

The events on the Rand and elsewhere last month in which 174 black people lost their lives at the hands of the SAP thugs stand as the most significant wave of militancy and mass protest in South Africa since the early 60s. The fighting youth of Soweto have proved their courage and determination. Our young men and women have maintained the fighting tradition of Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki and other leaders of the ANC youth league. The June events happened in a very different context from that of the early 60s. Sharpeville and the national stay-at-home of 1961 were the culmination of a decade of peaceful protest. The reaction of the racist state then proved to our people that protest was not enough and opened a new stage of struggle in which the liberation movement prepared to seize power by force. Our youth understood that their protest would be met by massive police violence but were not intimidated. They have won a great political victory -- the Vorster government has been compelled to drop the forced use of Afrikaans in schools. More important, they have demonstrated the power of the people and shown that mass protest remains an important and indispensable part of the liberation struggle.

A number of valuable lessons have been learnt: solidarity actions in other locations and at black campuses showed the importance of spreading the struggle as widely as possible and the necessity of countrywide organisation and co-ordination; because the protests were largely confined to the locations, damage to the economy, the heart of white power, was limited -- the struggle must be taken into the cities, the factories, the mines; the youth mobilised on the burning issue of forced Afrikaans -- to maintain the militancy and keep the initiative, demands that unite and draw in the broadest mass of the people (Abolish passes; down with Bantustans and Group Areas!) must be advanced.

Leadership and co-ordination in a police state like South Africa means using both legal and illegal forms of struggle, linking mass protest, strikes and boycotts closely to the underground work of the liberation movement.

The fact that at this time the meeting between U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Vorster took place at all proves that, despite Kissinger's frenzied activity in Africa, U.S. policy towards South Africa has not changed one scrap. That policy is aimed at protecting the giant Rand 1,300 million U.S. investment in South Africa and securing the vast profits reaped by U.S. business from the sweat of our people. U.S. policy laid out in the cynical National Security Council document, "Operation Farboy", is to strengthen links with S.A. under the pretext of "helping to promote change". Kissinger's so-called "tough" speech in Lusaka on Zimbabwe means nothing more than that the U.S. recognises that the victory of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle is inevitable. Having supported Smith by buying Rhodesian chrome in defiance of the U.N., Kissinger now speaks in Lusaka as if he had always supported majority rule. The U.S. hopes to cut its losses by ensuring that a neo-colonial regime emerges in Zimbabwe that serves the interests of monopoly capitalism. The meeting with Vorster in the German Federal Republic was intended to explain the Lusaka speech and get Vorster's help in persuading Smith to compromise. In return, Kissinger is offering "greater understanding" of white S.A.'s "problems". In return for a Rhodesia settlement the U.S. will further strengthen its military and economic links with Vorster. All these moves are consistent with past U.S. policy. What has changed is that the victories of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola have forced the U.S. to come out in the open about its South African ties. Imperialism has a large stake in South Africa and will throw everything into the battle to defend its economic interests but -- as in Vietnam, Mozambique and Angola -- the people will break the stranglehold of imperialism. Victory is certain.

(Published in support of the national liberation movement.)

### "INDEPENDENCE", FREEDOM AND NATIONAL LIBERATION.

Vorster and his gang say they will give 'independence' to the Transkei in October and to Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu, and the other Bantustans later. What is the difference between Vorster's 'gift' of independence and the freedom and national liberation for which the African people led by the ANC are fighting? The independence of the Transkei is a lying sham -- aimed at perpetuating white domination, dividing the African people of South Africa and ensuring that the superexploitation of our people's labour is continued by keeping the Bantustans in poverty and starvation, using them as reservoirs of cheap labour and dumping grounds for those for whom the white man has no more use. The freedom we are fighting for is different. It means one South Africa for all who live in it. It means power to the people -- the racist administration will be smashed and a new way of government created in which the people shall share. It means destroying racism and giving equal rights to all. It means sharing the country's wealth by taking over the mines and great monopoly industries for the benefit of the people. It means the land shall be shared among those who work it. The land stolen from our fathers shall be redeemed. Families will have the right to live together free from pass laws and influx control. Work and security, housing, learning and culture will be the right of all. It means an end to bloodshed and war. These basic goals for which we are fighting are set out in the Freedom Charter, the basis for a national democratic state serving the needs of all our people. Such a state aims at ending the exploitation of man by man, at breaking the grip on our economic life of imperialism and the international monopoly companies. It would seek friendship and good relations with our brother African states and with all progressive and peace-loving peoples. This state is our aim. To reach it we must strive in every way to build up the national democratic front uniting all oppressed peoples in a common struggle under the leadership of the ANC and its armed spearhead, Umkhonto we Sizwe. With unity, determination, organisation and discipline -- victory is certain.

### ORGANISATION - KEY TO VICTORY: (2) PROPAGANDA.

Our freedom struggle is being waged on many fronts, one of the most important is in the field of propaganda. Propaganda counters the lies of the enemy, it develops political awareness, it inspires our people to greater efforts and it shows by concrete example that the fascist police can be outwitted in their own backyard. Each of us can play a role in distributing and making propaganda. You can help distribute by showing the revolutionary pamphlets you receive to your trusted friends. You can also leave these pamphlets in public places where others will find and read them. Slogans are a simple but highly effective way of making propaganda. A well-placed slogan can reach hundreds of people. The best slogans are those that have emerged from the mass struggle itself -- "The ANC lives", "Free Mandela Hang Vorster", "Amandla Ngawethu", "Raatla ke a bona", "Power to the people", "Mayibuye Afrika", "Viva Prelimo". Other slogans can be used successfully for particular occasions, to rally people for a bus boycott or a school protest for instance. Slogans can be spray-painted or chalked onto walls. You can also make hundreds of stickers by cutting up a roll of gummed paper and printing a slogan by hand, or with a stencil, or with a cheap rubber stamp printing set of the kind you can find in most stationery shops. Slogans should be put up in places where people come together -- in subways and bus shelters, in trains, factories and school rooms. If you use spray paint, wipe the can clean of your fingerprints afterwards and throw it away but not near to the place where you've used it. Try not to leave fingerprints on the paper stickers, wear gloves when you make them. If you put the stickers up in daylight you can hold them with elastoplast on your finger-tips. Make sure you are not seen. Do not leave any traces of your work at home. Every successful revolutionary action is another step forward on our march to liberation. Kruger the minister of police, is alarmed at the growth of our underground movement. He has boasted, like others before him, that he will root out every freedom fighter. With each slogan and sticker, with each act of propaganda you will make Kruger's boast ring more hollow!