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SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

3 ANTI-IMPERIALISTS

MEET



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EDITORIAL:
Remember the Morogoro Conference

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

SAMORA MACHEL:
Let us consolidate our unity

POEM

K.K. KAUNDA:
We are at the forefront

O.R. TAMBO:
The Spirit of Bandung

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL:
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REMEMBER THE MOROGORO CONFERENCE

This year our movement is commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Morogoro Conference; an incident which was of great historical significance for the future development of our struggle.

The battles of Wankie and other places in Zimbabwe were still fresh in the minds of the cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe and indeed of all the members of the liberation movement. We met to assess the enemy and our strength. The liberation struggle in Angola and Mozambique was at its peak and our comrades in Namibia and Zimbabwe were harassing the enemy from all sides. That was before the workers' strikes in Durban and other areas and before the Soweto uprisings of 1976.

The Morogoro Conference took important decisions; decisions which later had a bearing on the physical composition of the ANC and the development of the political and military theory of our movement. Since then our movement has taken practical steps forward; even the enemy is forced to admit that "the ANC is everywhere."

This process has not been without its internal contradictions, dynamics and setbacks. Since Morogoro we have lost a number of our experienced comrades; *others have been jailed. We salute these heroes.*

There is also the other category of "revolutionaries" — those who refused to move with the times; the "traditionalists" and "angry nationalists" who constituted themselves into a faction within the ANC

and later regrouped themselves into a "gang of 8" outside the ANC. Some of them have now joined Matanzima's Transkei, after failing to hijack the ANC! Others have become "tired of the whole thing"!

These are the lessons of our struggle. Our revolution needs a new man, a dedicated, self-sacrificing revolutionary whose vision goes beyond immediate gains and benefits and quick victories. Patient, persistent and painstaking mass political work accompanied by continuous and consistent armed struggle and ideological firmness are the component elements of our protracted struggle which, how long it takes, will be victorious.

Let us rise to the occasion and confront the enemy on all fronts — Ours is a bright future!



MILITARISATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Recently P.W. Botha, the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, warned that the neighbouring states 'harbouring terrorists' for strikes against South Africa and Namibia will have to "bear the consequences if they continue with this game" and they will "pay dearly" for accepting weapons from foreign countries. He went on to state that South Africa's neighbouring states did not need weapons to defend themselves against South Africa: they could rely on advice and assistance from South Africa if they needed it!

He was referring to a recent statement by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia that he would equip his country with sophisticated weaponry to meet threats from two sides — South Africa and Rhodesia.

War Preparations

Botha went on to boast that South Africa was capable of producing its own helicopters and that a new generation of missiles and a "very sophisticated" defence missile system was already being produced; radio networks of "high quality" had been established; that an initial number of strike craft to be built locally for the navy had all been put into commission — these were high speed missile carriers — and that missile carriers also equipped for defence against a surprise missile attack were also being produced.

South Africa is in the process of replacing the 17 year old R1 assault rifle by a lighter and "more effective" R4 assault rifle. (The new R4 assault rifle fires a 5,56mm round whereas the R1 fires a 7,62mm round; its length is 970mm and not the 1100mm for the R1; it has a folding stock

which lacks on the R1 and the barrel length on the R4 is 460mm compared with 533mm of the R1. This new assault rifle is supposed to be an improvement on the R1 which is gas operated with a tilting bolt and the R4 has a rotating bolt. The R4 has a 35 round magazine and a rate of fire of 650 rounds a minute whereas the R1 has a 20 round magazine and 650 to 700 rounds a minute.)

Also a new generation of field guns has been designed and produced — the 150mm G5 is to replace the present G4 field gun.

Marines

The South African Navy envisages a counter-insurgency strike force, an elite unit — the Marines — which will specialise in the land and seaward "defence" of all ports. Walvis Bay — a Namibian port annexed by South Africa — is already under the "protection" of this newly-formed, sub-specialised section of the navy — the Marines — and Durban also. Richards Bay, East London and Port Elizabeth are the next ones on the list; to be followed by Table Bay, Simonstown and Saldanha and by Mossel Bay by 1980.

These marines consist of a nucleus of Permanent Force members and a majority of Citizen Force "volunteers", who would be a back-up force for the Harbour Police and civil authorities in times of war, riots or unrest. The members of the units will be run on the lines of a naval commando. They are trained in all aspects of security, harbour and coastal patrols, radar and explosives and also have expert divers. The patrol boats "are the most heavily armed vessels of their type and size in the world" and "can go to sea in any kind of weather, day or night".

The training includes basic seamanship,

patrolling, boarding and searching techniques, diving, radar and radio procedure, bomb disposal, dog handling and unarmed combat. The exercises include riot control, vehicle search, detention of suspects, arrest

of "hostile" craft at sea, etc. etc.

Who can doubt that South Africa is at war? Why should Zambia and the other front-line states not arm themselves in self-defence?

NEW OFFENSIVE

The defeat of the racist forces in Angola meant also the defeat of their political and diplomatic moves. Vorster's "detente offensive" was meant to win over some African states. But today they sing a different tune. There is talk about the "constellation of Southern African states" namely Muzorewa's Rhodesia, Botswana, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho and "independent homelands" which "will also represent the urban Blacks in South Africa". Two things emerge out of this faulty logic:

- 1) the northern border of South Africa will be the Cunene River (between Namibia and Angola) and the Zambezi (seperating Rhodesia from Zambia);
- 2) the Coloureds and the Indians have to be drawn more and more into the "administration of the country" — the white laager.

Our Reply

The strident voice of the Pretoria Boers, and of their number one racist, P.W. Botha, is daily blaring forth their pet theme — the so-called constellation of southern African states.

This dream of the racists is nothing new. Under Vorster's infamous and corrupt Premiership we had the so-called "enlightened" or outward policy by which Pretoria hoped to woo independent Africa

into its ugly, suffocating embrace.

The results of Vorster's diplomatic initiative were precisely zero. The racists remained as isolated as ever. Independent Africa showed itself averse to swallowing the poisoned carrot proffered by Pretoria.

Now Vorster's equally vicious and corrupt heir, P.W. Botha, has revived his former mentor's brainchild, this time under the guise of the "constellation of states". What exactly is this far from heavenly constellation of the racists?

According to Botha, this myopic, military-minded fanatic who is desperately attempting to pass himself off as a "statesman", South Africa with its vast resources and technology has the good will and the co-operative spirit to be of stupendous service to its neighbours and with them form a southern African community or constellation of states stretching even noth to Zimbabwe!

And exactly what stars are to be part of the racists' heavenly constellation? Why, such stars as the Transkei and Bophuthatswana backyard Bantustans, the pathetic puppet regimes of Salisbury and Windhoek, all spinning around that mother star of them all — Pretoria. A very dull and tarnished constellation of 'stars' indeed.

Carried away with their grandiloquent dreams the racists somehow imagine that they can capture some of the Front-line states in their orbit. Of course they will try all the economic pressure and blackmail,

together with imperialist manipulations, to build their unholy constellation, attempting to gobble up the economically weak and dependent countries such as Swaziland which have been South Africa's hostages since the time they were British protectorates. And of course Pretoria's intentions are crystal clear. If they cannot win Africans over with the carrot then they will beat them into submission with the stick. The politics and policies of the racists are bankrupt and immoral. No African or independent African state wishes to become a slave of Pretoria; which is why the "statesman" Botha must follow-up his political persuasion with outright military aggression. After all "war" is "politics by violent means" and the bankrupt politics of the racists means that their general solution to their problems is violence,

terror and total war!

Botha's constellation of southern states, his Pax Pretoria, would be no more than a Pax Romana, a Pax Hitler — peace yes! But the peace of the graveyard! That mentor and idol of the Pretoria Boers, the unlamented Adolf Hitler, also spoke about a constellation of European states. When Hitler could not get his way with his neighbours by bribery, corruption and blackmail, he drove those neighbours into his constellation at the point of the bayonet and jackboot. The wealth and resources of all those countries flowed into the coffers of Hitler's nazi state and the peoples of those constellations of states became the slave labourers of the Nazi capitalist class subject to the most inhuman torture and brutality.

This would be the reality of Pretoria's



constellation of states! This would be the reality of "equality, co-operation and good neighbourliness" being painted by Botha. The Pretoria Boers, the South African capitalist class and the imperialists are longing to see the apartheid state at the helm of an economic market incorporating for massive exploitation and the production of super profits all the states of southern Africa, stretching as far north as Zaire. They feel that South Africa has both the economic power and military muscle to carve-out such an empire; an empire which would be a convenient bulwark against the African revolution.

Independent Africa, and the Front-line states in particular, is keenly aware of the strategy of the racist octopus and knows the meaning of its foul and deadly embrace. Only total sell-outs like Muzorewa — that gibbering monkey on Smith's chain — and the Turnhalle traitors can pretend that P.W. Botha's fascist fantasies make sense.

For instance the government of Lesotho has in no uncertain terms rejected Botha's attempts to include that proud, independent country in his so-called constellation. Lesotho has become a thorn in Pretoria's flesh and can consider itself a highly respected member of the OAU. The Lesotho government gave the correct reply to Botha when it stated that the only way Lesotho would take part in a political summit would be to discuss the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa, and the transfer of power to the majority in the country.

These are fighting words indeed and a fitting rebuff to Botha's rantings. The Lesotho government's statement points to the goal: A liberated South Africa based on the Freedom Charter where power would firmly be in the hands of the people. This would create the real and lasting peace, prosperity and good relations amongst the independent states not only of southern Africa, but of the whole continent. The path to that goal is clear. The path is being charted by the struggling peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The path consists of all forms of struggle, mass political struggle and

mobilisation combined with armed struggle. This is the path of PEOPLE'S WAR!

That the people's liberation wars in southern Africa are achieving results can be seen by the frantic attempts of the Pretoria Boers and the imperialists to stave off their imminent collapse in Namibia and Zimbabwe. In South Africa too their position is becoming more and more precarious as the struggle advances under the leadership of the ANC and its military wing, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE.

Botha's dreams of constellations and Bantustans, of separate development and white leadership will be swept away by the tide of history. The attempts at aggression against Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, the attempts to liquidate SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and our ANC can never succeed. Yes! The dying horse has a savage kick and the highest vigilance is necessary but the whole world can see the writing on the wall which reads THE RACISTS ARE DOOMED AND VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

ANC GUERRILLAS IN ACTION

On Thursday May 3, ANC guerrillas attacked the Moroka police station in Soweto; tossed a grenade into the corrugated iron building and destroyed many files and dossiers in the archives including records on "criminals" etc. and finger-prints. They dropped ANC pamphlets. As the police station was burning fiercely, the situation was chaotic and the Jabulani Fire Brigade was called in to douse the flames. The ANC guerrillas had complete control of the situation.

The police have launched a major man-hunt; police reinforcements were called in

from all over Johannesburg and found "a tremendous number of empty cartridge cases" in the area; around the building scores of policemen, some in uniform, others not, were working furiously to get every shred of evidence; all sections of the police have been drawn into it; police searched nearby houses; patrols were stepped up in Soweto and police stopped cars at random to search them.

The police station was cordoned off and ballistic experts were on the scene while forensic experts combed through the charred remains looking for clues. They failed dismally.

THESE MEN ARE OUR BROTHERS; OUR SONS



THEY FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE

THEY ARE CALLED: TERRORISTS - SABOTEURS - AGITATORS - ABAGROGRISI - ABASHOKHOBEZI. THEY TRY TO DESTROY US BY SWEAR-WORDS BECAUSE THEY FEAR WHAT WE REALLY ARE—FREEDOM FIGHTERS!

THE END OF A TRIAL

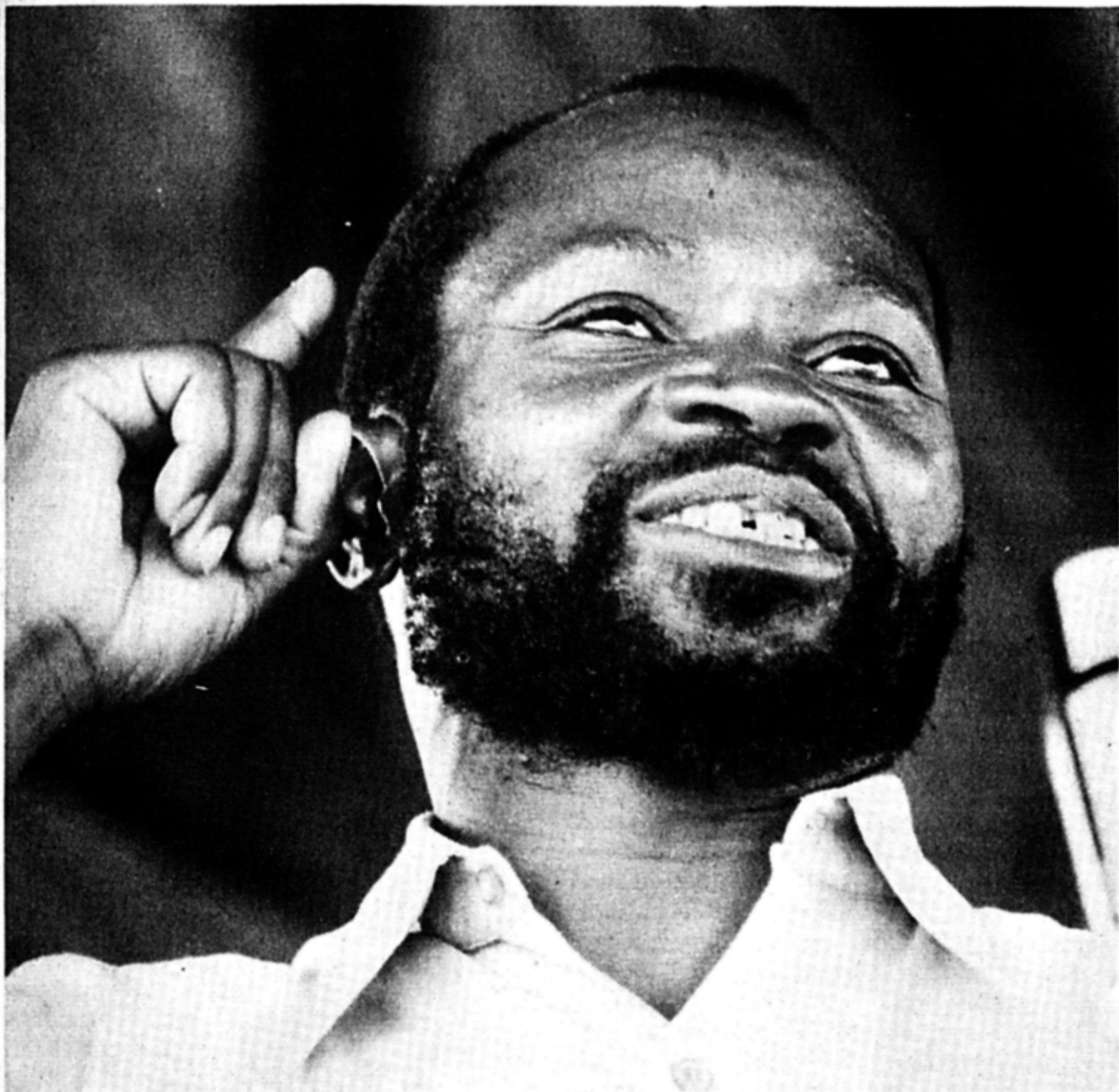
On a bitterly cold winter's day — June 16, 1976 — more than 20,000 Soweto students marched in the streets demonstrating their rejection of Apartheid education. What happened since then is well known — but the one-man Cillie commission appointed nearly three years ago has not yet reported.

On Friday May 11, 1979 a trial which was a sequel to these students' demonstrations ended in the Kempton Park Circuit Court. Ten young men a woman were found guilty on sedition — the first sedition trial in 30 years. The state claimed that the accused wanted to remove Bantu Education through violent means. The state produced a 200 page indictment and 3,000 pages of evidence and more than 100 witnesses.

Several of the accused were tortured and assaulted (police used electric shock torture). It should be remembered that these young people aged between 18 and 24 years (one of the students was 15 yearsold in 1976) had been in jail for detention for between 24 and 30 months for their activities as leaders of the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), a body which was banned along with 18 other organisations in the October crackdown in 1977.

When the sentence was passed on May 11, 1979 — (11 days after they were convicted of sedition) the 11 accused sang freedom songs and made the clenched fist salute.

Four of the 11 will serve prison terms. Sechaba Montsisi, former chairman of the SSRC, was sentenced to 8 years; another accused received a seven year sentence and two others including the only woman on trial Susan Mthembu, received six years; four years of each sentence was suspended.



LET US CONSOLIDATE OUR UNITY

From January 26 to February 2, 1979 an Extra-ordinary Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries was held in Maputo. The meeting which was attended by Foreign Ministers was attended by 23 countries and 23 observers. Also present were the liberation

movements of Southern Africa and international organisations.

The meeting was addressed by President Samora Moises Machel and his address was unanimously adopted as a document of the meeting. Sechaba reproduces this important document in the hope that our readers

will start pondering about the Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries due to be held in Havana, Cuba, in September 1979.

Mr Chairman,
Distinguished delegates,

We should like, to begin with, to express our warmest greetings to the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries and our heartfelt wishes for the full success of the work of this important gathering.

The holding of the present meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau in the capital of our People's Republic is a cause for rejoicing and an event of high significance.

The Mozambican people welcomes the delegates in a spirit of enthusiastic friendship and salutes, in their person, the peoples they represent, as comrades manning the same anti-imperialist barricade. We salute, in particular, the Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau, Abdul C.S. Hameed, whose clear-sighted leadership has contributed towards the dynamic and efficient operations of this notable organ of our Movement. Through him, we address our greetings and thanks to His Excellency Junius Richard Jayawar Dene, the current Chairman of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries for the manner in which he has discharged his task.

The year which has just elapsed saw the disappearance from our ranks of President Ali Soilih, that great fighter for the national independence and unity of the Comoros, savagely murdered by mercenaries and puppets.

We also deplore the death of President Jomo Kenyatta, of Kenya, a veteran in the struggle for the independence of Africa.

A short while ago, our Movement lost one of its most notable personalities. The death of President Houari Boumedienne, constitutes an irreparable loss for the Algerian people, for Africa, for oppressed peoples the world over, and for progressive mankind in general. Within the Non-Aligned Movement President Houari Boumedienne engaged in militant action in a tremendous scale during the period in which he served with distinction as President of our Movement.

We propose, in tribute to the memory

of Presidents Ali Soilih, Jomo Kenyatta and Houari Boumedienne, that this Assembly observe one minute of silence.

Our Movement

The Non-Aligned Movement, one of the main forces for peace, is holding the meeting of its Bureau in a war-zone. With this meeting, our Organization, composed of countries deeply committed to the cause of freedom and independence, to the cause of human rights, affirms its presence on the field of battle against colonialism, fascism and racism.

This is the moment when each of us re-lives the memory of the Motherland in chains. Re-lives the times when foreign troops fired on the people in Bombay, when the occupants hanged patriots in Nairobi, when paratroops slaughtered the people of Suez, when mercenaries carried out massacres in Biafra and Katanga, colonialists violated children in Burma and Malaysia, multi-nationals and spy agencies overthrew governments, invaded San Domingo, occupied the Panama Canal, and converted two-thirds of mankind into the vast back yard of the imperialists.

Our presence here, esteemed delegates, testifies to the fact that the marks left by colonialism are still vivid in the minds of our peoples, and revives our deep-seated hatred of oppression, and provides a re-affirmation of our joint resolve to put a final end to the continuous aggression that colonialism and racism represent.

The birth of the Non-Aligned Movement took place during an extremely important stage in the recent history of mankind. It was born as an anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist movement, as a resistance movement against imperialist attempts to regiment our countries into aggressive military pacts, making use of them in their own interests contrary to the right of peoples to independence, progress and peace, contrary to the right of peoples to the free choice of their path of political, economic and social development.

It was born at a time when the anti-colonial struggle was in the full throes of development. It was born at a time when major progressive changes were taking

“Our Movement... affirms its presence on the field of battle against colonialism, fascism and racism.”

place in countries newly liberated from the colonial yoke, It was born at the height of the period of the cold-war organized by imperialism to counter the building of socialism. It was born amidst the ashes of the imperialist defeat in Korea. It was born when imperialism recommenced its aggression against Viet-Nam.

From its very beginning, the Non-Aligned Movement proved to be a decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. This was due, in large part, to the outstanding progressive, dynamic and profoundly anti-imperialist personages who presided over its birth and development.

Josip Broz Tito, fighter in the anti-fascist resistance, and fighter for the cause of the freedom and independence of peoples; Gamal Abdel Nasser, fighter for the cause of the dignity of the Arab peoples, the African peoples and the Palestinian people; Kwame N’Krumah, fighter for the cause of the freedom and unity of the African peoples against colonialism and racism, and Jawarharlal Nehru, fighter for freedom and peace against the enlargement of the imperialist blocs.

To remember their names is to remember the successes in the struggle of our peoples; successes which have irreversibly transformed the correlation of forces at the international level in favour of independence, freedom, progress and peace; successes which have forced colonialism to retreat in all continents and bring its final liquidation closer; successes which have compelled imperialism to accept the fact that every people has the right to choose its own destiny, to choose its road of economic and social development.

As the basis of our victories, we note two decisive factors; our unity and the clear-cut definition of the enemy.

We have succeeded in establishing between our countries a correct platform of unity. And our unity is no mere statement of principle or expression of emotion.

Because it is based on the interests of our people — liberation from colonialism; liberation from economic, military, technological, scientific and cultural dependence;

opposition to wars of aggression, resistance to the imperialist attempts to manipulate us — our Movement grew, was able to unite us, was able to transform the small forces of each of us into an immense and invincible force in the struggle against poverty, exploitation and imperialist pillage, in the struggle for the recovery of our own resources, in the struggle against the status of being mere producers of raw materials to which imperialism wishes to reduce us.

Another reason for our growth is that the Non-Aligned Movement was able to find among the other forces for progress and peace companions in struggle on the anti-imperialist barricade.

The destruction of capitalist power and the establishment of socialist regimes in various parts of the world have shattered the hegemony of imperialism.

Today it is already unable to invade, occupy and exploit our countries with the same overwhelming superiority,

The Socialist Countries

The socialist countries were at our side and gave political, diplomatic and military support to the armed struggles for national liberation. Their support was decisive in the armed struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. At the crucial moment in the history of Angola, the socialist countries provided the means and support necessary to preserve the territorial integrity of Angola and the conquests of the armed struggle for national liberation, and to defeat the South African invasion. The socialist countries were at our side when Korea was attacked in 1951, when the peoples of Indochina were fighting for their independence, when the French, British and Israeli forces occupied the Suez Canal, when imperialism blockaded Cuba, and when imperialism sought to achieve the balkanization of the Congo and the secession of Biafra.

The disappearance of the system of blocs, which we all desire, and for which the Movement is struggling, will be achieved by our unity, and by the growth of the anti-

imperialist movement.

We were able to encourage the alliance with the democratic forces of the capitalist countries. The growth of those forces has enabled them to develop, within the strongest imperialist bastions, a major effort aimed at neutralizing colonial adventures, unmasking imperialist plots against the peoples, and opposing the speeding up of the arms race. The democratic forces of the capitalist countries are in sympathy with the struggle of the colonial peoples and have given political and material support to the armed struggle for national liberation.

Imperialism — the common enemy

Our unity, and our alliance with the other progressive forces have been achieved so that we were able to define the common enemy facing us — a very real enemy, who makes himself very much felt by his acts of oppression and exploitation.

Who bombarded our cities, from Bizerta to Managua, from Hawaii to Conakry and Beirut? Who plotted to destabilise our countries? Who organized coups d'etat and assassinated presidents such as Ali Soilih? Who attempts to split up countries like the Comoros and Nigeria? Who established military bases and introduced nuclear weapons into the Indian Ocean?

To all these questions there is always the same reply: imperialism.

Imperialism is providing the means to enable Israel and South Africa to become nuclear powers. It supports the rule of the multinationals. It forces down the prices of the raw materials that we produce and continually increases those of industrial products so as to prevent us from becoming economically independent. Imperialism continues to occupy parts of our countries, such as South Korea and Guantanamo in Cuba. It is keeping vile governments in power, and is trying to preserve them by sending warships, troops and agents when the masses rise up against them.

Imperialism is our enemy — our economic, military, political and cultural enemy.

This clear definition of the enemy, together with unity, is the foundation of

our strength and of the progressive growth of our Movement.

Mr. Chairman, this meeting is being held in a country which, for 14 years has been forced to be at war. Our people had to fight a colonial war carried on by the Portuguese colonialists and by imperialism. It now has to face continuous armed attacks by imperialism through the intermediary of the illegal racist regime of Ian Smith, attacks in which our people are massacred and our economic infrastructure is destroyed. The aim of these criminal acts is to destabilize the political, social and economic situation of our country, prevent our development and destroy our popular democratic State. The attacks are aimed at denying our people the inalienable right freely and independently to choose its road to political, economic and social development.

We are the target of imperialist aggression because we support the liberation struggle of the peoples, and consider our own liberty to be inseparable from the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

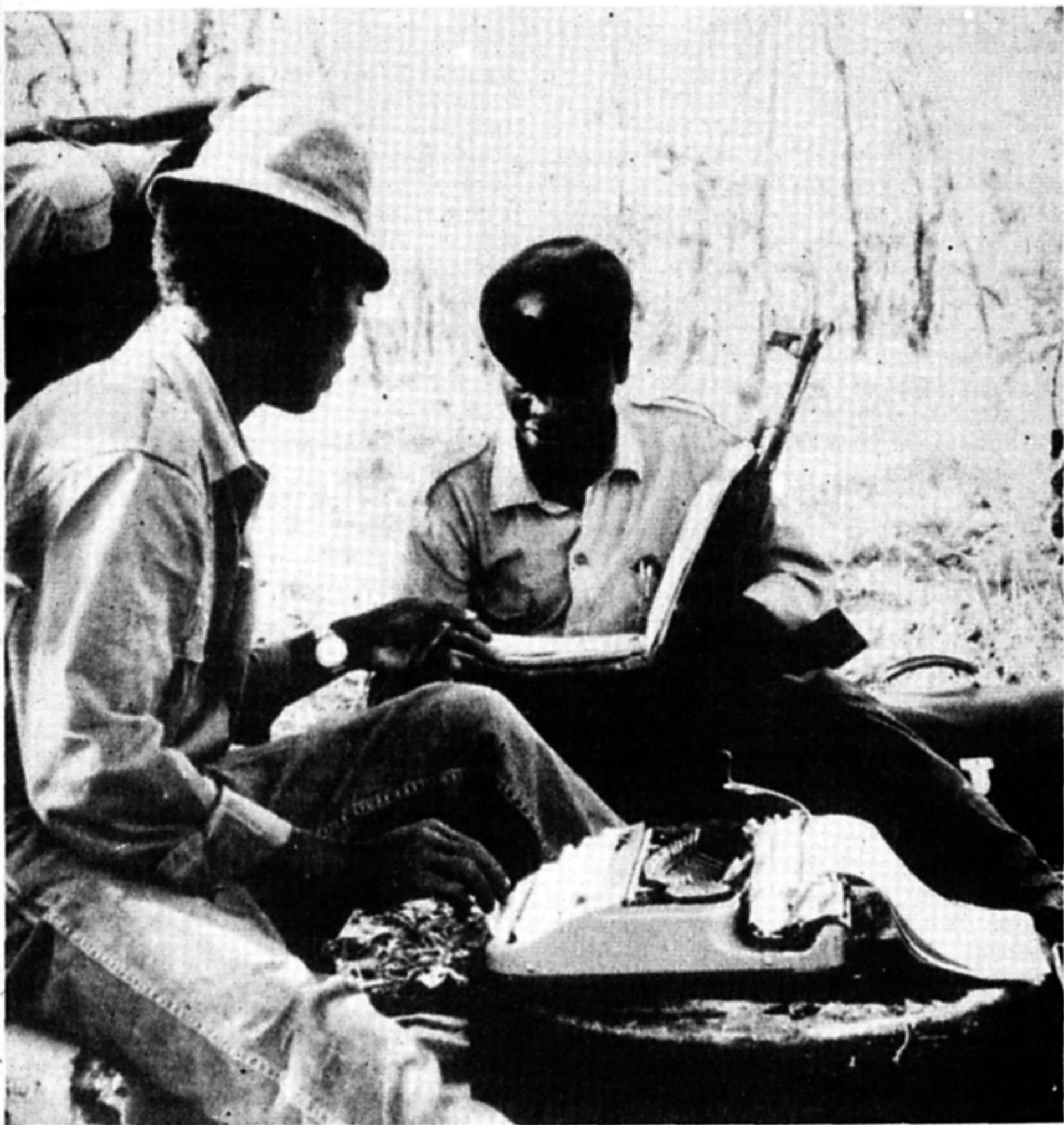
This important meeting is thus being held in a region of direct confrontation with imperialism which, through the intermediary of vile and backward regimes, condemned by the entire international community, obstinately refuses to recognize the right of peoples to independence and liberty.

The imperialist defeat in Asia put an end to the dreams of hegemony and colonization in our brother continent. The South Korean puppets, faced with the growing revolt of the masses, and increasingly discredited internationally, look ahead in panic to the time when they will be abandoned by their masters.

The Taiwan puppets have already been abandoned by their allies. The triumph of the peoples of Indochina shattered the chain of imperialist alliances and will ultimately lead to the extension of our Movement to cover the whole of South-east Asia.

The defeats suffered by imperialism extend the frontiers of peace, progress, liberty and justice.

But imperialism persists where its arms and its dreams of domination have still



Frelimo freedom fighters before the victory of People's Power

not been smashed by the popular struggle.

Southern Africa

Southern Africa is one such region. It is probably the region which will become the pivot and the main site of confrontation, the region in which the fundamental principles of national independence and human equality are still contested. Here,

imperialism refuses to recognise the existence of genuinely sovereign, genuinely non-aligned African States. It violently opposes the establishment of socialism in Mozambique and Angola. It tries to preserve the racist States as an operational terrorist force against free Africa.

It will be defeated. It will suffer the same fate as that of the Portuguese colonialists. Whether the death agony of racism is

to be shortened or prolonged, whether the price to be paid in blood is to be reduced, depends on our joint action in support of the liberation struggle. The conditions are ripe for victory.

The victory of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and St. Tome and Principe over Portuguese colonialism, the victory of the Angolan people over the puppets and the racist and mercenary invaders, the establishment of popular democratic States in our continent were a powerful blow against imperialism, profoundly altered the relationship of forces in Africa, and stimulated and created favourable conditions for the rapid development of the national liberation struggle in southern Africa..

Even to imperialism itself, it has become clear that colonialism in Zimbabwe and Namibia, and apartheid in South Africa, are doomed by history. The imperialist powers are carrying out manoeuvres of all kinds so as to ensure that the fall of these regimes does not mean the final liquidation of their interests, their hegemony, and their power in this region. Their objective is to prevent the genuine and complete liberation of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa, and to deny them the right to break the chains of imperialist domination.

Faced with the development and intensification of the struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa, which is bringing the minority racist regimes to the brink of collapse, the Western powers, which have always supported those regimes, are now trying to appear as allies of the liberation movement and even as a factor of decisive importance in the emancipation of the peoples. This is part of the new imperialist tactic, aimed at putting imperialism in a better position to carry out its manoeuvres, protect its interests, and destroy the natural alliance between the liberation movement and other world progressive forces.

Imperialist Manoeuvres

In Zimbabwe, imperialism makes use of two operational detachments: on the one hand, Smith and his puppets, and on the other, the colonial power and its associates. The tactic is always to keep the two alternatives

open, one internal and the other international. When one of the approaches develops to such an extent that a solution of the problem, to the detriment of imperialist hegemony, is imminent, imperialism hurries to put forward the other alternative. They follow one another in turn in what seems to be a vicious circle.

The Anglo-American proposal was the first concrete proposal made by the imperialist Powers to solve the problem of Zimbabwe in the face of the advance of the armed struggle for national liberation. Despite its many negative aspects, the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front and the Frontline States considered this proposal as a possible basis for negotiation. Improvements brought to that proposal through intensive negotiations produced a situation which was liable to hasten the downfall of the Salisbury regime.

To preserve the essence of imperialist interests and gain time, Smith switched his line and signed the so-called internal settlement with some puppets in March 1978. Despite their awareness of the sheer non-viability of the settlement, the imperialists did not oppose it. They hoped that through it situations would be created which would become irreversible.

The people's response to the internal settlement farce was to intensify the armed struggle for national liberation. That struggle was extended to the whole territory, even into the settlers towns, attained strategic military and economic objectives and brought the regime face to face with imminent total collapse. The armed struggle made it possible to move beyond the imperialists' attempt to place the illegal regime and the patriots on an equal footing and to consider the puppets and the freedom fighters as having equal standing as negotiators.

In the light of this failure the imperialists again took action to try to salvage the main substance.

They first reverted to international action by proposing a conference of all interested parties. When a precise definition of those 'interested parties' was attempted, the unwisdom of that manoeuvre became obvious. The interested parties, or rather the parties which interested the imperialists,

“...nothing can prevent the people of Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front, from destroying the abhorrent and inhuman Salisbury regime and from attaining its independence...”

were only the black puppets and the Smith regime. The large proportion of the white population opposed to Smith, which accepted the liberation of Zimbabwe, was deliberately ignored and never mentioned.

Smith was presented, flouting all the facts, as the sole and undisputed representative of the white population. On the other hand, any black puppet, the most insignificant of tribal chiefs, the vicar of the smallest parish, any adventurer opposed to the Patriotic Front, was immediately promoted to the status of ‘interested party’ representative of a sector of the public whose opinion should be listened to and given consideration in the name of democracy.

The imperialists also tried to divide the Patriotic Front in order to attract some of its members to a new enlarged internal settlement.

The objective behind the attempt to split the Patriotic Front was to bring about the political liquidation of one of its fighting wings, discrediting it with participation in a shameful compromise. The aim was to break up the Patriotic Front, hamstringing the armed struggle, to destroy the liberation movement and sow confusion among the progressive forces which were supporting the Zimbabwean people’s struggle. That manoeuvre was frustrated by the patriotism of the Co-President of the Patriotic Front, Joshua Nkomo, who stood firm against such shameful capitulation and worked with Co-President Robert Mugabe to defend the Front’s unity.

Belittling the importance of the Patriotic Front and undermining and shifting the decisive role of the armed struggle for national liberation were essential to the imperialists’ immediate aims to protect their own interests and maintain the structure of colonial-capitalist exploitation in Zimbabwe.

Clearly, the armed struggle in Zimbabwe is continuing to develop rapidly and nothing can prevent the people of Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front, from destroying the abhorrent and inhuman Salisbury regime and from attaining its independence. The intensity achieved in the armed struggle,

its extension to cover the whole territory, the massive and enthusiastic participation of the people shoulder-to-shoulder with the guerrillas, the fact that it is a struggle not only against the colonialists but also against neo-colonialism as represented by the puppets Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau, make it impossible for imperialism to find any way out other than full recognition of the legitimate rights of the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front.

Faced with the approaching collapse of his regime, Ian Smith is resorting to a desperate and criminal attempt to provoke generalized war in our region. The escalation of the attacks against our country, which over the past few months have been on an increasingly wider scale, is aimed at engulfing southern Africa in a generalized war so as to create conditions which justify direct imperialist intervention in the region. Arguments based on preventing alien intervention or on the humanitarian desire to protect the lives of the settlers will not be lacking. And we know from experience that according to imperialist logic, whatever is anti-imperialist is regarded as alien, and the only humanitarian consideration is for the lives of the settlers.

In Namibia, the situation is similar. The racist regime of Pretoria has pursued its plans for the installation of a puppet regime and the fragmentation of the territory. By signing the joint communique with the South African regime, the Western Powers in practice have endorsed Pretoria’s plan for an internal settlement in Namibia. Contravening Security Council decisions and using repressive force, South Africa staged an electoral farce aimed at concealing the true nature of its puppets. We are now witnessing in Pretoria’s attempt to persuade the international community to recognise the puppet Constituent Assembly and to agree to reverse the United Nations decisions which regard SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

At the same time, South Africa is continuing its aggression against the Peoples’ Republic of Angola to force it to withdraw

its internationalist support for the Namibian liberation struggle.

We hail the resoluteness of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, in its struggle against colonialism, in face of an enemy heavily equipped by the imperialists.

In South Africa, the situation is daily deteriorating for the apartheid regime. The South African people, under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) are steadily gaining in awareness and waging an heroic struggle against the Pretoria regime.

Down with Bantustans

The racist regime responded to peoples' struggle by brutally intensifying their repression. Its prisons were crammed with nationalists, who were tortured and murdered. The popular masses in revolt were subjected to the most fearful brutalities. These are clear signs that foundations of the apartheid regime were badly shaken.

In a clumsy manoeuvre designed to deceive the people of South Africa and world opinion, the racist regime tried to camouflage the most monstrous aspects of apartheid by giving a few opera tickets to a few rich Blacks and at the same time pursuing the establishment of the Bantustans.

The policy of bantustanization must be unmasked. If the Pretoria regime claims not to be a colonial power, it must recognise the right to self-determination and independence of all people throughout the territory. The inhabitants of South Africa and the international community recognize only one people in South Africa, namely the South African people, regardless of the ethnic groups or nations of which it is composed. It is this people which has so far been deprived of the fundamental and inalienable right to be responsible for the country's destiny. Attempts to bantustanize South Africa do not deceive the people; they will not avoid conflict or prevent extension of the national liberation struggle.

We believe in the victory of the South African people. We are confident that through the political efforts of the ANC and the increased consciousness of millions

of Black, Coloured, Indian and White citizens, the day will soon come when the bullets of repression will be powerless against the determination of all South Africans, young, old, men and women, who overcoming differences of colour, resolutely affirm their equal citizenship in a single country. The children and young people of Soweto will unite with the children and young people in the white suburbs once and for all to overthrow a regime which divides the people of the country and to build a united nation.

Artisans, miners, workers, civil servants, technicians and professionals of all colours and races, those whose mother tongue is Zulu or Afrikaans, those whose first language is Xhosa or English or Hindi, will join together in a single irresistible force which will effectively make South Africa the country of all. It will be a country free of the hatred, complexes and myths which have been imposed for centuries by the racists and the capitalist structure of domination. We shall overcome and we shall see a new, free, democratic, southern Africa based on justice and equality in which all will be united in the brotherly fight for progress and co-operation.

For imperialism, the preservation of South Africa as its main bastion in Africa is fundamental. This is why the Western Powers, while formally and hypocritically condemning apartheid, ensure its survival by providing economic and military support for the Pretoria regime. It is of great concern to the African and all peace-loving countries that the imperialists are providing South Africa with nuclear technology. South Africa's possession of nuclear weapons would be a very serious threat to world peace and security.

Despite all this play-acting and manoeuvring, the role and activities of imperialism in southern Africa is very clear. It wishes to preserve its main interests, which have so far been defended by the colonial and racist regimes.

How else can we explain the apparent impotence of the imperialist States against the regimes of Smith and Vorster? How can we explain that the Western Powers are incapable of preventing the supply of increasingly sophisticated weapons to the

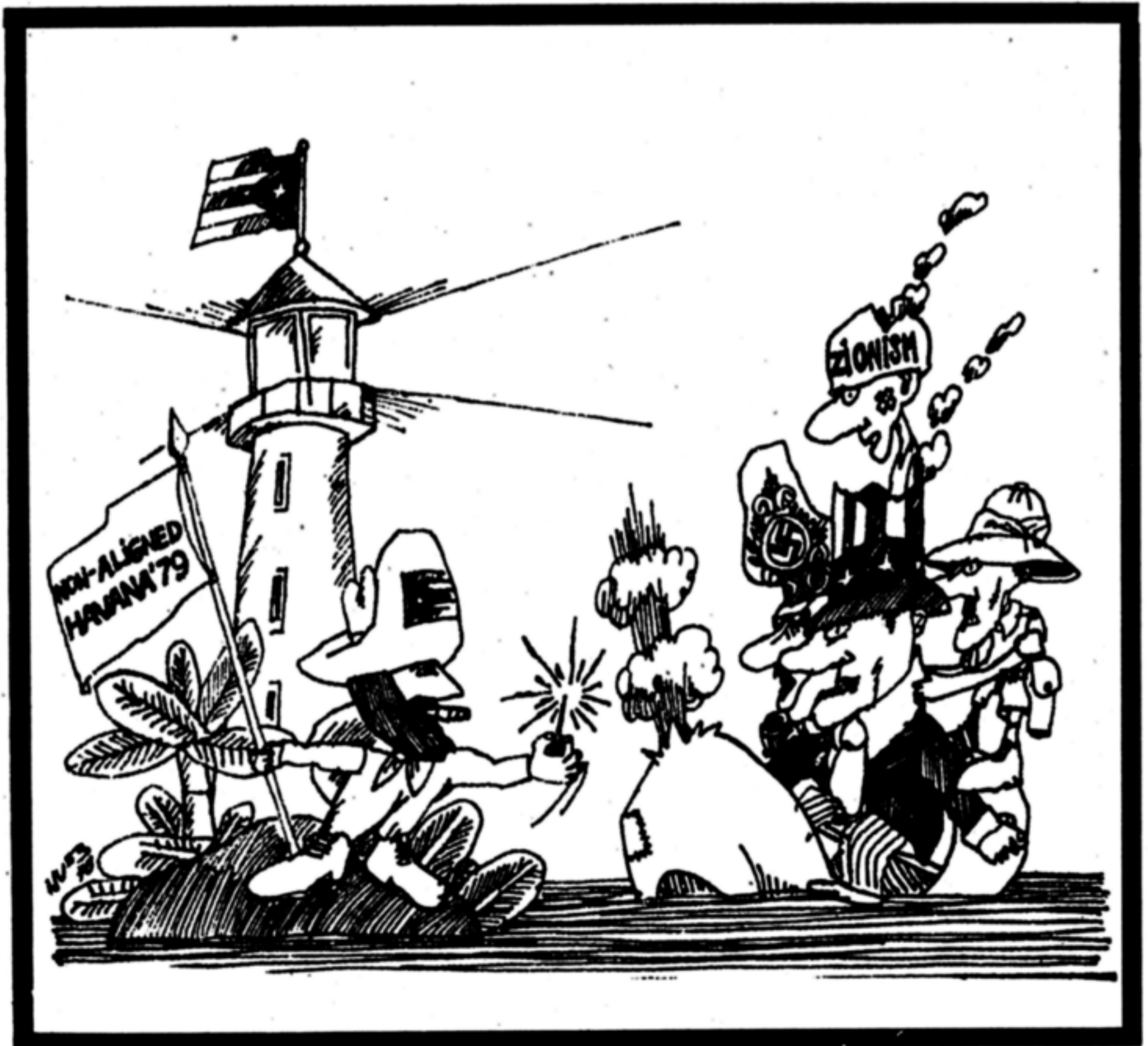
regimes which are aggressing the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. How can we explain their inability to stop 'Mirage' jet fighters of French manufacture and the most up to date helicopters and bombs of North American manufacture being made available to the Salisbury regime? How can we understand their inability to stop mercenaries being recruited in their countries for the racist forces?

How can we explain the attitude of the imperialists which today condemn the supply of arms to racist regimes, after having built the factories and provided the technology which those countries need for the production of most sophisticated weapons?

How can we justify the imperialists condemning the introduction of nuclear arms by Pretoria when the countries so doing are the very ones which supply all the means required for manufacturing atomic weapons?

We note with concern the growing imperialist military presence in the Indian Ocean, bases being maintained and reinforced, new naval units being added, and nuclear weapons being introduced. This ever-increasing presence constitutes a threat for our Peoples, is aimed at intimidating us, and is a base for aggression against our countries.

It is with profound concern that we



observe the growth of imperialism in the area. On the Comoros imperialism went as far as organizing mercenary forces, overthrowing a legitimate regime, assassinating the chief of State and patriots; it put mercenaries and puppets in power and did all it could to keep a sovereign State divided, a State which is a member of the OAU and of our own Movement.

The occupation of Mayotte and the recognition of the mercenary government constitute an insult for Africa, for the Non-Aligned Movement and for the dignity of our Peoples. The recent dispatch of an imperialist fleet to the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Gulf shows the imperialists' concern to prevent the Peoples of our area choosing their own regimes freely.

The interests of imperialism in our zone are very clear. Dominion over this area is revealed to be the strategic objective of imperialism owing to the huge mineral resources to be found there and to the importance of the route round the Cape, fundamental factors for maintaining their hegemony.

Mr. Chairman,

Distinguished Delegates,

the foregoing is the position which the Co-ordinating Bureau is facing in Southern Africa: a situation of open confrontation between our Peoples and imperialism. A situation of determined progress by the forces of Liberation. A situation of obstinacy on the part of the racist and minority regimes in opposition to the emancipation of our Peoples. A situation of growing intervention by the imperialist powers against the complete freedom of our Peoples and attempts to destroy the peoples' democratic States established in Mozambique and Angola. A situation of aggression against Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania, to prevent them exercising their right and duty of solidarity towards the oppressed Peoples.

Tasks and Responsibilities

This situation calls for a profound study by all of us, and particularly by the Co-ordinating Bureau of our Movement, to consider seriously the concrete measures to

be taken to support the struggle for liberation at this decisive stage in the history of the peoples of Southern Africa. We are convinced that this special session of the Co-ordinating Bureau will find ways and means to co-ordinate our action for giving greater support to the Peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa under the leadership of their respective Liberation Movements, the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and ANC.

On the international level we must isolate completely the minority and racist regimes of Salisbury and Pretoria.

The Patriotic Front must be recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, for it is the Patriotic Front which effectively unites and organises the People in its fight against the Ian Smith regime and which is defending the true interests and aspiration of the people of Zimbabwe. The puppets are an integral part of the racist and illegal regime.

To support the people of Zimbabwe means supporting the armed struggle for national liberation, the only way to achieve true independence. The negotiating table must then bow down to the realities and victories obtained on the battlefield.

We must use every means to fight for the strict application of the sanctions called for by the international community and for their being extended to cover every measure provided for in the United Nations Charter.

As regards Namibia we must strengthen our support to SWAPO, the sole representative of the Namibia people, providing material, financial and military aid for the armed struggle for national liberation.

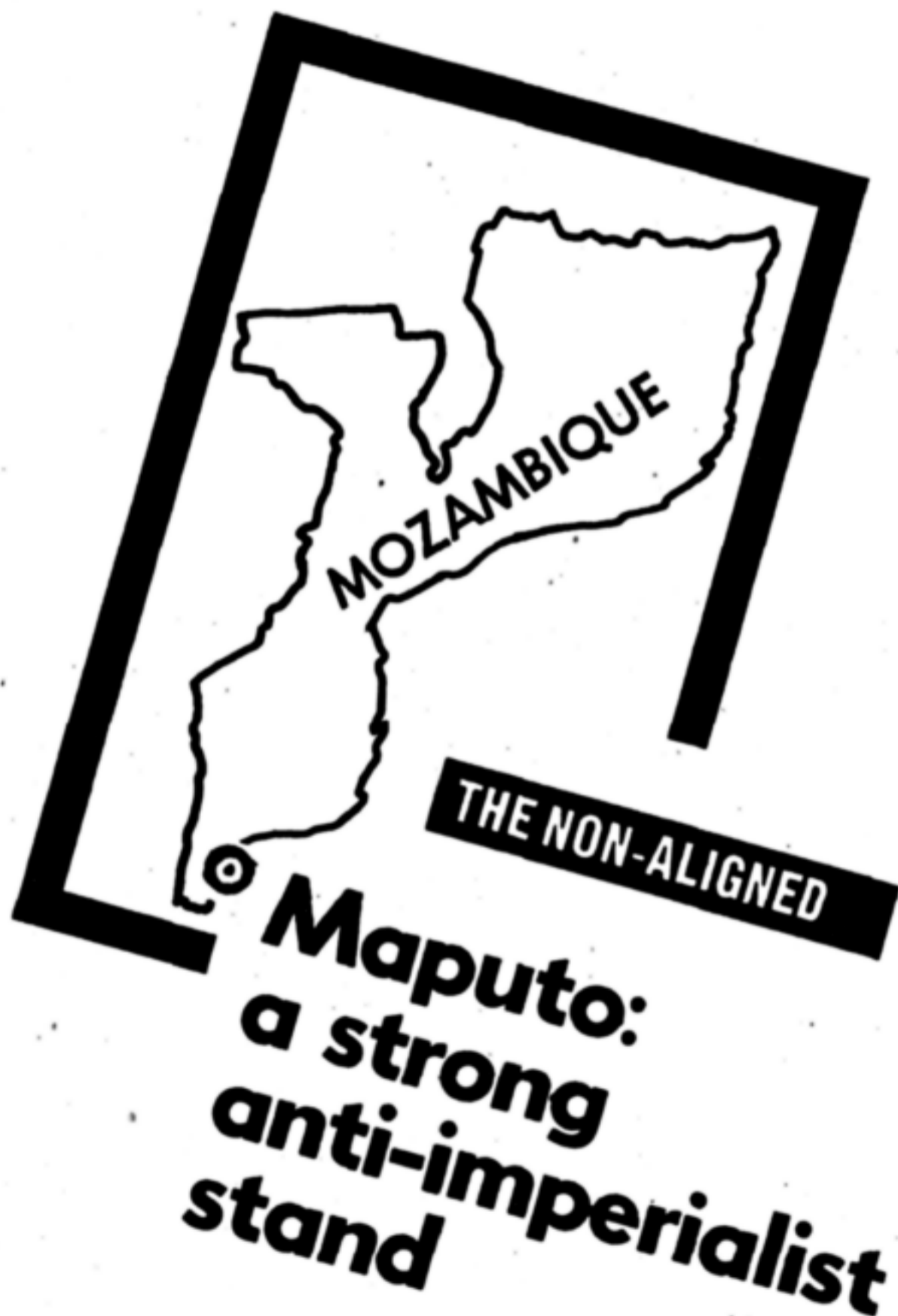
We must take action to force the Pretoria regime to comply with the plan for the independence of Namibia as approved by the United Nations Security Council and to denounce the role played by the imperialist powers in trying to cover up the manoeuvres undertaken by the Pretoria regime. We must stand vigilant against every manoeuvre aimed at confirming the separation of Walvis Bay and isolating SWAPO.

We must provide concrete and efficacious support for the people of South Africa in their struggle against the brutal and inhuman regime oppressing them.

Internationally we must denounce the oppression under which the people of South Africa are suffering. We must unmask the hypocritical manoeuvres which, accompanied by violence and oppression, aim to make the world believe that the regime is changing. We must stand in the way of any kind of recognition of the Bantustans which seek to balkanise South Africa and maintain the racist structure of domination.

It is also essential that the Non-Aligned

Movement support the immediate strategic rearguard of the struggle for national liberation in southern Africa, the front-line States. Help against the aggressions to which the front-line countries are subjected is a means of supporting the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa. Of equal importance is our support to States like Lesotho which are isolated from the world and preserve their national independence and solidarity with oppressed Peoples under difficult conditions.





The Mozambican delegation at the Havana Youth Festival, July 1978

Mr. Chairman,

We wish to express our deep appreciation to all the member countries of our Movement for their vital contributions to the strengthening of our united action. It is this unity which has enabled us to take firm stands forcing the enemy to retreat.

The important decisions which will be taken by this meeting will constitute a starting point, a new drive, but also a step forward in our struggle and will help us to take firm stands at the forthcoming summit of our Movement to be held in Havana.

The statements, messages and decisions taken here will provide a powerful stimulus for the people who, but a few score miles from Maputo, are fighting under conditions of utmost hardship and sacrificing their lives for the achievement of the ideals of the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement: liberty, independence, justice, progress and Peace.

The next Non-Aligned Summit, due to take place in Cuba, herself a victim of aggression, with part of her territory under occupation, bordering on imperialism's greatest stronghold, constitutes a message of hope for the peoples of Latin America in their struggle against imperialism and fascism, against poverty and under-development.

In terms of territory Cuba is a small country, but great in terms of history and of the determination of her people. A country which shook off the chains of imperialism and under-development and which today is in a position to send thousands of her sons to help consolidate independence and development for other countries.

The holding of the Summit of our Movement in the Republic of Cuba is a source of joy for us and an important victory against imperialism.

Mr. Chairman,

Distinguished Delegates

We would like once again to wish you well and to express the warm welcome of the entire Mozambique nation to the delegates of this meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement.

We feel that holding this important meeting in our capital is an act of solidarity with the struggle of the people of Southern Africa.

We wish you every success in your work and may they bring success to the struggle of our Peoples.

SOLOMON, MY BROTHER

(In memory of Solomon Mahlangu)

Where does brave steel go
When it has firmed foundations
Straightened crippling infirmity
Then blazed across furious skies
Sharply tracing revolution's flowers
With crimson tips
Along the rough edges of history
Say where does burnished steel go?

Where can Mahlangu go
When banned he has faced
Death row teeth
Those razor-blade projections drooled
To grotesque our peoplehood
Down in the living inferno
Where he has heard hell's clawed
Deafening rumble
Yet also seen the open trap-door
Leading to the dangled dazzle
Of silver and gold and diamonds
All his for a traitor's song
But the warrior spit courage voluminous
Direct into the devil's face
Say where can our comrade go?

Mahlangu cannot else go
Save forward to the frontline
Where consciousness climbs all storms
The brilliance of his young life
Sparks inside a million hearts
The soldier triumphs
Where together we build steady forts
To break adversity
When together we womb the dream to birth

Mahlangu cannot else
But fuse with seasons
That disperse armed seeds into positions
Warmed with martyrs' sacrifice
On lonely cold nights he vigils
Midst hungry watchful eyes
In the dark night of crafty enemy flights
Then breakfasts with battalions
On vengeance defiance and dare

Did'nt you see him today
Even right now
Present us his will
That last testament
Signed with blood
Pure from the flame of Vuyisile Mini
Moving like the gaze of Bram Fisher

Did'nt you hear him today
Even right now
Sing his poem of love
Write an epitaph of love
With LIFE
"My blood will nourish the tree
Which will bear the fruits of freedom" he said

Yes Mahlangu unbending
Is the MK's symphony
Never reported in enemy press
He is you and I everywhere
Completing his interrupted walk to freedom

Yes for him too with LIFE
We must reach freedom's rich estates...
Marching
To the unbroken rhythm
Of surging dancing spears

WE ARE AT THE FOREFRONT

On the initiative of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), and in conjunction with the United National Independence Party (UNIP), the ruling party in Zambia, an International Conference in Support of the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa and in Support of the Front-line States was held in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia from the 10-13th April 1979. More than 300 delegates from all over the world attended.

The conference supported the struggle waged by the ANC, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front. The Declaration of the conference called for "Effective practical aid now to the Liberation Movements and the Front-line States. This is the message of the Conference". Comrades Kaunda, Nkomo and Tambo made the main speeches. Sechaba reproduces the speeches of comrades Kaunda and Tambo made at the conference.

Comrade Chairman of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation.
Distinguished Delegates,
Distinguished guests,
Sisters and brothers.

On behalf of the United National Independence Party, its Government and the people of Zambia, and indeed on my own behalf, I extend fraternal greetings and warmest welcome to all the Delegations represented here at this historic International Conference in support of the National Liberation Movements in Southern Africa and in solidarity with the Front-line States.

Zambia feels highly honoured to host such an important international meeting. It is a great pleasure to us to have in our midst distinguished revolutionaries and internationalists who have done so much to establish on earth a common brotherhood of man. I sincerely hope that all of you, sisters

and brothers, who have honoured us by coming to attend the Conference both as delegates and observers will feel at home in Zambia. You are most welcome to our country.

Comrade Chairman and distinguished delegates, your presence here today bears testimony to the fighting spirit and the growing unity among those entrusted with the noble task of establishing conditions of peace and progress in our world.

The Peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and the Front-line countries feel encouraged that you have come at this decisive hour to their troubled region in order to demonstrate your solidarity with the struggle. You are demonstrating your revolutionary zeal in the same manner you have done in the past whenever called upon to perform your internationalist duty.

Today, you are in Southern Africa, at the frontier between progressive forces and forces of retrogression; a frontier between freedom, independence and social justice on the one hand and imperialism and capitalist exploitation on the other; a frontier between racial harmony as against racism and fascism. To us this conference is a moving experience. We shall remain more enriched in our fighting spirit; more inspired to see the day of victory brought closer. Our determination and resolve must be to hold our next solidarity conference in a free Namibia or Zimbabwe.

We, therefore, receive you as friends, reliable allies and comrades-in-arms in the freedom struggle against colonialism, imperialism, racism and fascism raging over Southern Africa under the banners of the African National Congress in South Africa, the South West Peoples Organisation in Namibia and the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe.



President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia

Comrade Chairman, I pay special tribute to the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation for co-sponsoring this conference. I pay tribute for their devotion to the sacred cause of freedom for the oppressed masses of the world and to their unflinching courage in promoting solidarity among the struggling peoples the world over. Your selfless spirit sustains the struggle and rekindles the aspirations of the oppressed. Yesterday it was Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Angola. Today, it is Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The history of AAPSO is the history of the Liberation Movements in Asia and Africa. Zambia will always be happy and proud to be associated with the Organisation.

It is important for the world to know the nature of this gathering today. The peoples, nations and Organisations represented here today constitute some of the most progressive forces of our world. Their peoples have been among the most humiliated, oppressed and exploited under the most reactionary, fascist, aristocratic and feudal forces in the history of the world. They have fought and endured cruel conditions with minimum resources to fight back.

The history of the people represented here has demonstrated that there is no price too high for freedom. Having broken the chains of bondage they have not rested. They have carried and continue to carry the struggle beyond their national bounda-

ries in support of those still fighting to break the yoke of imperialism and colonialism. It is in this spirit that the revolutionary people you represent have sent you here today.

Comrades, we meet at the darkest hour before the dawn of peace in this region. At this time the freedom war in Zimbabwe and Namibia is gone far beyond the Rubicon and is intensifying to a painful and fierce finality. It is irreversible. Progressive forces are obliged to throw in all they have in material support for the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia to finalise their liberation. Hesitation by progressive forces at this delicate moment is most dangerous.

I do not have to remind this meeting that our brothers and sisters in these countries are dying not in tens but in hundreds everyday. Those who remain have no say in their own destiny which is shaped and directed by the ruling racist minorities. They have no part in the free economic development of their own countries. They are mere pebbles on the shores of history. Yet, the economic prosperity of these areas is dependent upon their labour. Our brothers and sisters have a God-honoured right to wage war with all means coming their way to rid themselves of political degradation.

Comrade Chairman, this conference may want to know how the reactionary forces are matched against the revolutionary movements. The answer is of course simple. Whatever the odds against Liberation, it is a fact of world history that reactionary forces are everywhere fast giving way to progressive forces. However, for the sake of strategy and tactics, it is imperative that we know the enemy well in our region. Who is this enemy?

In Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front, the only legitimate force of liberation, is ranged against a multi-faced enemy with Ian Douglas Smith as the key enemy figure. Western vested interests believe that he will protect their interests. In him they find a stubborn trickster whom they are satisfied is capable of manoeuvring the situation in their favour by installing a black puppet regime. In the same manner that pioneer settlers paved the way, imperialism is about to install a cover-up regime as a buffer for its own entrenchment.

In South Africa, the African National Congress is faced by a powerful Afrikaner laager heavily supported by Western reactionary forces. These have and continue to arm Apartheid. They have built up a nuclear power station which is a threat not only to the masses of that country but the whole Region and indeed the wide world.

In Namibia, the South West African Peoples Organisation faces a two pronged assault, one from racist South Africa and the other from black collaborators. The heavily indoctrinated black collaborators who are now eager to emulate the so-called civilised standards of the white oppressors have been carefully nurtured into puppets to serve imperialism. These collaborators constitute a recurring feature in the region and pose an extreme obstacle which sharpens the regional contradictions. They are used to divide the innocent masses from the forces of true liberation. Thus, through them the real essence of the struggle, its purpose and meaning are distorted.

These, Comrade Chairman, are the forces ranged against liberation. But the fight is on and moving forward. In Zimbabwe, for example, the Patriotic Front has broken through the iron curtain of racism, capitalism and fascism. Thanks to the assistance rendered by progressive forces of the world. Now the Front controls most of the Western and Eastern regions of that country. Their greatest weapon, like all revolutionary movements of our time, is the mass line. It is the exploited masses who have carried freedom into the centre of racist domination.

In a last ditch effort to save imperialism, the reactionary forces have employed the most callous methods of settling the liberation question. There is a systematic liquidation of innocent civilians on the false excuse that they are 'terrorists' and the Western press, true to its nature as the guardian of the so-called 'civilisation', echoes this to the world.

Comrade Chairman, we are entitled to ask, who is a terrorist? Is it the man who for centuries has plundered, killed and maimed innocent young children, mothers and helpless old men? Or is it the victim? The man who is dispossessed of his land and fruits of his own labour, humiliated,

“The aim of imperialism is to maintain the web of capitalist exploitation which it has woven over the past centuries for the benefit of international capital.”

denied political and economic liberties, denied the right to exist, nay subsist in his own land?

Smith is the terrorist. He is the murderer. Imperialists and their puppets are the terrorists guilty of the crime of genocide. Smith is guilty of genocide, mass murders; so are the Western powers who prop him up and his good Bishops and Reverends; so are all of those in the band wagon of protecting vested interests in this region.

Secondly, Fascists use legality under their so-called ‘law’ to force as many black people as possible to join the ‘war’. They move them into the war front so that brother can kill brother. Anyone refusing they kill in cold blood.

They force them to join at gun point as they did when obtaining labour in the 1890s for their gold and diamond mines. They use these so-called legal proclamations to remove any semblance of freedom in all spheres of human activity.

The third is to push through democratic rhetoric for a comprador neo-colonial regime phased over a period of ten years. In this stupid drama, they hope to entice the local population that their chains have been removed from their legs, necks and hands. By replacing iron chains with gold chains, they hope to convince the masses that the need for a liberation struggle is over. They appeal to the world that a so-called legitimate government has been established.

The fourth, Comrade Chairman, is a strategy drawn up in the capitals of the West to destabilize the rear bases of the struggle. Unable to confront the barrel of freedom, the racists overflow liberated zones into the front-line countries to commit callous aggression. Using planes, napalm bombs, fuels, mercenary pilots and parachutes secured from Western reactionary forces, they bomb refugee camps killing innocent young boys and girls who have fled from terrorism inside Zimbabwe.

This sad situation in Zimbabwe is reproduced in Namibia and South Africa; the same tactics, the same aggressors and the

same victims. Of course, this is as it should be because the whole of the region is one. It has always in history been the same, carved by the same enemy and dominated by him.

Comrade Chairman, I want to submit to this Conference that no imperialist power can decide to liquidate imperialism. To do so would be an abnormal order of things. For imperialism to arm Liberation Movements would be an act of suicide on its part. It is only possible if the imperialist power is certain that such movements will be led by reactionary elements. It is in this light that the role of the multi-national corporations, the economic and military collaborations between the racist regimes of Southern Africa and the imperialist powers and reactionary forces of the Western world should be examined. The aim of imperialism is to maintain the web of capitalist exploitation which it has woven over the past centuries for the benefit of international capital.

International capital, Comrades, has historically been a decisive factor in the evolution of the socio-economic formations introduced by settlers in Southern Africa. It has strengthened the racist and fascist ruling cliques in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe by providing them with the facilities for the creation of a strong industrial and military complex which the system uses to oppress the masses in those countries and harass the peoples of the Front-line States.

It is for this reason Comrades, that when the strategy and tactics for the liberation war in Southern Africa are being made, it should be understood that the war is not just against the minority regimes, it is also a war against imperialist powers and their instruments, the multinational corporations.

We, who constitute the Front-line States, have analysed the social and political dynamics of this Region and have begun to relate the theory of our regional development to practice. In all the fields of action in the economy, politics, social and cultural, defence and security, we are developing bonds of unity. We are trans-

forming this unity to benefit more and more of our people.

As for our policies, in Zimbabwe we uphold the Patriotic Front as the legitimate force of liberation and the movement of the masses for social progress and real democracy. We condemn the so-called Internal Agreement and the bogus elections. We condemn all those who have associated themselves with this evil manoeuvre. The time for talking in Zimbabwe is over. The barrel of freedom must take its course.

The Patriotic Front is one and indivisible with the Front-line countries. Any machinations to divide us will never work. Our task is one. It is to win the war through an armed struggle as the only way out of this bondage and oppression. We condemn the West for its supply of oil, economic aid, and mercenaries to Zimbabwe.

In South Africa, we uphold the ANC struggle for the liberation of people of all races from the oppressive fascist regime and its inhuman system of apartheid. We remain totally opposed not only to the denial of human rights but also to the policy of Bantustans. We call for the release of Nelson Mandela and other fellow patriots languishing on Robben Island and various other detention camps.

On Namibia, we condemn the Turnhalle Agreement and accuse those who were part of it for committing genocide against their own people. We regard SWAPO as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people. We hail its struggle for freedom, peace and progress. Any manoeuvres by the Western powers to delay, distort or outdo SWAPO will not succeed in halting the liberation struggle. We support the current policy by SWAPO under the given conditions of negotiating while fighting.

As for Zambia's position in the liberation struggle of Southern Africa, which I believe is well known all over the world, I can only reiterate and pledge once more, on behalf of the people of Zambia that our total support remains unshaken.

We know that as a Front-line State Zambia is sitting at the edge of an active volcano whose lava spills beyond its crater. It destroys valuable human lives of the Zambian people as well as the nation's

material wealth causing havoc in the social, economic and political life of our young nation. The presence of such a large number of countries and National Liberation Movements, from Africa, Asia as well as friendly and progressive organisations and people from other parts of the world including Europe and Americas, is a clear indication that Zambia recognises the fact that the struggle in Southern Africa is an integral part of the world revolutionary struggle against the forces of imperialism, colonialism, fascism, racism and apartheid which are themselves causes of world poverty, hunger, ignorance, crime, exploitation of man by man, human degradation and other forms of social evil.

To conclude, I wish to thank you very sincerely, Comrade Chairman, distinguished delegates and guests, and indeed, the Secretariat of AAPSO for having afforded me the opportunity to share with you some of my thoughts on the question of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

It is my prayer that this historic International Conference being held at the doorsteps of the freedom war will be a firm stepping stone to accelerated victory by the progressive forces.

It is my sincere hope that this Conference will contribute to the further deepening of the understanding and the strengthening of the solidarity and co-operation between the progressive world and the suffering masses of Southern Africa and promote to greater heights the unity of the just struggle against colonialism, imperialism, racism and fascism. We from this troubled Region call upon the progressive forces of the world to stand up to the new challenges of the turning point in Southern Africa.

It is now my greatest pleasure to declare this Conference open.

Long live the struggling people of Southern Africa!

Long live the progressive peoples of the world!

Long live the anti-imperialist struggle!
May God bless and guide you all.



Comrade President O.R. Tambo

THE SPIRIT OF BANDUNG

The Afro-Asian solidarity movement has traversed a long and complicated but glorious path since the days, 25 years ago next year when a delegation of the African National Congress travelled from Johannesburg to Bandung in Indonesia to join hands with representatives of the peoples of the rest of Africa and of Asia to bring into being what has proved itself as a steadfast friend of all peoples fighting for national and social emancipation, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation.

The African National Congress is proud that over all these years it has marched among the ranks of the peoples represented by this Organisation, participating in the great struggles that have seen the wiping out of colonialism from the African and Asian continents and the re-emergence of hundreds of millions of people in world politics as free and active participants in the collective construction of a better human destiny.

We are moved to recall the words of our late President Chief Albert Luthuli

when he opened the 42nd Annual Conference of the ANC in 1953. To this day we repeat after him: "Our interest in freedom is not confined to ourselves only. We are interested in the liberation of all oppressed people in the whole of Africa and in the world as a whole.....Our active interest in the extension of freedom to all people denied it makes us ally ourselves with freedom forces in the world."

The struggles of this alliance of "freedom forces in the world" has brought us to the threshold of the realisation of the goals set out at Bandung. Beyond that threshold lie two great Asian and African questions of contemporary international politics, viz. the liberation of the people of Palestine and the restoration of their national rights and the liberation of the peoples of Southern Africa and the restoration of their national rights.

It is therefore appropriate that this conference should take place in Lusaka the capital of the Republic of Zambia

because, for Africa, this great Republic represents both actually and symbolically, physically and politically, the threshold to total liberation which we have reached as a result of the struggles of the people of this country acting in alliance with the freedom forces of the world.

This very setting, the commitment and the daily participation of the people and government, UNIP and the President of this country, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, in the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa, immediately suggest what tasks face this very important conference.

We think it is proper that this conference should strive to reach a comprehensive understanding of Southern African actuality and on the basis of that understanding and as fellow combatants for a common cause look once more into the question — what is to be done?

Important Questions

The question whether Southern Africa would ever be liberated was answered many years ago, and practically, by the victories of the African forces of national liberation over British, French and Belgium colonialism. These victories both prove that colonialism had outlived its time, and gave birth to a vast rear base which made possible the raising of the level of confrontation in those countries which were as yet in bondage.

The second question, whether the African liberation movements could in fact succeed in their struggles despite the stubborn armed resistance of the colonial powers was answered also in the affirmative, in the first instance by the victory of the people of Algeria under the leadership of the FLN.

The victories of FRELIMO, the PAIGC and the MPLA and no less that of the Vietnamese people over US imperialism, brought the lesson to the very doorstep of extreme and entrenched imperialist domination in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. The answer was simply this that — yes, the liberation movements will win regardless of what the enemy does to deny us our victory.

The third question, what kind of liberation this would be has, for us in Southern

Africa, been answered again practically by the realisation of popular power in Angola and Mozambique and the process of social transformation which that popular power has started in those two countries.

Imperialism recognises that even in Southern Africa and in Palestine, naked colonial rule can no longer be maintained. The colonised peoples themselves are demonstrating in practice and in full view of the imperialists themselves, that they are determined to achieve victory or to perish in the pursuit of that victory.

Of course this is not the first time that imperialism has been faced with this reality. We all know what happened historically — the imperialists had to concede independence to the colonised peoples, as they will surely be forced to do in Southern Africa.

However, as an inevitable consequence of the development of the African revolution, as we have said, the liberation movements of Southern Africa as well as the imperialists themselves are faced with the question what kind of decolonisation shall this be!

The fact that this question has become an issue of practical and immediate politics in Southern Africa is a sign of how much the balance of forces has changed in this region, in Africa and in the world. A mere 20 years ago, this question was being laughed out of court as premature within the milieu of African politics.

Today, the imperialists themselves recognise the immediacy of this question. Thus while imperialism recognises that the time for the decolonisation of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe has come, it wants a type of decolonisation which will leave its interests, its hegemony and its power in the region intact, a form of liberation therefore which will be incomplete and fraudulent, leaving the peoples of Southern Africa bound hand and foot to the imperialist system of economic, military, political and other relations, the objects of imperialist exploitation and domination under a new guise. In short, imperialism aims for a neo-colonialist decolonisation.

Enemy Manoeuvres

The continuation of imperialist

“These liberation movements are the midwives of a future which will be characterised by the transfer of all power to the people...”

hegemony in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa aims not only to protect the immense imperialist interests in these countries.

Thus imperialism wants to maintain its hegemony in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa in order to use this area as its base to put back under its hegemony the independent states of Southern Africa. Conversely, imperialism is haunted by the spectre that more than 30 million people of the unliberated south of Africa will succeed to break the chains of imperialist domination and achieve complete and genuine liberation, an event that would have radical and fundamental repercussions, further altering the relations between Africa and the imperialist world in favour of the masses of the ordinary working people of our continent.

The critical factor that confronts imperialism is that its antagonists as represented by the PLO in Palestine, SWAPO in Namibia, the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and the ANC in South Africa represent a future that is not anti-colonial merely but anti-imperialist as well. These liberation movements are the midwives of a future which will be characterised by the transfer of all power to the people: by all power this conference should understand exactly that we mean political power, economic power, military power — a genuine and meaningful transfer of power to the people.

It would be of little moment to the racists of Southern Africa, the Zionists in Israel and their international allies if these organisations represented a minority tendency on the fringes of a largely so-called “moderate” broad liberation movement.

The fact however, is that these movements are the genuine representatives of their peoples. They constitute the core and the vanguard of the liberation forces of their respective countries without whom and against whom no just and lasting solutions of the fundamental problems of the Middle East and Southern Africa are possible.

The imperialists themselves recognise this reality. Take for instance the statement made by Chief Sebe, appointee of

the South African regime who has the task to administer the Ciskei Bantustan. Here is what he said at the end of last year:

“The Rhodesian and South West African questions will be settled one way or other within the next six months and an evaluation of certain aspects of the conflict which occurred there needs to be made as it is relevant to our own future....It would seem inevitable that immediately the Rhodesian and South West African problems are settled, the ANC will begin a determined onslaught against South Africa, both externally and internally in a bid to obtain added recognition for itself, initially among third world powers, but later internationally. Events of the past have shown that should the ANC be determined enough in their efforts, they have a very good chance of success. Firstly, they can succeed in obtaining recognition for themselves as being the only relevant opposition to the white South African government, with UN membership to back their claim. When once that happens, the leaders of homelands and independent (Bantustans) will be in an invidious position.”

We should however remember that exactly because they recognise this reality, the imperialist powers are carrying out manoeuvres of all kinds so as to ensure that the fall of the racist regimes does not mean the final liquidation of their interests, their hegemony and their power in the region.

To achieve this result imperialism has embarked on an ambitious, integrated and brutal offensive designed to produce a solution in Southern Africa and the Middle East which will guarantee the permanence of its hegemony in these regions.

What are the principal moments of this offensive?

a) the racist regimes and their allies aim physically to liquidate the liberation movements in Southern Africa, both within their respective countries and in their areas of sanctuary in the Front-line States;

b) simultaneously they aim to compel the neighbouring independent States to turn against the liberation movements. For this purpose, as we all know, they have resorted to regular military raids deep into the Front-line States, annihilating hundreds of people and destroying property;

c) they are also very busy creating such forces among the black oppressed as would replace the white minority regimes as the guarantors of the permanence of imperialist hegemony in Southern Africa in exchange for high-sounding titles and a life of luxury for a handful of black traitors;

d) imperialism is at the same time continuing to pour military and economic support into South Africa and Rhodesia to ensure that the racist regimes in these countries remain continuously the principal factor determining the content and pace of any process of decolonisation;

e) imperialism has also stepped up its intervention within the world democratic movement, to turn this movement away from its anti-imperialist positions and step by step to detach from it important contingents and use these in its global offensive against the forces of national liberation, social progress and peace.

Among other things, this strategy means that:

In opposition to each genuine liberation movement created by the masses of the oppressed people to serve as the representative of their aspirations, imperialism is trying to create its own 'decolonisers' whom it describes as internal as opposed to our being external and therefore not representing the people, to serve as the representatives of continued imperialist domination.

In direct relationship as the forces of reaction are doing everything in their power to bolster these hired decolonisers, so also are they intensifying their campaign physically to liquidate the authentic liberation movements within their respective countries and in their temporary homes in the Front-line States, to ensure that we who are

dying to secure our liberation do not force our people to vote for their own liberation!

Simultaneously as they raise a clamour about human rights and shuttle to and fro between Pretoria, Salisbury and Windhoek and the capitals of the western world professing a determination to bring about a just and peaceful solution, the imperialist countries are stepping up their aid to the racist regimes, to guarantee the continued existence of these regimes.

To our strategic line that armed struggle is a necessary and decisive factor in securing victory, imperialism answers by seeking to cut us off from Front-line States, the socialist countries and the rest of progressive humanity while working rapidly to create new puppet military forces in Southern Africa and to increase the level of participation of foreign mercenaries, amid more strident calls for a peaceful solution and touching expressions of grave concern that unwittingly we have turned ourselves into tools of so-called Soviet imperialism.

In the Middle East the desperate American effort to establish peace and work towards the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people has resulted in the detachment of Egypt from the rest of the Arab world, the heightening of tension in the region, a treaty undertaken by Egypt not to allow the Palestinian people to continue their struggle from Egyptian soil, the offer of Bantustans to the Palestinians and the release of Israeli pilots to fly combat missions against the peoples of Southern Africa.

In the far East the normalisation of relations between the People's Republic of China on the one hand Japan and the USA on the other, aimed, we were made to believe, at the relaxation of international tensions and the extension of the frontiers of peace, have been followed by the abrogation by China of a peace-treaty of long-standing, the invasion of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and military missions from Peking to acquire the most modern weapons from the western world.

It should therefore be clear that the perspective that confronts us here in Southern Africa is one of an intensified counter-offensive by the racist regimes and their allies. This offensive is made

all the more necessary from the point of view of the enemy by the very fact of the strength of the liberation movements and the level of consciousness among the broad masses of our people. The steadfast support for and involvement in the common struggle of the Front-line States, the rest of Africa, the socialist and other progressive countries as well as other contingents of democratic mankind, including the forces represented at this Conference, have enabled us to raise the intensity of the confrontation between the forces of progress and those of reaction. The genuine liberation of Southern Africa is nearer today than it has ever been in the past.

As a result of all this, the fascist regime of Botha and Vorster is confronted with the further deepening of the general crisis of the apartheid system. It finds itself unable to solve any of the fundamental problems that inexorably lay at the basis for its own destruction.

As the racist regime sees a greater need to entrench the apartheid system, the more

the masses of our people and the international community reject it, compelling even the most timid to cry out — enough, no more!

It is this failure which has resulted in the so-called information scandal whose significance lies in the fact that it has exposed to the white population what the black people have always known to be true; that the apartheid system is based on murder, theft, lies and corruption, all perpetrated by a group of people who would like everybody to believe that they are deputies elected by God.

Similarly the implementation of the Bantustan programme serves further to convince our people that by sacrificing their lives in the struggle for the seizure of power, they have nothing to lose, and their country to gain.

Mahlangu — unbroken and unbreakable

In his brief but full life Solomon Mahlangu towered like a colossus, unbroken and



unbreakable, over the fascist lair. He, on whom our people have bestowed accolades worthy of the hero-combatant that he is, has been hanged in Pretoria like a common murderer. Alone the hangmen buried Solomon, bound by a forbidding oath that his grave shall remain forever a secret, because, in his death the spirit of Solomon Mahlangu towers still like a colossus, unbroken and unbreakable, over the fascist lair. To malign him, to malign his comrades and his organisations which have yet to discharge their historic mission, and which will avenge the assassination of this and other prisoners of war, the fascist tyrants put out the story that Solomon had ceased to be as we know him, brave, confident and fearless of death. But we knew they lied. Now the whole world knows that he approached the gallows as befits a loyal and disciplined combatant of Umkhonto we Sizwe, sworn to liberate his people whatever the cost, as that Solomon who had volunteered to serve his people until victory or death.

On behalf of the African National Congress, our people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe and the struggling people of South Africa, we would like to take this opportunity to salute all who are gathered here for the battle you fought to save the life of Solomon. We would also like to extend that sentiment to those others who are not with us here, governments, national and international organisations, communities and individuals who also added their voices to the demand to save the life of Solomon.

Our people inside South Africa have done as we expected them to. Unequivocally they stood by Solomon to the last moment because to them he was a son, a brother, their product, his cause theirs, his death a challenge spurring them to greater efforts to remove the regime which continues to display such callous disregard of everything that is moral and just and humane.

At the end of the day, the fascist regime of Botha and Vorster stood alone in front of all humanity, alone in its regard of the pursuit of freedom as a crime punishable by death, alone in rejoicing that a life so young and so full of promise had so

suddenly and so brutally been terminated.

In Pretoria, on the 6th April, at dawn, a heinous crime was committed against our people, against humanity. For our part, there can only be one reply to the murder of Solomon Mahlangu and that is to intensify our general offensive against the regime of assassins that holds our people in servitude. The African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe and our people have the will and the determination to succeed. Indeed with such stalwarts as Solomon Mahlangu in our midst, things could not be otherwise, especially in this centenary year of the victory of our people at Isandhlwana, a year which our people designate as the Year of the Spear.

A Clear Call

We are convinced that out of this very important conference will come a clear call:

- * to consolidate and raise the level of unity among all anti-imperialist and anti-racist forces;
- * to increase material and political support to the ANC, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front, and rally to the support of the PLO;
- * to increase support to the Front-line States;
- * to isolate further the fascist regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury;
- * to compel the western countries to cease their support for these regimes.

The dangerous situation that has arisen in Southern Africa itself a reflection of how close we are to real and genuine victories throughout Southern Africa makes imperative the practical realisation of these demands. We can, with certainty say that such is the nature of the forces represented here that the results of this Conference will indeed take us one giant step nearer to the full accomplishment of the tasks laid down at the Bandung Conference.

WPC ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

A session of the World Peace Council (WPC) Presidential Committee took place in Prague, Czechoslovakia on April 25-27, 1979. Romesh Chandra, the WPC President was the moving spirit. Discussions covered a wide range of topics: World peace and disarmament; the UN and WPC; the struggle in Vietnam, Kampuchea, the Middle East and Southern Africa. During the session a meeting to pay homage to Solomon Mahlangu was held. The session adopted the following resolution on Southern Africa:

The World Peace Council Presidential Committee session, meeting in Prague, the capital city of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, from April 25 to 27, 1979, having heard reports presented by the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa, the African National Congress, and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe on the latest developments in their respective regions, expressed deep concern and drew the following conclusions:

The strategy of Western imperialism, led by the USA and Britain, is primarily aimed at extending and protecting their vast economic stranglehold on the natural resources of that region while paying lip service to opposition to racism.

The military collaboration of the Western Powers with the Botha/Smith minority regimes and their puppets poses a serious threat to peace and security in the whole region and the whole of Africa.

The Both/Smith regimes have now entered into a strategy of total destruction of the peoples liberation movements in the region. The bombings and commando attacks on refugee camps and residential premises in Zambia, Botswana, Angola and Mozambique by the South African and

Rhodesian forces during recent weeks are evidence of the Botha/Smith regimes determination to destroy the peoples' Liberation Movements and to intimidate the Frontline States. This constitutes a serious violation of the territorial integrity of the independent African states.

These manoeuvres are a reaction to a state of siege in which the imperialist-backed racist regimes find themselves in relation to the broad advances being made by the Liberation Movements, militarily, in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The Presidential Committee noted that, since 95 per cent of the country is under martial law, a state of emergency and curfew, no free and fair elections could take place.

The Presidential Committee condemns the so-called elections and calls for the non-recognition of whatever the results of those elections may be;

Urges all international, governmental, non-governmental and other progressive forces to campaign for the non-recognition and total isolation of the regime that might be imposed on the people of Zimbabwe by Ian Smith and his local puppets.

The Committee reaffirms the World Peace Council's total and unreserved support for the just armed struggles waged by the Patriotic Front, ANC and SWAPO.

Condemns wanton aggression against the Front-line States of Mozambique, Angola and Zambia and expresses its full solidarity with the people of the Front-line states.

Hails the UN Declaration of the year 1979 as an International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia as from the 4th of May 1979, which is the first anniversary of the Cassinga massacre.

The Presidential Committee reaffirms the call by the World Peace Council and other non-governmental organisations for

international mobilisation against apartheid and for the total economic, military and cultural isolation of the racist regime of South Africa.

Calls upon all progressive forces all over the world to give all-round material and moral support to the Patriotic Front of

Zimbabwe, SWAPO of Namibia and the African National Congress of South Africa.

30 Years of World Peace Movement



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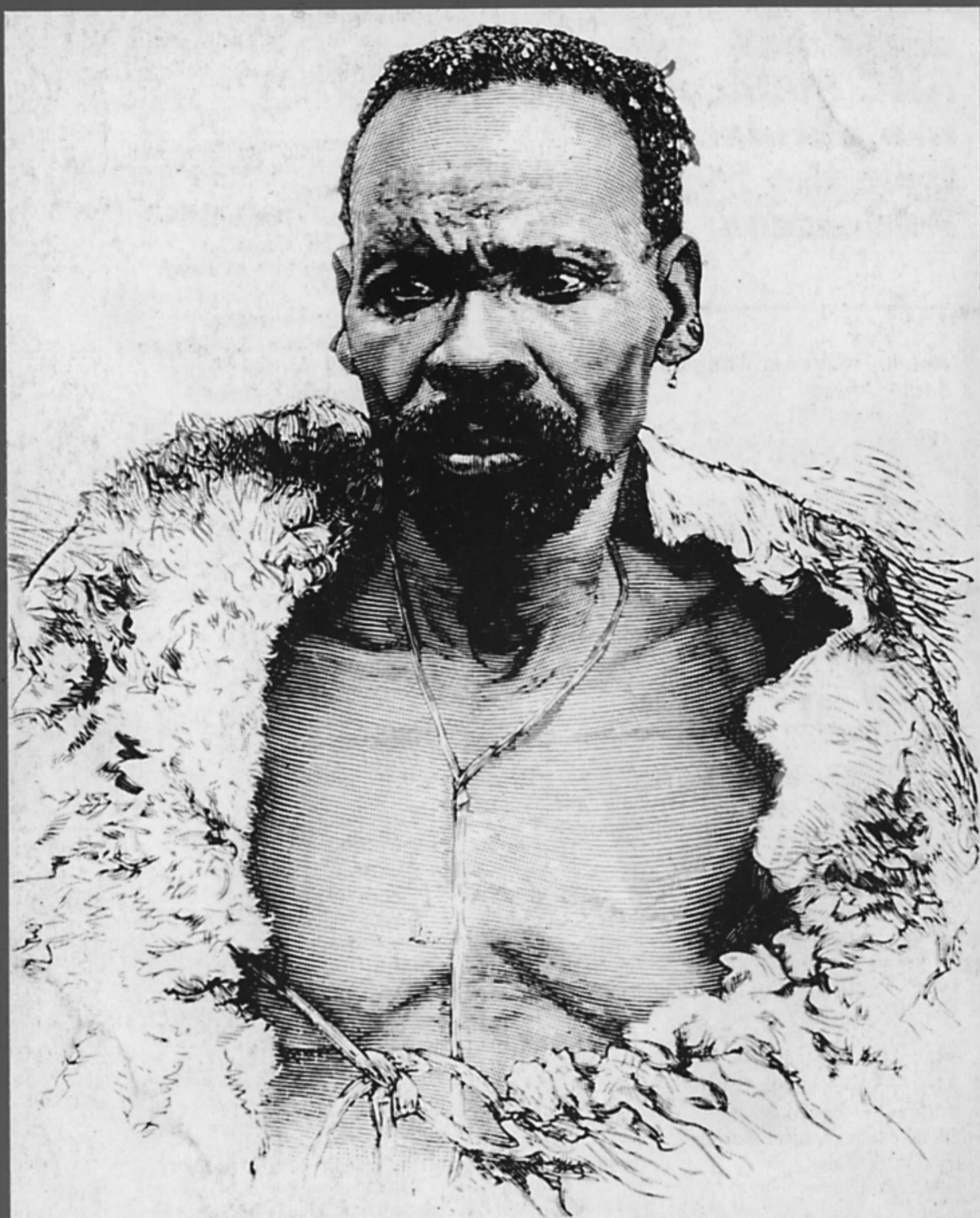
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