrase from Stokely Carmichael); they were fully involved.

Charlotte Maxeke served on the National Executive. This was a source of inspiration for our women. 1913 saw a series of anti-pass campaigns by women, of which an example occurred in the Orange Free State. Although at this stage the campaigns were small and unorganized, nevertheless they raised political consciousness. The entrenchment of Apartheid and its consolidation as an economic and ra-

cial system triggered off an increase in political activity as resistance spread among our people.

The ANC Women's League was set up in 1948, its first president being Ida Mtwana. Since its inception, followed in 1954 by the formation of the Federation of Women, and right up to 1960, when the ANC was banned, the history of our women is one of everwidening political activity and closer organization, around a definite programme. The women's movement in SA was able to surge forward in its own right as a women's organization, although the wider struggle was never neglected. To sum up: the 1950s marked the beginning of a really dynamic era – as we are all aware, I hope!

### Militant Campaigns

August 9th was proclaimed SA Women's Day. This was born in the heat of the struggle when over 20,000 women from all over the country and from all walks of life converged on Pretoria (my hometown!) to protest about passes and similar instances of degradation. Many of our women were detained.

Other protests, took place throughout the 50s until well into the 60s; the ANC and the women's movement gathered strength. Examples of campaigns are those initiated by women in Zeerust, in Ixopo, in Sekhukhuni-land, in Port Elizabeth, and in Johannesburg . . . the list is long.

The 1960s were a time of changes in the struggle. They were a time of going underground, of working patiently in exile, of armed struggle. Solidarity abroad was assisted by the formation of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. It greatly increased in the 50s, and we have not looked back since.

1969 witnessed an upsurge in police hunts and arrests. Among those who suffered from policemen's batons and Nazi-style torture was Winnie Mandela. This did not deter the women.

In the towns women were active in the trade unions (until these were banned) and then continued their fight by other means. I need only mention to you Mary Moodley, Florence Mophosho, and Maggie Resha.

In the country many women live as political widows, while their husbands are separated from them. They are not sitting back either!

Some of our women are languishing

International Solidarity . . . Demonstrators in France call for boycott of SA





in jail. Dorothy Nyembe is still serving a 15 years sentence. Florence Matomela was tortured by police in prison and died soon after her release. The first person to come under house arrest was a woman – Helen Joseph. The president of the ANC Women's League, Lilian Ngoyi, is still under restriction.

In this very room are women who belong to some of the categories I have just mentioned. For some, prison has been a personal experience. Some women in this room have experienced oppression in all three situations – in the town, in the country and in prison. What can we all learn from the history of our women's struggle?

1) We can be proud of our history and must recount it to our children, especially when they are so far from home. To us personally, it is a great source of inspiration which does a lot for our personal and collective identity.

2) The struggle has always reflected objective changes in political and economic conditions at home and abroad. Indeed, we are in exile as a result of such changes, for the most part. This should mean that we remain responsive to the current situation and always be prepared to adopt new ways in order to arrive at our final goal.

3) Our history proves beyond any doubt that black women need to organize around issues affecting them directly, to work alongside organizations with similar aims, and to remain in close touch with the general struggle. Our struggle is part of a greater whole. The words of our sister Florence Mophosho are very true here:

'Our women have made a significant contribution to the struggle for liberation and . . . the revolution will help us to liberate the women.'

### Enemy Tactics

Our history records the tremendous contribution made by the women in exile. Consider the support we enjoy

from progressive governments, liberation movements and organizations the world over. Our work of propaganda must carry on without any let-up. At the moment we are witnessing a new tactical offensive by the Vorster régime, which is seeking so-called 'détente' – a relationship of 'live and let live' – with those African régimes which through ignorance of the true situation, through opportunism on the part of their leaders, through economic pressures by their Neo-Colonialist masters – for whatever reason – are prepared to at least give him a hearing. At the same time the Apartheid régime is pretending to the world that by removing 'petty Apartheid' it is meeting Africans' demands. There is a danger that those basically well-intentioned towards us are taken in to some degree by these moves of Vorster. We must explain patiently and above all often that the situation is not changing through 'reform from above'. In fact South African police harassment is getting even worse. Our voice carries special credibility since we are of South Africa and bear the marks of our oppression. If we do not speak out, can we expect others to aid us?

There is another aspect to solidarity, for solidarity begins 'at home'. We, the women, have got to improve the nature of our communications with one another. We must hold together. We ought to overcome our separateness and in some cases our competitiveness through deliberate consciousness-raising. In her book 'Women's Estate' Juliet Mitchell refers to consciousness-raising as a 'process of transforming the hidden, individual fears of women into a shared awareness of the meaning of them as SOCIAL PROBLEMS, the release of anger, anxiety, the struggle of proclaiming the painful and transforming it into the political' (p. 61). First we must be fully aware of ourselves as South African women, and must pass this awareness to our children. It is amusing – but isn't it also sad' – to hear a child asking his South African mother to 'teach him African'. Then we need to seek out

other women's organizations which have a common experience of struggle against oppression. It is important that especially this year we go out as ambassadors for the freedom struggle to these groups, above all black women's groups, with direct experience of racism. This does not mean that we leave out white women, for, as Angela Davis puts it: 'When we talk about struggling against racism, we have to talk about white people taking the initiative among other white people.' In other words, our white comrades fighting with us under the banner of the ANC have a key role to play in propagandising on behalf of the struggle among whites in Europe and America. There are situations in which South African whites talk to other whites with the greatest authenticity, just as there are other situations in which South African blacks talk to other blacks with greatest authenticity. Similarly, women talk most authentically to other women. I make these remarks not in order to create artificial divisions but to argue that we must recognize these pre-existing divisions arising from the state of the world as it is in our struggle to overcome the same divisions in the world as we want to make it. I am sure that there will be dissenting voices: there will some who say that the male militant and the female militant are interchangeable and that the white and the black militant are also interchangeable. Let us thrash this question out frankly and seriously. I believe it is crucial to our future strategy.

### Not Mere Mouthpieces

Let me finish by returning to the subject of International Women's Year. Really, all years ought to be I.W.Y.s, but it does help the progressive movements of the world to focus their attention successively on different aspects of our situation. As I see it, we ought to start thinking very seriously about our role. First of all, we need to consider how we, the women of the ANC,







Haruo Kobayashi is a leading Japanese cartoonist who recently visited South Africa. This comment is a result of that visit. His caption: "With a bit of practice, anyone can learn to do this."

## Flight of the Spear

A.N.C. Kumalo

Let all behold  
the fiery trajectory  
of the spear of our ancestors;  
the unswerving course  
dissecting the firmament.

Let all behold  
the flight of the spear  
piercing the night-time mind  
of generations;  
the gleaming spring  
of our progenitors  
illuminating the heavens.

Let all behold  
the spear in flight;  
the singing metal  
cast from the mould  
of our red earth;  
the great shaft  
fashioned from the trees  
of our timeless forests.

Let all behold  
the fearless truth;  
the spear of the nation  
afame;  
the flash of lightning  
heralding the atmosphere  
igniting!

Inheritors of the land;  
you black ones;  
Zulu, Sutho, Xhosa, Shangaan;  
seize the spear!

Seize the spear  
sons and daughters of giants;  
off-spring of Shaka, Makana,  
Moshoeshe, Sekhukhuni;  
seize the spear  
that wings out of the mists  
of our exultant dawn!

Seize the spear  
that can only be grasped  
when the blood is united!

Seize the spear  
that can only strike pure  
when the mind is as sharp and firm  
as the cutting blade!

Seize the spear  
that can only cool  
when we are masters  
in our own house!

Seize the spear  
that can only sleep  
when our planet is reborn!

Seize the spear  
O people, who are giants  
of this new age.

can utilise the opportunities offered to us by this rather special year in our effort to mobilise support for our political aims. We need to put our own house in order by systematic consciousness-raising, to foster high morale and genuine fellowship in thought and action among our members, to eliminate all pettiness and individualistic selfishness. We need to take a lead in promoting 'South African awareness' in our own families, particularly among our own children, some of whom have never experienced their homeland at first hand. Finally, in our continuous work of propaganda, argument, and information-providing, we must consider very carefully the question of authenticity. It is not enough to have

correct facts, or a correct argument, at one's disposal. One needs to 'get across' to an audience, using common elements in the life experience of all the participants in the dialogue. Women are half the population of every country. That simple statistic ought to indicate to us all the need for us to articulate the ANC programme and aims in a way designed to win maximum support among women (which no men can do as well as us - provided that we give our best). It also means that there ought to be no part of ANC theoretical and practical work from which women are excluded by policy or oversight, if we are to be real spokesmen and not mere mouthpieces.

### NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Readers of *Sechaba* are hereby informed that due to the complete reorganisation of our Publicity and Information Department, *SECHABA* will be printed on a quarterly basis as from 1976.

M. P. Naicker  
Director of Publicity  
and Information



Women without Husbands . . .  
Children without Fathers . . .  
Sisters without Brothers . . .

# THIS IS SOUTH AFRICA

says ZANELE DLAMINI in the following statement prepared for the World Conference on International Women's Year held in Mexico in July 1975.

to participate as full members. We, the Women of the African National Congress of South Africa, would like to express our sincere hope that the credentials of the present South African delegation will not go unchallenged by this conference – that is, that the spirit of the decision taken by the twenty-ninth General Assembly of the United Nations will not be contravened. We wish to remind this gathering that the Vorster government is a racist regime. It is a threat to peace and freedom, not only in so far as the peoples of South Africa are concerned, but on a world level as well.

(The white SA delegation did not respond to the invitation – Ed)

## Whitewashing Apartheid

The South African system of apartheid has met with condemnation by many progressive governments who are members of this body, and also by some international organizations. Yet, we feel that many of these governments and organizations are responding too readily to Vorster's present manoeuvres and attempts at "whitewashing" apartheid while the fundamental structures of oppression in South Africa remain unaltered. The granting of admission to a cinema, or permission to walk on the same area as a white South African can never com-

following a vote by the majority of the member states which called for the South African delegation from the U.N. body in view of its continued defiance of collective decisions taken at the U. N., that the representative of the United States complained about "tyranny of the majority". The South African delegation to that Assembly, albeit of mixed racial composition, was gravely criticised by the member states, and, in fact, was suspended from the deliberations of the Assembly. At this UN Conference, held in conjunction with International Women's Year, the South Africans, nominated by and representative of the Pretoria regime, have once again been invited

The World Conference on the International Women's Year comes at an extremely critical stage in the history of the struggle against racist oppression in South Africa. It comes at a time when the Vorster regime faced with inalterable changes in the Southern African political situation is undertaking a monumental offensive to whitewash its policy of apartheid – in an attempt to provide for its acceptability by the presentation of a benign image to the rest of the world. This attempt to win international support for the racists also represents an effort to discredit the struggle of the oppressed people and their leaders still imprisoned for life on Robben Island or in the numerous South African jails and to discredit the struggle for political and human rights represented by the African National Congress.

This conference is called by the United Nations. It would therefore seem pompous and insensitive for us to lecture members in attendance about what the South African regime represents. The archives of the United Nations Library are already bursting at the seams with documents uncovering the truth of apartheid and the evils it represents. The problems of apartheid are very familiar to the Security Council, which has just closed a session dealing with South Africa's illegal control and imposition of its apartheid policy in Namibia. The twenty-ninth General Assembly of the U.N. faced a critical time earlier this year when even the definition of democracy was brought into question over the South African issue. It was at this Assembly,



" EXCUSE ME SIR, BUT COULD I SEE YOUR PASS PLEASE ? "





Women forced to wait in a queue for permit to seek work in the city

compensate for the fundamental lack of human rights and respect for human dignity which is applied to seventy-five percent of the people in South Africa.

Operation "whitewash" started with the selling of the Bantustan policy by the Nationalist Party in South Africa. This balkanization of the racial and tribal groups which presented the Bantustan chiefs as the authentic leaders of the African people, was inspired and designed by a man, Verwoerd, who was totally dedicated to the humiliation of the African people and to the protection of vested white interests and "white civilization". The African people played no part in the evolution of the Bantustan policy, for, then as now, we have no right to formulate and direct our own development in South Africa. Then, as now, we remain the recipients and victims of Pretoria's decisions.

Pretoria claims that the Bantustan policy is a measure introduced to ensure "separate but equal" development among the racial groups comprising the Republic. How can these Bantustans become the instruments for

development and liberation of the people living on them when we have had no say in their formation and when the land allocated to us represents a mere 13 % of South Africa's total land area, most of it being arid, infertile, corroded by over-cultivation and devoid of any mineral wealth. How can the Pretoria regime claim that the Bantustans provide the medium for self-improvement of our condition when the necessity to join the migrant labour force is imposed upon the male members of the society thereby forcing them to desert their families over prolonged periods, in order to earn sufficient money to pay taxes, feed their dependants and try to provide education for their children? The Bantustans in fact, represent a concentration of the cheap black labour force from which the mines and farms of white South Africa can readily draw enough workers to meet their needs. As the South African economy expands and grows, with the assistance through investment from Western governments such as the United States, Great Britain West Germany, and France, the need for a

ready supply of labour at a fixed rate of payment also increases, and the Bantustan policy ensures its existence.

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### Women's Plight

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As noted, the male sector of the Bantustan population is involved, by economic necessity, in migrating to the large, urban, and designated "white" centres to sell its labour to the mines or surrounding farms. Inevitably, it is the women of the Bantustans who must endure the harshest realities of this system. Theirs is the task of providing for and raising, without a husband, the children. Theirs is the task of caring for the aged, the disabled, the infirm – those who can no longer provide a service to white industry or "civilization". Theirs is the responsibility of trying to eke out an existence which will subsidize the meager earnings brought back to the "homeland" by their spouses, from land which is either too arid or too overworked to be productive any longer. Theirs also is the task of waiting – the long wait





or resists the Bantustans was party to the formation of this policy. Bantustans, together with their architects and defenders MUST be condemned by all freedom and peace-loving people the world over. Such condemnation represents the first step in showing support for the people forced to endure the conditions imposed by the policy, and their resistance to it.

Latterly, "operation whitewash" has come with empty promises of "detente" Detente with whom?—! Certainly, given the continued implementation of the Bantustan policy, it is not with the South African people. Externally, South Africa has taken great care in making overtures toward independent African countries. Officially, this is termed the "outward looking" policy of the Pretoria regime. For the white regime this is indeed crucial at this point in time as FRELIMO is about to form an independent government in Mocambique, following the overthrow of the Caetano regime in Portugal. South Africa receives migrant workers from Mocambique; it could receive precious hydro-electric energy vital to the operation of the mines once the Cabora Bassa Dam project is complete. Angolan independence, scheduled for November, 1975, tightens the circle around South Africa, and a resolution of the status of Namibia, with its eventual independence in the near future being a certainty also exerts pressure on Pretoria to try to present

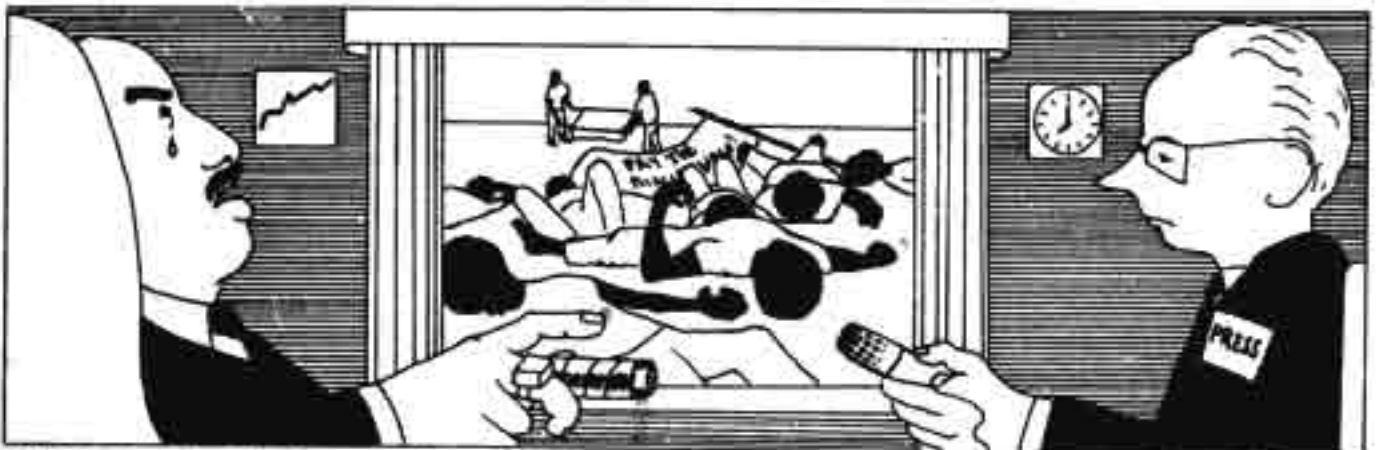
Treaty Mopeli who died in banishment

for a husband's, a son's return from the mines. Often the return is that of a man riddled with tuberculosis pneumococcosis, or some other diseases common to mine workers who are denied health facilities which are either non-existent or ill-equipped. Often it is simply the remains of a body — to be prepared for burial. In an African society where the family provides the basis for the social order and custom, the Bantustan policy and its results can hardly be called a medium for development along traditional lines into a modern world!

African people would not have designed a system which so blatantly contravenes their way of life and places them in the dehumanized and debilitated state that the Bantustan policy does. No African, whether he supports



"I am calling on you to deal with this situation."



"How could such a tragedy happen?"



an acceptable image to the rest of the world. Yet, within South Africa, during the recent round of "detente" talks, and subsequent to the promised "change within six months", people in Durban and students at Turfloop were arrested for organizing a demonstration of solidarity with FRELIMO. Leaders of various organizations working for liberation in South Africa continue to be banned and restricted or languish in the South African prisons; continually more and more opponents of apartheid are arrested by the Pretoria regime. Within South Africa itself, detente is hollow; it does not exist.

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### Boycott South Africa

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The women of the African National Congress of South Africa call on this gathering, and on the International Community in its entirety to:

- 1) Recognize the ANC as the genuine representative of the people of South Africa in their struggle against oppression.
- 2) Re-affirm the OAU condemnation and rejection of the Bantustan policy which aims at dismembering our land, causing dissension among African states; attempting to isolate and destroy the Liberation Movement; and legitimizing the Pretoria regime.
- 3) Refrain from establishing diplomatic, political, economic, cultural and military links with the Pretoria regime.
- 4) Support the armed struggle and therefore the Liberation Movement in efforts to lay the foundations for a free society based on human dignity in South Africa.

This conference must condemn the Pretoria regime whose sovereignty and continued membership in the UNITED NATIONS constitutes a violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the organization. It must call on all member states who are also signatories of this Charter, thereby lending their approval to its principles, to intensify their efforts toward the immediate expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations.

Freedom for all South Africans, based on the principles of human equality and dignity for all is a solid foundation for the freedom of the South African woman - black and white - Indian, Coloured, White and African.

## ARREST

*And so they came,  
Through the early morning mist,  
With their crew-cut heads,  
And bunched up fists,  
To pound on our door.*

*Dreams disturbed,  
Stood with blood-shot eyes, yawning,  
On that abrupt morning,  
And into the house of defiance,  
Strode the face of bedevilled dreams,  
Of thick stone walls,  
And armour-plated doors,  
Of sudden death,  
And mutilated balls,  
And so they came.*

*And when they left,  
Clutching his arm,  
They buttoned their suits,  
And rubbed their palms,  
For once more,  
He is to walk,  
Those measured steps,  
In the house of death.*

PRAGASAN





# AMANDLA

There have been many clandestine publications supporting the African National Congress appearing inside South Africa in recent years. Notable amongst these have been „Vukani! Awake!“ „Struggle“ and „Searchlight“. Now, for the first time in several years, an official newsletter of the African National Congress, AMANDLA-MATLA, has made its appearance, the first issue of which we reproduce in full. We shall reproduce, in full or in part, depending on the length, future copies as and when we receive them.

## 1. Editorial

The appearance of AMANDLA-MATLA, a newsletter of the African National Congress, produced and distributed inside our country signifies the vitality and tenacity of our organisation, its leadership and cadres. The appearance is a declaration that Vorster, his gestapo special branch and the bureau of state security can never destroy the African National Congress, a movement noted for its unbroken example of resistance against white domination. It is an act of defiance and a testimony that our organisation is alive and lives among the oppressed people and will continue to marshal and rally them into the struggle until victory is achieved. The leadership of the African National Congress is a light in the tunnel, a beacon and a lighthouse to the black people of our country. Our leaders be they in jail, underground or in exile continue to provide exemplary and revolutionary leadership to the oppressed black masses. The voice of the African National Congress is very vital at this crucial stage in our revolution when Vorster is busy seeking the collaboration of all kinds of stooges in the bantustans to pull his chestnuts out of the fire. AMANDLA-MATLA will continue to speakout strongly against those who counsel compromise with a fascist state which harrasses and brutalises our people daily. The African National Congress stands out clearly for the revolutionary transformation of South Africa on the

basis of the FREEDOM CHARTER. In order to achieve the ideals of the FREEDOM CHARTER, the African National Congress together with its allies will use all forms of struggle including revolutionary armed struggle to overthrow the white state. AMANDLA-MATLA will fight for the principled unity of all anti-apartheid forces. This unity should be on the basis of uncompromising opposition to all apartheid institutions like the bantustans, the Urban Bantu Councils, the Coloured Representative Council, the South African Indian Council and all other dummy institutions. The operative phrase is and will always be 'unity in struggle'. AMANDLA-MATLA welcomes the efforts of legal and semi-legal organisations which are playing a commendable role in exposing the schemes of the white state. These organisations, however, should realise that our victory depends on close co-

operation with the national liberation movement led by the African National Congress.

AMANDLA-MATLA will relentlessly propagate the line of our liberation movement of leading the oppressed black people beyond ethnic, religious and regional contradictions born in feudal and racist rivalries, encouraged and abetted by the white fascist state. AMANDLA-MATLA will serve as a tribune for all those who are familiar with the oppressor's whip, the pass laws, group areas, forced labour and the tot system, exploitation and brutality in the mines, death in prisons, potato-fields and vineyards as well as racial discrimination. Finally, AMANDLA-MATLA salutes the heroic leaders of our movement, men like Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Nelson Mandela, Bram Fischer, Ahmed Kathrada, Oliver Tambo and all the dedicated patriots and cadres of our or-

STAR TURN  
by BERRY

WHAT ARE  
THEY  
COMPLAINING  
ABOUT?

AFTER ALL,  
"DETENTE" etc

IS ALMOST THE  
FIRST SYLLABLE OF  
"DETENTION"





# MATLA: POWER

ganisation. Their selfless sacrifice and heroism continue to inspire us in producing this modest newsletter, AMANDLA-MATLA.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN:  
AMANDLA NGAWETHU:  
MATLA KE A RONAI

## 2. O. A. U. Rejects Vorster's Detente Tricks

The current detente tricks of racist Vorster have been seen for what they are: a device to destroy the unanimous O.A.U. support for the National Liberation Movement in our country.

The whole strategy of the racists in S.A. has been to create buffer zones in Southern Africa. That strategy has been shattered irreversibly by the heroic victories of the Mozambicans and Angolan people under Frelimo and M.P.L.A.; by the intensification of the armed struggle in Namibia and Zimbabwe and by the ever-growing resistance of our own people in the country through their strike action against lower wages and increased fares. Today, the Vorster terrorist regime finds itself face to face with revolutionary movements and people's governments along the entire length of S.A.'s frontiers. The lesson is not lost in the minds of the white racists that these revolutionary governments are a secure rear base for the National Liberation Movement led by the A.N.C. As a result of Vorster's manoeuvres in search of a new strategy and markets for S.A.'s expanding economy, the O.A.U. Extraordinary Ministerial Conference in Dar-es-Salaam spelt out, once more, its unbending support for the struggle for the seizure of political power by the majority in South Africa. Equally our people inside the country have rejected with contempt the whole detente farce and the meaningless reforms that Vorster is trying to use to fool the world. Thus, clear-cut resolutions passed by the Foreign Ministers and the Liberation Movements put the final nail into the detente coffin and re-affirmed the following:

i) their determination to step up poli-

tical, economic and cultural isolation of Apartheid South Africa;  
ii) their refusal to allow S.A. land, air, and port transit facilities;  
iii) their condemnation of Apartheid as a crime against humanity;  
iv) their rejection and condemnation of the fraudulent bantustan system and the puppets who head the bantustans;  
v) their readiness to increase training facilities for freedom fighters;  
vi) their eagerness to pursue independence talks on Namibia and Zimbabwe on the failure of which talks

armed struggle should be intensified;  
vii) their resolve to have no dialogue with fascist S.A.;

viii) their recognition of the Liberation Movements as the sole representatives of their people.

The response of our people to Vorster's detente machinations should be to intensify the struggle for liberation; to actively support the preparations for armed struggle; to spare no effort in organising among the workers to strengthen their Trade Union organisation; the peasants to intensify their





struggle for land throughout S.A. and to reject the bantustans. The fascist enemy is on the run and should be given no respite.

### 3. Form Own Independent, Democratic Trade Unions:

The need for black workers to form their own independent and democratic Trade Unions has never been more urgent! The rising prices of basic foodstuffs, the painful increases in fares and rents, the unbearable burden of medical attention and education of our children, in fact the general heavy economic load brought about by galloping inflation, have resulted in real wages falling miserably. This is because of laws like Job Reservation,

stiltiness and faction fights. This device is intended to weaken workers' unity in their struggle against their common capitalist enemy. The African workers in particular are stripped of all their bargaining power by legislation which refuses to recognise their trade unions. Consequently, the white bosses and the Chamber of Mines go out of their way to sack and victimise workers' leaders and spokesmen. This is intended to frustrate workers' attempts to form organisations among themselves. Through trade unions, the workers are able to push their demands for higher wages, better working conditions, the right to unemployment benefits, to proper medical attention, to lower rents and to fight victimisation by the bosses. The black workers suffer this extreme form of economic exploitation because they are denied political rights like the right to vote and be

In a fascist state like South Africa, trade union workers need to organise secretly from factory to factory. The hard core Trade Union workers must prepare layers of Trade Union leaders who should be completely unknown to the police. In the event of some leaders being arrested or banned and restricted, the secret layers must then be ready to act and to take over leadership. The most important thing is that Trade Union activity must carry on all the time.

If it is difficult to discuss at work, the workers must discuss in the trains on their way home. They must also find ways and means of meeting secretly in the locations to discuss their problems.

The workers must tackle immediately the burning question of high rents. This problem must not be left in the hands of the Urban Bantu Councils, bodies which do not represent the interests of the workers. The workers themselves must set up Residence or Vigilance associations whose functions should be, among other things, to fight increased rents and fares, to fight for the improvement of their living conditions, to fight for the abolition of pass raids and permits, to fight for better amenities and sports facilities, and to demand a greater and decisive voice in civic affairs.

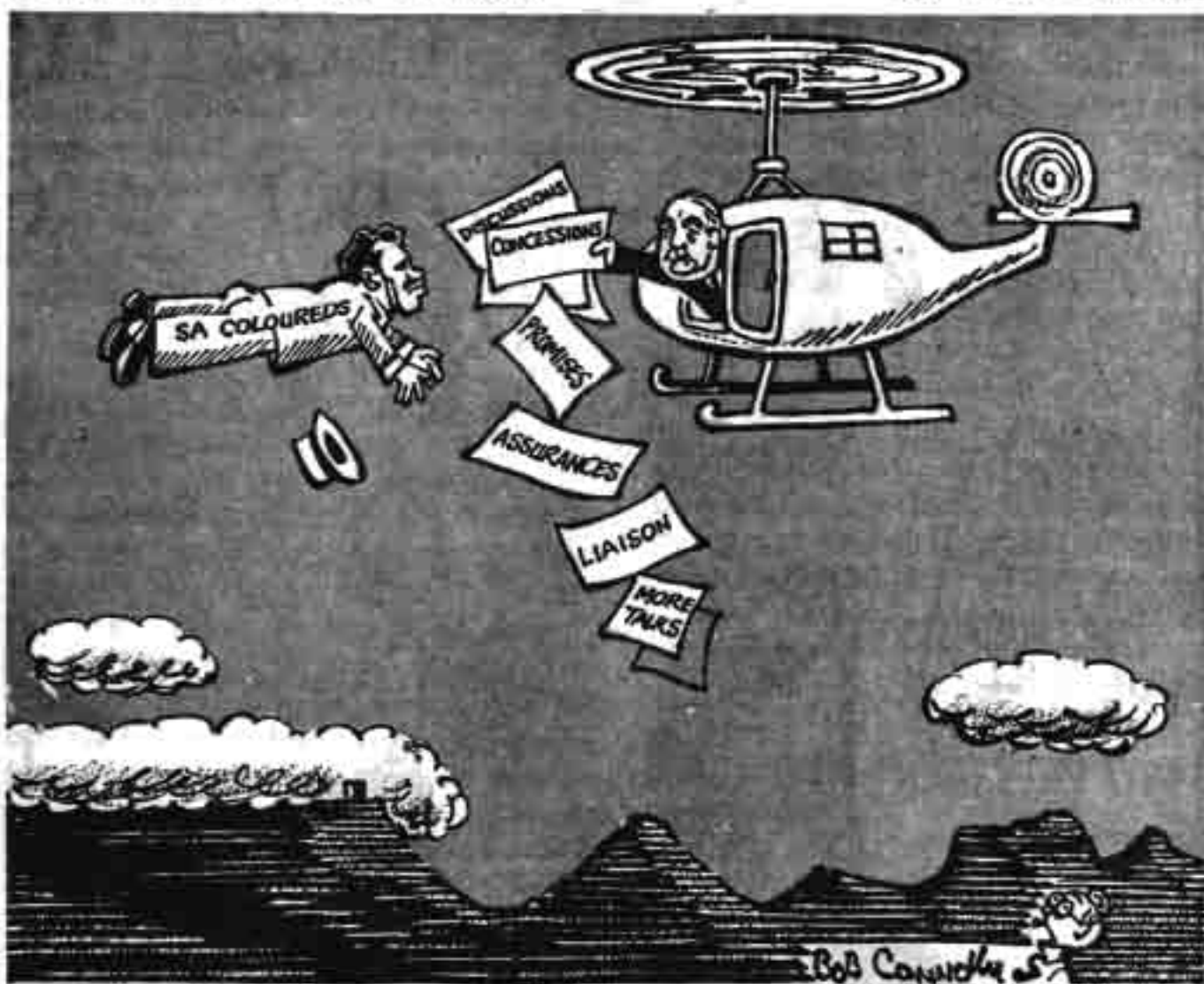
**WORKERS UNITE! FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO STRIKE! FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO HAVE INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONS!**

### 4. All Political Prisoners Must Be Released!

The bantustan leaders have again displayed their regular chorus of supporting almost all of Vorster's oppressive measures. The issue of the release of political prisoners is a clear manifestation of the spinelessness we have become used to from these bantustan stooges. They have supported Vorster's assertion that the release of political prisoners should be an ethnic issue, i.e., let Matanzima ask for the release of the Transkei Xhosas, let Buthelezi ask for the release of the Zulus, let the C.R.C. spokesmen call for the release of Coloured prisoners, etc. The African National Congress angrily rejects the attempt to divert the solidarity with our leaders into tribal and ethnic channels. Our comrades on Robben Island and other prisons are patriots who have fought and are still fighting for one, united and democra-

### CONSULTATION IN SPACE

By Bob Connolly



migratory contract labour, influx control and pass laws which harass and persecute Black workers, in order to provide the white capitalists with super profits as a result of cheap and voiceless, slave labour.

Under the inhuman system of migrant contract labour, Africans are recruited and housed in appalling compounds. Herein these workers are fenced much like sheep and strictly controlled and divided along outdated tribal lines in order to incite and promote tribal ho-

elect to parliament and all administrative bodies of the state, the right to assemble, freedom of speech, the right to seek work anywhere in the country, the right to stay with their wives where they work and so on. Therefore, the struggle for basic economic betterment is directly linked to the struggle for democratic rights and national liberation. It is the victory of such a struggle which would ensure that political and economic power is in the hands of the majority.



tic South Africa on the basis of the FREEDOM CHARTER.

We therefore welcome the fact that the Black Renaissance conference at Hammanskraal last December called for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, and also denounced the Bantustans and all racist institutions. Such resolutions underline the growing maturity of the Black Consciousness movement and the correctness of the A.N.C. policy towards these dummy institutions. The campaign by NUSAS for, as well as the meetings organised by the Human Rights Committee in demand of the release of political prisoners are commendable, are an example that should be followed by all patriots and democrats. The white fascists and their Black collaborators must be shown that the voice of freedom can never be stifled.

The campaign for the release of political prisoners and detainees initiated by the A.N.C. is supported by the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations, the international progressive and democratic public organisations. This is because our people and the whole world realise and acknowledge that the sharp crisis facing our country can only be resolved by the release of all political prisoners and detainees and their active participation in the struggle for a free and democratic South Africa.

The workers, peasants, intellectuals and students should rally for the release of their leaders and comrades. The press must be flooded with letters demanding their release. Posters should be set up demanding the release of Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Motsoaledi, Kathrada, Billy Nair, Cholo, Mpanza, April, Phokanoka, Mhlaba, Goldberg and many others. These are the outstanding freedom fighters whom the people consider and respect as their genuine leaders and not the collaborators and stooges like Matanzima, Mangope, Ntsanwisi, Sebe and many others. Naturally, the campaign to release political prisoners should be linked to the general



struggle to free ourselves from White Domination and to build a free and democratic, non-racial South Africa.

### 5. Coloured People Say: Emphatic 'No' To Apartheid

From the outset, the Coloured people have never had confidence in the C.R.C. Their efforts to express this were thwarted by the Vorster terrorist clique in loading the C.R.C. with pro-government lackeys. After the July 1974 victory by the progressive patriotic majority in the 'no confidence' debate, a stage was set for the destruction of the C.R.C. In an unprecedented massive demonstration of opposition to apartheid oppression, racial discrimination and humiliation, the Coloured people gave the Labour Party a resounding victory in the March '75 elections.

Now, the Labour Party faces the task

of making use of the little the C.R.C. offers: a forum to expose and outrightly attack the fraud of separate development; and from which to insistently demand full and equal rights for the Coloured people in a democratic Parliament. Since the Coloured people cannot, by themselves, effectively challenge the white racist state, they must unite in mass struggle with the other oppressed blacks - the African and the Indian. And, most importantly, this struggle must not be confined to the C.R.C. strait-jacket. The Labour Party must assist in the organisation of workers in the factories, set up tenants' organisations and other civic bodies and fight for their interests, carry the struggle into sports bodies, schools and churches, into every part of the Coloured community. It must challenge White Supremacy at every point and finally, together with the rest of the oppressed and democratic majority, sweep racist-fascism away for ever in a struggle involving political, economic and armed forms. Down with Apartheid!

