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1* Summary of earlier Reports*

1f66 - 1.69 The main eventÂ© during this period were the following -

(a) In 1^66 an or mod unit of seven ANC entires ppooooeding

South w.is intercepted in Botswana* and later dapor ted to Zambia* This shoe ed South Africa into tiŕgitingen its security and appl ying inoreased pressure on Botswana which became independent in the sae year*

(b) Early in the following y\$ar* two leading octree* also proceeding South* were also intercepted in Botswana and jailed for 18 months*

(e) Later that year, a detachment of over 50 ANC oadres entered Zimbabwe with 2apu Freedom Fighters* In the eouroe of the slashes that followed* a number of 4KC oadres fell* some were later arrested and sentenced in Rhodesia where they are either in death coll or are serving life sentences* Hie majority of th oadres were arrested in Botswana and uouth Africa*

(d) In December of the some year, and during the first part of 1968, a total of about 40ANC oadres e tered Zimbabwe as part of a ZAPU-ANC group* There was protracted fighting in the course of whioh several ANC man fell* Â»ome returned to Zambia* others were captured by the enemy* and a few reached South Africa*

(e) Towards the end of 1?66* a number of ANC o-dres in South Africa were arrested* Some of these had establi-shed camps and were t aining new reoruits in the countr*y* They were sentenced in Pietermar itsburg in 196y for periods of up to 20years*

(f) In that same yosrm some arrested*

Some?ero Inter released, but 22 of them including Mrs* Winnie Mandela were detained and subjected to torture and harassment until reoentrly w en they were released but pi oed under house arrest** Their case is not yet over, and they may further be arrested and detained*

(g) In the meantime* the underground organisation had been issuing leafletÂ© periodically* The first oro distri-buted on a large scale in 1967 and there were several distributions between then and December 1-j>6y* In the course of underground activity numerous AN<J f noti naries

were detained* tortured* sentenced and persecuted in
countless ways by regime that spends millions of
'Kwacha on the repression of the liberation movement
and which has a vast army of well-paid black informers
continues to ****

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In its security not-work* For example, In November 1960, some 80 men, women and children, all members of the AHC, in the district of Zeerust, Transvaal, were arrested, sent to Pretoria* where they were brutally tortured. Some were later released but others still detained.

The above is not a story of success and achievement, but it is a record of bitter struggle and sacrifice involving repeated death. It is also, incidentally, a record of death and defeat for the enemy, in the Ziababxis bit ties.

Lack of the main activities mentioned in this summary took months to prepare, the period of preparation often unduly affected by a lack of funds and immigration problems facing key personnel involved in planning*.

2. more,...

In August this year* 4 leading ABC freedom fighters were ambushed by boers in the Caprivi Strip, after being betrayed by an African contact. In the ensuing clash 3 of them fell and the 4th was captured, wounded.

He was subsequently tortured and brutally beaten by the enemy at Katima Mulilo and his fate and whereabouts are at present unknown. He is the Chief Political officer in the AHC, a member of the ANC Revolutionary Council,

and member of the 8-men National Executive Committee of the ANC. The other three included 2 cadres who had fought in Zimbabwe and were

subsequently arrested in Botswana in 1967. One of these was the Acting

Chief of Staff in the Party.

3. more

in fact, it is these setbacks, however, and despite the vigilance of the South African regime and its extensive network of spies and informers, significant successes are being scored in our preparations for the coming of the

of the armed struggle inside South Africa. Under the present political organisation in the country is fundamental to a firm and enduring start of armed

confrontation. Isolated and localised incidents could have negative results. Such organisation, however, proceeds slowly for a variety of objective as well as subjective reasons. Nevertheless, encouraging progress is being made in this sphere of underground organisation. The series of distribution of propaganda leaflets is based on techniques of underground organisation which continue to baffle the enemy, and has considerably boosted the morale of the cadres and strengthened their faith

in the ANC, in their united power and in their certainty of victory in the

all*Africa struggle for liberation* lbs set of leaflets diet ibutei in
July this yearwere partioul xlj effective* HsjXirta we continually reovieve
from different parts of South Africa all point to a rising tempo in the
revolutionary mood of the masses* Impatience with the regime and its
collaboration is beooiainj violent* A papomirent African Minister of
Religion, formerly stationed in Zambia* was bombed by ANC youth, in th
e
oape Frovinoe for attacking the Liberation Hoveraont at a Church confer
ence
and telling lies about ANC leaders in Africa in an ill devised attempt
to curry favour with Vorster*

The efforts of those of ua who for the time being are workinf from

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outside South Africa are two-fold* First, to assist with political organisation of the masses as an essential part of our preparations for armed struggle, and to establish the strongest contact with thes* Secondl y for leaders and cadres to enter South Africa quietly, quickly. A wide variety of our activities are directed towards the tohievemen of these two strategic objectives*

In the course of these activities there have been successes as well as failures; plans have had to be abandoned because of faults, mishaps, security leakages, or unavoidable delays accountable to factors beyond our control* Sometimes our gains have been compromised by internal problems (as was the case during 1969, when our Party went through, but survived,

full advantage of the Party's limited ability to deal with them as drastically as any armed struggle demands* It is thanks to these limitations that it has not been possible to maintain the level of discipline which the sheer magnitude of the approaching conflict in South Africa calls for* However, experience has shown that the firm co-operation of the Government of Zambia is indispensable to the success of our efforts at maintaining the level of discipline which minimises internal difficulties for the movement* Given this co-operation, our internal troubles will be minimal*

'Hiis 1 ok of discipline, coupled with the exploits of wreckers within the movement, int rfers with our frontline aotivities and therefore serves the interests of the enemyt For this reason, apart from others, the ANC has to expel some of its cadres*

State, Botswana, which as yet feels unable to co-operate effectively with the liberation movement, the problem of effective contact with South Africa and of reaching its borders remains enormous* Besides, the South Africa

regime is fully aware of the change in the fortunes of white domination in South Africa which would inevitably result from the presence, in substantial numbers, of militarily trained AKC members in that country* The

regime is therefore throwing everything into ijsrevinting our entry into South Africa*

But these problems are well within our capabilities, given adequate backing by Africa* In this connection the prompt provision of Travel Documents, and the equally prompt clearance for entry for our members coming into Zambia, has allowed us a measure of mobility as a result of wltich some ot our prep mtory plans have been very successful.* The iss ue to our members of Tanzania and Zambian Travel Documents as well as a number of Algerian passports has positively helped to advance o r plans*

Emulating Vorster's agents, Black prophets of doom in high places h ve been flying from country to country to deliver the joyful tidings of the *disin; egration* of the ANC of South Africa* We make bold to say that a

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rude shook nwaits them, as it does to Vorster and his riciat regime# This is precisely because facilities placed at our disposal h ve bo n used to oonsidrablc cdv 'Stags in the execution of plans*

6* CURRSKT KFF'QHTS

We are at present intensifying cur efforts, firstly, in building up our organisational underground n cbinary in Jouth Africa in locordanos with an agreed plan and tine,- schedule* This requires cons id r able aura s of money, Â«&#>L has not been forthcoming from the OAU for several ye ars now* In our view 1 ok of funds for thÂ© AHC is unhelpful to thÂ© revoluti on in Southern Afrioa* Bvery report we rooievs from our activists in South Africa oaries a desperate clamour for funds by men and women determi ned to saorifioe for the freedom of Afrioa*

We have a^de hitherto unsuoooensful bilateral approaches to African countries for funds for our work inside South Africa* We continuing this effort against the background of practical difficulties being experienced by the Party in the enemy territory* Perhaps some day the OAU will be able to give us ewe support i this r- upeot*

We are also elaborating new plana to overcome the p obi era of hostile borders * One o our main problems in his regard is that of security*

It has proved most dangerous, for the protection our pi ins .and the surviv al of underground units in the South, to have in oar centres of planning large numbers of cadres who have defected from the straggle, and who, ?â€¢Â»';>Â« their past involvement in our activities, can deduce oar plans from a combination of observed facts* On the other hand, it might be impossible to eliminate defections, which South frio n agants encourage and work for* Ibis ere its a aerius problem of seourity*

7. stri^c:mama stis kovlmehy*

In the meantime,we continue to strive for a compact, disciplined, united organisation of dedicated and oomitted oadres, but we do not

permit this e fort to beoora e cur preoccupation boause, in the fini

resort, the ABC, like the struggle itself, is in South Africa and involves millions #io are oppressed* Only a few of us are outside South Africa* and the problems of the few must not stand in the way of the struggle of

the people in South Africa* In any ease, true discipline, dedication and commitment will be revealed in the field of action on enemy territory*

It is, therefore, towards the creation of a powerful political weapon of struggle inside South Africa that our main efforts are directed*

8* CONCLUSION*

Without the revolutionary stand taken by African States, headed by

Zambia and Tanzania in the South the task of the South African oppressed

would be immeasurably greater* But precisely because of this stand on the part of their African Brothers, their challenge and responsibility of the oppressed to fight is the greater. The African National Congress keeps this fact constantly in mind and it is a source of power and strength for us and we strive to those in whose immediate behalf we strive and work ~ the

18 million oppressed Blacks in South Africa ~

in the struggle

CHIEF RUFRESH VUT I?X AFJC* (S.A.)