

MAYIBUYE
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
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After the referendum, what next?

In his desperation, the proverbial drowning man clutches at straws in an effort to stay afloat. In their different ways, in the November 2 referendum, the Botha regime on the one hand and the white electorate on the other, each floundered towards its own straws hoping to keep the apartheid system of white minority domination alive.

The Botha clique will undoubtedly take its success in the lily-white referendum as a mandate to carry out its "historic mission" of the defence of the apartheid system, whatever the price.

For its part, the white electorate, which responded to Botha's call to "adapt or die", will live to rue the day it voted for death while deluding itself that it was speaking out in favour of meaningful adaptation.

Botha and Malan see the principal task facing their regime as one of so-called national security. Therefore they seek to ensure that the apartheid system is secured from all dangers that confront it.

The new constitution approved by white South Africa on November 2 aims exactly to achieve that objective — by further confirming the permanence of the Bantustans system, co-opting the so-called Coloureds and Indians and promoting an illusion of change for the better while further centralising and concentrating state power in the hands of the most consistently fascist sections of the ruling class, including the army and police chiefs.

REFERENDUM

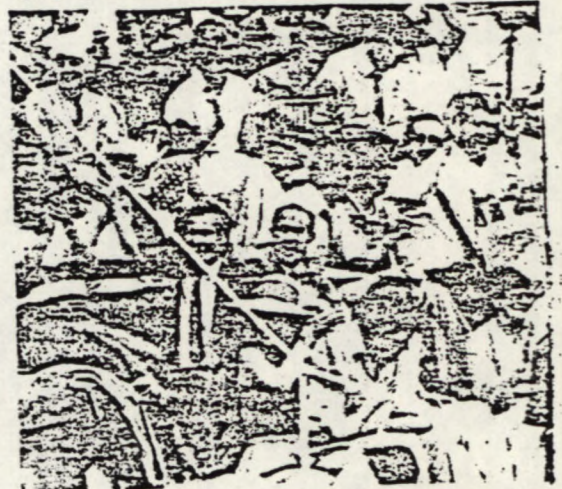
AFTERMATH

When, in the aftermath of the referendum, Botha said that his regime would now attend to the serious

question of bringing about reforms, he told the truth. The questions we have to ask are, what kind of reforms and for what purpose?

Some of these reforms will seek to do away with elements in the status quo that are peripheral to the apartheid system and of no relevance to its maintenance. Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts fall within this category and are now seen by the oppressor as serving merely to complicate the task of the apologists of racism in our country.

Other reforms will aim to institutionalise the intended co-optation of sections of the black population to encourage the fiction that power is being shared and to make mandatory the fact of the participation of these sections in the protection and continuation of the apartheid system. In this respect and within the context of the so-called separate development programme, plans are afoot to establish a body akin to the defunct "Native Representative Council" which our people dismissed 35 years ago as "a toy telephone".



Botha's supporters: Their YES vote is a vote for more repression!!

So much for Botha's referendum programme!

This apartheid farce will presumably be very appetising to the whites who voted "yes" at the referendum. But what of those who voted "no" on the basis that the new constitution would entrench the apartheid system?

VOTING RETURNS

It is clear from the voting returns that their number was fairly substantial. If these have the courage of their convictions, they

have to decide how to translate these convictions into a programme of action to bring into being the kind of South Africa that would be a happy homeland for all its citizens.

Of decisive importance in this regard is that these anti-apartheid whites must realise that it is as an integral part of the broad democratic movement of our country that they can help to bring about such a South Africa. Accordingly, they will have to shed their misguided beliefs such as that a qualified franchise and the elaboration of constitutional schemes based on the recognition of Bantustans as a reality can ever be acceptable to the minority

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The people resident in the Kwazulu and the Ciskei Bantustans have been victims of violence inflicted upon them by the leaders of these bantustans, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and "President" Lennox Sebe respectively in defence of the apartheid system.

From the 4th of August this year, the people of the Ciskei have been shot in cold blood, bitten by police dogs, maimed by vigilante thugs and police and our women raped in the course of a heroic struggle against the rise in bus fares.

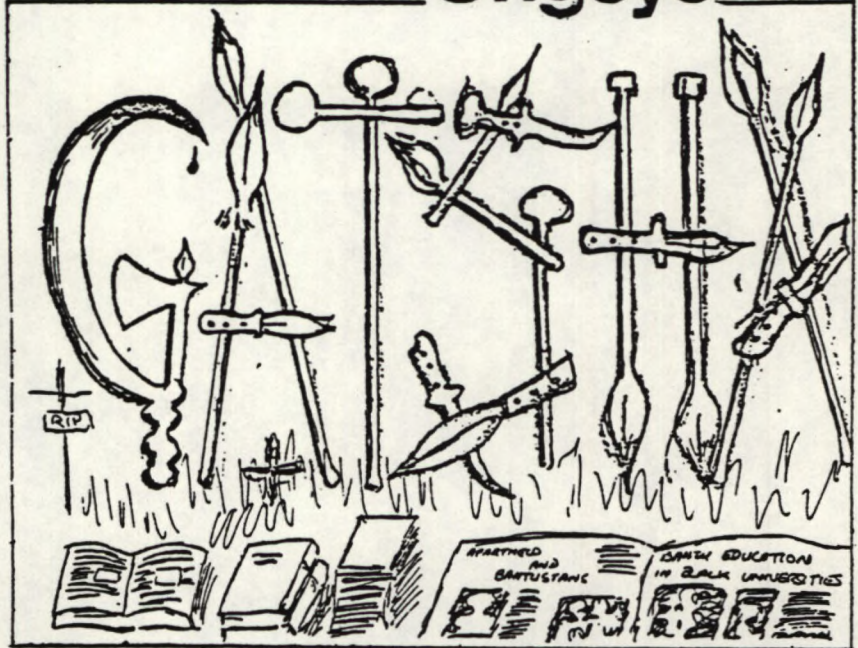
On October 29, Buthelezi's terror squads went on the rampage in the University of Zululand, using knobkerries and assegais, their trail of destruction leaving in its wake five students dead and scores injured.

When Gatsha publicised his intention to hold a commemoration function for King Cetshwayo at the University, there was a ripple of alarm among the students. Wishing to avoid widespread violence on campus, students staged a peaceful demonstration, going as far as applying for an urgent Supreme Court interdict to stop Gatsha and Inkatha from coming to the campus.

The students remembered the violence that had been unleashed against their colleagues in Durban-Westville when these students protested against Inkatha speakers who wanted to address them. Inkatha is most unpopular in institutions of higher learning and Gatsha knows this. He knows, moreover, that bringing in armed men to a campus is one of the quickest ways of lighting a powder keg.

It must be said that the men who beat up the Durban-Westville students earlier this year are the same people whose spears and knobkerries dealt fatal blows to young people whose only crime was being vocal about not wanting a bantustan spokesman on their campus.

Buthelezi has always been loud in the land in proclaiming that Inkatha is a "national liberation movement". The track record of Inkatha as a liberation movement, however, has been



very dismal indeed. The only thing that Gatsha and his clique of goons have achieved has been to assault and murder exactly those involved in struggle against the apartheid regime.

"AUXILIARY FORCES"

There is no doubt that certain imperialist circles have chosen Gatsha as the Muzorewa of South Africa. These circles are not blind to the fact that the people of South Africa, led by their vanguard movement, the ANC, are en route to the seizure of power. They are therefore grooming him for leadership or, failing that, to be a major deshabilitating force with his "auxiliary forces".

Gatsha's unshamed whoring with the West can be taken from statements where he cast himself as an ANC "in exile" and offers — himself as an alternative. For example, he distributed a statement in West Germany this year in which he said: "While (Inkatha) stands for a western type of democracy with safeguards for all minorities, the

Butchers of Ongoye

ANC is supporting a Soviet type of government for South Africa."

This is where his hysterical railing against the ANC becomes no more rabid than Botha's. It is worth noting that Botha, when asked whether he perceived Gatsha's Inkatha as a possible threat, the racist Premier said that he didn't think so. Inkatha, he went on, is a type of Broederbond for Zulu people and Buthelezi is a creation of the Nationalist regime. He has achieved his position as Chief Minister of Kwazulu due to "co-operation with the Government". Any leader worth his salt would, at this back-handed compliment, hang his head in shame and call it quits before the oppressed people of South Africa laugh him out of town.

But the case of Buthelezi is not a laughing matter. With the aid of his "Central Committee" he has been using Inkatha for his own reactionary purposes. He always says, and does, outrageous things — fed to him by Pretoria — and then attributes them to the

wishes and aspirations of Inkatha. It is after all the cornerstone of Pretoria's strategy against the liberation movement to pit blacks against one another.

Gatsha has been one of the most able cat's-paw insofar as effecting Pretoria's injunctions is concerned. Right now he is spreading the blatant lie that AZASO is an "ANC front". Since he does not have the power to ban organisations, he is urging Inkatha to "deal" with this student organisation in the well-known Inkatha way, with spears and knobkerries.

In his refusal to see the masses play the decisive role in shaping their history, Gatsha has always viewed any criticism of his activities, and any mass action by the people against the bantustans and against the Pretoria regime, as a personal attack on him. Thus, he has effectively prevented Inkatha from making any contribution to the struggle.

Of course, he has no interest in seeing Inkatha

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ADMINISTRATIVE TERROR UNLEASHED

The fact that the racist South African regime uses naked and brutal force to achieve its aims is clear to both friend and foe of the regime. This violence is physical, legislative, administrative, and judicial.

To counter this enemy violence, which presently, glaringly, is demonstrated in the Genocide Bill — the Ordely Movement and Settlement of Black people's Bill — and the fascist Constitution Act which intends to entrench white rule, the people have mounted the greatest campaigns through their democratic organisations. The enemy, fearful of the people's might, want to keep us silent, the notable tactic used being the banning of public rallies, meetings, etc.

Recently, public meetings to commemorate the October 19 clamp-down on black organisations have been banned. There was also a ban on the rally that was scheduled to launch the Release Mandela campaign. Further the banning of UDF meetings constitute clear attempts to make it ineffective and unable to operate.

WHITE REFERENDUM

While the enemy has launched this counter-offensive, it reserves to itself the right to continue to flood us with its dirty political and ideological propaganda to discredit our strategies and policies inside and outside the country, using the state propaganda machinery.

Encouraged by their so-called victory in the white only referendum and aided by its collaborators like Rajbansi and Hendrickse, the racists have launched a concerted campaign holding meetings and rallies among the 'Coloured' and Indian communities where the constitutional gimmick is being sold. These meetings are being imposed on us, despite the fact

that we reject them. Recently in a meeting where Botha addressed members of the South African Indian Council and Indian businessmen, 35 leaders were arrested. Those arrested included NIC President George Sewpersadh, executive members Mewa Ramgobin, Thumba Pillay, M.J. Naidoo, Praiveen Gordhan, Yunus Mahomed, Zac Yacoob and Fatima Meer. The arrest of this leaders is not surprising because accompanying the enemy's ideological offensive are the arrests, detention, physical and mental torture of all those opposed to the regime.

This kind of attitude on the part of the enemy is to be expected, but it should not intimidate us. Despite all the harassment, we have a duty to make our own sacrifice in the struggle to which we must dedicate our lives. The enemy relies decisively on the use of force to entrench itself. We have to meet his murderous onslaught by intensifying the armed struggle and mass onslaught. Our duty therefore is further to strengthen the combat capacity of our army Umkhonto We Sizwe within South Africa for the immediate purpose of escalating our offensive. The masses of our people must be part of this army. At the same time we must continue to fight for our right to organise. We still have a duty to hold meetings and rallies to organise millions of the unorganised into democratic organisations and formations so as to mount effective opposition which will culminate in the overthrow of that regime.

Let us mount an offensive and defeat the enemy's attempt to frustrate and deny us the right to organise. We must use all the means at our disposal. This includes using all legal means available to us. For instance, the UDF emerged victorious when it took the authorities to court over the banning of one of their meetings. Another instance of success was registered when the UDF refused to be discouraged when one of their meetings in Johannesburg was banned. There are many other methods we can use depending on the situation confronting us. We cannot fold our arms and watch as we are threatened with administrative terror.

ANC LEGALISED

Banning of our meetings cannot put an end to our resistance to apartheid. In the past we have demonstrated that bans can be rendered ineffective. The ban imposed by the regime on the ANC does not work as we ourselves legalised the ANC in our meetings, our actions and other means. This is the spirit that must see us through. We must demand the right to speak freely on the future of South Africa.

We have to be far-sighted and nip the enemy's intrigues in the bud. It is clear that the enemy is aware of the fierce confrontation that we are preparing ourselves for. What the enemy is doing now is to entrench itself and strengthen its base. The ban on meetings therefore is to make sure that while all this is going on we are not able to mobilise and organise the people.

THE TIME TO FIGHT

We have to meet and organise. Our struggle against Botha's constitutional proposals has not ended with the outcome of the referendum. Despite the fact that the whites voted Yes, we must continue to make it clear that Botha has no mandate from the people but from his supporters who are in the minority. The unanimous voice of the voteless majority and the democratic whites must continue to be heard whatever mandate Botha claims to have obtained. Let us not allow the enemy to have an advantage over us. The time to fight is now. Do not postpone it for tomorrow.

Forward to a people's Government!



A PEOPLE'S RALLY. THE PRETORIA REGIME BANS OUR MEETINGS IN A DESPERATE ATTEMPT TO HOLD BACK THE RISING TIDE OF THE REVOLUTION.

Union's and community struggles r

Exclusive Radio Freedom interview with comrades Chris Mani member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, Mac Maharaj senior member of the ANC and Thozamile Botha administrative secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

Q. There has been a number of trade union unity talks inside the country, yet this unity has not yet been achieved. What is holding this process back? And again why is there a need for unity?

A. CDE BOTHA: To begin with, if the workers are to succeed in their struggle against the employers, first they must be united. Because they are fighting against a formidable force, that of the 'bosses'. The employers are united in the industrial councils and the chambers of commerce. When they take a decision to increase or decrease wages or to retrench or expel workers they do this as a united force. It thus becomes imperative to have one united voice of the workers, the workers need a strong organisation behind them. Unity in action is necessary because the workers themselves have stated that they are not only fighting for the increase in wages. Many trade unionists inside the country have come out clearly in stating that they are fighting to overthrow that regime because they know that their demands cannot be realised under the present system. In order for them to overthrow that regime they need

to be united under one trade union federation.

When we talk of one federation we are not saying that unity in action should be suspended until such time a federation of trade union is formed. When one union calls upon others to take action for instance, to boycott products of a particular industry, it becomes necessary that other unions join hands to uphold the international slogan of the working class - an injury to one is an injury to all. This was put into practice during 1981 in Port Elizabeth, when about 800 workers went on strike. Ford workers refused to have anything to do with Firestone. The same thing happened at General Motors. This is the type of unity we are talking about. For instance during the Wilson Rowntree dispute when SAAWU made a call for a boycott of the products of this company had all the trade unions taken up the boycott, this would have forced Wilson Rowntree to reinstate the workers they had expelled.

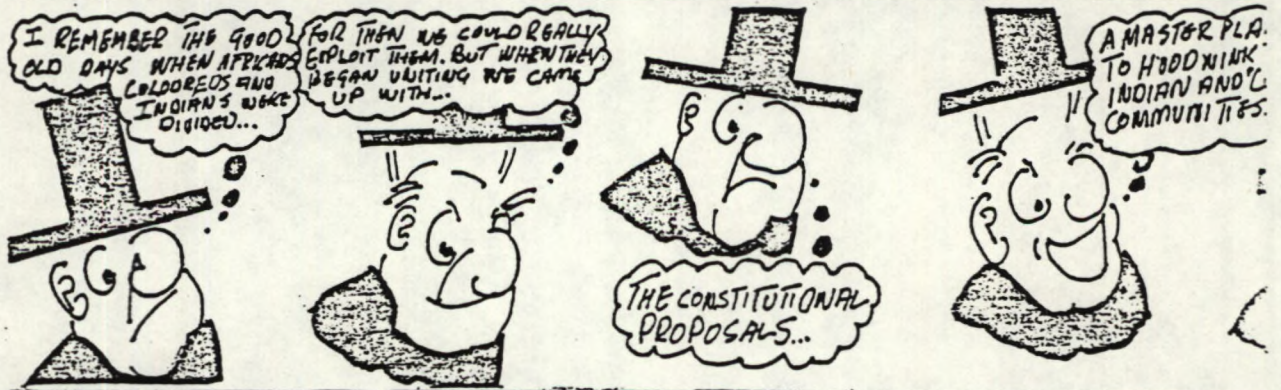
Now coming down to problems that are hindering unity. At the beginning there was the problem of registration. We all know that some unions are registered and some are not. Those

that are not registered felt that they could not unite with registered trade unions. Besides that there was also the problem of general workers unions competing with each other within the same industry. It was felt that this was dividing the workers. There is also another element, the question of industrial unions competing with each other within the same industry. This you see in the motor industry, in the metal industry, amongst dockworkers. In discussions, in the latest unity talks, a decision was reached that there should be a line of demarcation on the issue of which industry should be organised by which general workers union. Our position as SACTU is that whilst unity is urgent, we feel that for a strong federation to be formed, all problems that are a stumbling block to unity must be thrashed out first.

They need to be discussed thoroughly, so that they can come to a solution on the problem of general workers unions. We are not saying that the general workers' unions must be stopped abruptly, but we are saying that they must be gradually phased out. They have played their historic role, but what is needed now is that those general workers' unions with membership of up to 60,000 workers must begin to channel those workers to unions of a particular industry that



already exist. If there is no such union existing, then that general workers' union must form a union to which it will channel those workers. Our goal should be to work for one union in one industry. Another problem that was posing a stumbling block towards unity was the question of uniting with non-racial trade unions. Some workers are saying they want to build black leadership before they can unite with non-racial trade unions. However some of these problems are gradually being overcome, because a number of unions are now participating in the unity talks. Even those who in the past were saying they will not join hands with registered unions, are doing so now.



lated



THE SPIDER TO THE FLY!

The question of registered unions is no longer an issue, because the regime itself has rendered it ineffective, when it imposed stringent laws to submit names of union leaders, membership and also their constitution. Thus any union may be closed down by the regime. SACTU's position is NO to registration. However, registration should not be a stumbling block to unity because it is not a basic issue.

QUESTION: some people argue that they must achieve the consolidation of workers unity and establish working class leadership before joining hands with other forces in the national liberation struggle in general, what is your response to that?



ANSWER: COMRADE HANI: I think it is important at this stage to define the role of trade unions. A trade union organisation is a broad organisation of the workers. Within a trade union movement are people of different political outlook. One finds nationalists, religious people; people committed to the national liberation movement; some people are committed to socialism; all these are members of a trade union. There is however a common denominator which makes it possible for these people to come together. These people are all victims of exploitation by the capitalist class. This alone, brings them together so that they can fight back to improve their living and working conditions.

Such a movement having all these forces cannot be transformed into a political organisation. Once one transforms a trade union into a political organisation, one is sowing the seeds of discord. The politics of national liberation in our country find expression in the African National Congress. It articulates the grievances of the people, it fights for the destruction of national oppression. Those people who have reached the level of understanding that they are oppressed have got a home in the African National Congress. In other words a trade union cannot change its position, that of being a broad democratic organisation and become a national liberation movement.

We should remove a lot of cobwebs from our thinking because presently there is a lot of debate that the trade union movement should be eventually transformed into a working class party. Some people argue that the problem in South Africa is that the party of the workers has never existed. I think this is a distortion of the history of the struggle in our country. We know very well that the party of the working class in our country is the South African Communist Party. This is the party that is

leading the struggle to socialism. The SACP and SACTU are the integral part of the national liberation movement, and the ANC is the vanguard movement because the priority in our situation is the destruction of national oppression. This is a priority facing all our people, the creation of conditions for democracy. So in this broad national liberation struggle, in this broad struggle for national democracy, the forces that are at play are: the broad organisation of the workers, the trade unions; the political organisation of the working class — the communist party and the vanguard organisation of the liberation struggle — the African National Congress.

CDE MAHARA: I would like to take this further, I agree with the analysis of the role of trade unions as made by comrade Chris, but I would like to add this element about the nature of our oppression and exploitation in the specific South African context. We are exploited as workers, but part of that structure of exploitation is to use national oppression so as to super — exploit us. It is this duality that presents a problems, it leads to all sorts of wrong thinking on this question. It leads on the one side to ultra — leftism, on the other to economism, which say that the workers are only involved in fighting problems they confront at the factory floor, in other words they are only involved in economic problems and have no interest in political problems. Then there is ultra — leftism which is characterised by saying in South Africa the only problem we have is that we are workers and we therefore need to fight for socialism. This being said without taking into account the fact that we have a special internal colonialism.

There is this duality which is an important element, because in defining the role of the trade unions we have to state the matter a little broadly. I agree

that the task of the trade unions is to mobilise every worker irrespective of his political views. Starting off with the simple problem that is affecting us on the factory bench, we find the common interest on which we can come together.

No worker in our country simply faces problems that are posed by the employers. The employers have the backing of the state. Every worker knows, especially African workers, that a step outside the factory and one is likely to end in jail because of his pass. Workers understand the problems they face concretely. They therefore demand that the unions must take up those issues. The union must therefore tackle problems that arise at the factory floor as well as those that arise in the residential areas or immediately one steps out of the factory gates. It is clear that in our situation the task of the trade unions does impose a certain framework within which they have to operate. It is the basic divide. That is why TUCSA as a collaborationist body was silent on

Neil Aggett. It was a divide of being able to say which are the progressive trade unions — progressive in the sense that they understand better the role of trade unions in our specific situation. This separation must be made. I think therefore that the question of how trade unions relate to the wider community struggle is an intimate one. It is not a question of a precondition, but I think that a progressive Federation must have, as part of its policy perspective a commitment to unite and act together with the rest of the community. Unless they do that they will slip into the position of TUCSA. When we talk of a process of unity taking place we are talking about unity of progressive trade unions inside our country.

LET US UNITE AND MOVE FORWARD TO ONE UNITED FEDERATION!!!

TEACHERS AND STUDENTS TO PARTICIPATE AS EQUALS!

1983 has seen a resurgence in the students revolts that swept the country in 1976/77 and 1980/81. The 1983 events were fomented by the same grievances as those of the past - Bantu education and the whole apartheid system.

In this ongoing process, the students through their student organisations and representative councils, have organised themselves as a group and striven to take their rightful place in the national liberation struggle. Over the past few years, we have also seen a sharp rise in their organisational and ideological development.

The student events of 1983 have brought into focus the role that the teachers are playing and have to play in the struggle against the hated system of Bantu education. The campaign against the racist constitutional proposals has further evoked a spirit of self-scrutiny by some teachers' organisations, which has resulted in some of them taking popular positions against the enemy's devilish schemes.

STUDENTS' STRUGGLES

In September, black and white teachers belonging to the National Educational Union of South Africa met in Pietermaritzburg and reviewed the present educational system and the role they have to play in the shaping of future education policy for our country. They stated that there was a need to formulate an Education Charter as an alternative to the separate education system designed by the racists for the different racial groups in South Africa. They further declared that NEUSA stood for an equal and democratic system in which students, teachers and parents would participate on equal terms. In other resolutions they condemned the banning of SAAWU, the Kooimhof Bills, the conferment of the notorious Battalion 21 by Thebehal and his fellow traitors; they also rejected the De Lange Report and expressed their intention to join the United Democratic Front.

These positions taken by the patriotic teachers concerned about the future of their country, clearly show

that the teachers' role is not confined to the classroom but must extend also to the problems the community is faced with. No teacher lives in a classroom cocoon - they are part of society and therefore have to be involved in all that society is engaged in. More than that, they are charged with the greatest responsibility, i.e., that of shaping the future adults of our country.

In another significant development, the South African Federation of Teacher Associations took the decision to call on its members to reject the Botha/Malan constitution. This organisation, representing thousands of white English-speaking and Indian teachers decided to reject the racist constitution because it "ignored the principle of a single Ministry of Education for all races".



July 21: boycott at Progress High School in Pinville, Soweto.

They saw the desegregation of the education system as a "solution to a number of political problems in South Africa".

One of SAFTA's affiliates, the Teacher Association, has made a separate move to condemn the racist government for the transfer of Indian education to the puppet South African Indian Council's control. This is an attempt by the racists to complete their schemes of transferring the task of administering the inferior edu-

Teachers, unite in a democratic union!

cation for blacks into the hands of their puppets as they have already done with the Africans in the bantustans. No doubt the "coloured" Labour Party will soon be charged with the same task.

This is intended to deceive us into believing that we are now in control of the future of our students. Those opportunists among the oppressed, who readily grasp whatever the racists do for their own mercenary gains, will no doubt soon be lauding this as a step in the right direction, but the majority of the people are not deceived. The recent struggles of the students against the bantustan administrations in the Ciskei, Kwazulu, Lebowa, Bophuthatswana, etc., are a clear testimony that we are not taken in by the racists' stratagems.

political restrictions that are imposed on them by the racist educational authorities. It is the fear for what the teachers can do to the students' minds that has led the racists to put these restrictions, while on the other hand they encourage their teachers to inculcate racist ideas in the minds of the white students.

Central in the teachers' struggle should be the bringing together of all teachers in a single democratic and non-racial association. To this end we should start calling on teachers from all over the country to unite around the rejection of the racial system of education. There should also be a vigorous campaign to involve those teachers who are presently confined to teacher bodies which are ineffectual and actually do not oppose any of the racist laws in education.

As NEUSA's declaration states, the teacher should participate as equals with the students; there should be a deliberate effort to draw closer to the students' struggles and for the teachers actually to participate in these struggles and not to view them as directed against them, but at the education system. There is also a need for the teachers to oppose the use of SADF in our schools. The racist soldiers are brought into the schools to do what are not allowed to do concerning our own people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, i.e. to glorify the fascist army and recruit for it. It should be the task of the teachers to be brave and do everything possible to inculcate a spirit of patriotism and sacrifice in the students for the liberation of our country.

OUR DEMAND IS FOR A NON-RACIAL AND DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION!!!

For the teachers, the challenge ahead is enormous. In our society the teachers have always been held in high esteem. Because of their immense task of educating our youth and their preparedness to remain in this profession despite their lower pay, as compared to some of the jobs in the industry, the people have always expected a lot from them. It is thus imperative that the teachers should rise to this challenge. They should strive to move out of the

Invasion of Grenada: a threat

The world is left in no doubt that the Reagan Administration in the United States is bent on fighting all progressive governments in the world and bolster all those that are oppressive and undemocratic.

The implications of the United States' invasion of Grenada will no doubt spell great dangers ahead for us the people of Southern Africa. We are aware of the fact that this intervention is meant to give the go-ahead to the racist regime to do as it pleases, in pursuit of imperialism's designs in the region.

ISLAND OF SEYCHELLES

Not so long ago, the Reagan administration gave the green light to the Zionist butchers of Israel to invade Lebanon, and fight the PLO and the Lebanese patriotic forces. Disregarding the world-wide condemnation of the invasion of Lebanon, the US further allowed the Phalangists to murder hundreds of Palestinian refugees with Israel connivance. These barbarities were carried out in the name of promoting stability in the Middle East. Knowing the Pretoria fascists for what they are, it was not surprising that a few months after this, they invaded the peace loving Kingdom of Lesotho, with the claim that Lesotho is harbouring the ANC.

This they did in addition to what they have constantly done to Angola since her independence eight years ago.

We, the fighting people of South Africa have to perceive our destiny as intertwined with that of our neighbours, and indeed with that of the rest of Africa. Our neighbours who are constantly attacked by the racist



United States invaders in Grenada: Which country will be the next target?

and their bandit forces are suffering the way they do because of their support for our struggle. They are also suffering because they are independent and non-racial. The arrogant Pretoria racists feel that they cannot allow the existence of these democratic examples and they therefore attempt to destabilise their development, because they are not to subjugate them.

For a long time the racists have been speaking about the neighbouring countries as being politically unstable. Even though the racists know very well that they are the ones who are destabilising these countries through political bandits they have recruited and trained, they claim that these governments are "unstable" because of the progressive policies that they pursue. With the recent example from Reagan, these racists bullies are beginning to state openly that

"unstable" governments on its borders are a source of "instability" to itself. This is clearly preparation for the invasion of these countries.

The African National Congress and the Frontline States have consistently stated that the forces that are directedly confronting the apartheid enemy, are the people inside our country. The instability of the regime is resulting from our opposition inside the country, and not from outside. But, in order to continue deceiving the white population into supporting it, the racist regime claims that it is the presence of Marxist governments outside its borders that has created the instability.

EXPOSE THE REGIME

The threat posed to the people who support us, must be fought. We have to do this by consistently exposing the regime's intentions in the region. This must go hand in hand with our endeavours to destroy once and for all this monster whose crimes against our people and the whole of Africa are countless. Yesterday it was the island around of Seychelles and tomorrow it might be any of our neighbours, or

the islands around the Indian Ocean. Indeed, the deposed former Premier of the Seychelles and lackey of imperialism, James Macham, has called on the American interventionists to treat the island of Seychelles as they did the island of Grenada. And it is not hard to guess whom the United States would call upon to do this dirty job, because in November 1981 the same party, South Africa, willingly undertook this task.

ACT NOW!!!

STOP THE RACIST MURDER OF COMRADE



WRONGLY ARRESTED

FALSELY CHARGED

AND CONVICTED



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 Lusaka, Durban, Johannesburg at 6.15pm (S. A. time)

Mediumwave
 6115 EAT, 4000 shortwave and 3010 EAT shortwave,
 7.30 - 9.30am daily.

Shortwave
 5241 EAT, 3100 shortwave, 5.30 - 10.00am daily.

Lusaka
 9500 EAT, 3100 shortwave, Monday-Friday 7.15 - 8pm,
 Saturday 10.00 - 10.30am, Friday 9.30 - 10.00am,
 Saturday & Sunday 7-8pm, Sundays 8-9.30am, 10am, 11.00am

Luanda
 40 and 3000 shortwave, 7.30am on medium wave
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• DROP IT IN A NEARBY POSTBOX OR YARD

• STICK IT ONTO A PUBLIC WALL OR BUS SHELTER AT NIGHT

• DISCUSS THE ISSUES RAISED WITH THE PEOPLE YOU MEET AND YOUR FRIENDS.

BE CAREFUL!!!



Referendum cont. from pg.1

and can ever be a basis for the resolution of the South African problem.

Equally, they have to realise that the apartheid system will never transform itself into its opposite, a united democratic and non-racial South Africa. Consequently, none of its institutions such as the projected three - chamber parliament, the President's Council etc. are instruments of progressive change. They are of relevance to the democratic movement only because they are part and parcel of the galaxy of instruments that the enemy uses - and will use to maintain the system of white minority domination.

The anti-apartheid "no" vote must therefore be the beginning of a process for our white compatriots which should lead them actively to identify with and involve themselves in the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. A necessary and vitally important element of that process is that these white anti-apartheid forces should seek out, find and become part of the vanguard forces organised in the African National Congress and our popular, anti-racist and anti-fascist army, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

MOBILISE FOR BOYCOTT

In the aftermath of the all-white referendum, one of the immediate tasks that faces the democratic forces of our country is to defeat the schemes of Pretoria to co-opt the black people as junior partners for the perpetuation of the apartheid system. Accordingly, we have to mobilise the black people to boycott the "local authority" (community council) and the "parliamentary" elections.

In conducting these campaigns we should at all times seek to ensure as well that these oppressed masses are in fact united in mass democratic organisations. Furthermore, we should strive to build up the level of consciousness among these

organised masses such that they are aware that whatever the immediate and burning tasks they face, the central goal of our struggle is the realisation of the objective of a democratic South Africa.

The scale, continuity and intensity of our resistance, both political and military, the altered strategic position of the apartheid regime in Southern Africa and the continued isolation of this regime internationally, have forced it, in a situation of a deepening crisis, to seek new ways to govern.

This situation demands that we too, the democratic forces of South Africa, should define with greater clarity the strategic and tactical goals we pursue, and determine the forces we need and the programmes of action we should have, to achieve these goals. Such a process must have as its starting position the urgent necessity that we must go over to the offensive. We should take the initiative and, without abandoning our resistance to the various attacks that the enemy unleashes against us, decide the issues over which we shall launch determined attacks on the enemy.

Our aim must be to take the struggle to higher levels, both in its mass political and in its military forms. As it tries to govern in a new way, the Botha-Malan regime must find itself internally more isolated than ever before. It must find itself, as is happening in the Ciskei, increasingly unable to govern the country. It must find itself confronted with the birth, under its very nose, of popular power, firmly rooted among the people and capable of leading the masses to ever sharper assaults on the citadel of racist and fascist power.

Through struggle, we will demonstrate that Botha's majority in the referendum was but a straw out to a drowning man. We, the democratic majority, constitute the historic tide which will surely sweep away the Botha regime, straw and all.



ONGOYE CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

make such a contribution. In the current period he has been most vocal in agitating in favour of the proposed incorporation of Lamontville and Hambanati into Kwazulu. The people of these communities have protested and said, Down with high rents! No to incorporation! Gatscha's answer to this is to set loose his troops to savage the protesters. And people die. We are not unaware of the fact that the deaths of community leaders like Harrison Dube and Saul Mkhize would have benefited no less a personage than Chief Gatscha Buthelezi.

Some members of his "legislative assembly" of Kwazulu are beginning to realise the treacherous nature of Buthelezi's anti-people stand. Roger Ngobo has resigned his seat in the "legislative assembly" and has left Inkatha in protest at the violence at the University of Zululand. "I don't want to be party to bloodshed," he said. "What happened at Ongoye shocked me. This arrogant and dangerous attitude on Inkatha's side is sowing seeds of civil war in South Africa."

While we think of the dead and detained in the Ciskei, while we bury the slain students at the University of Zululand, we should not forget that men like Sebe and Buthelezi are running scared. The pace of our people towards liber-

ation is too fast for them. They know that when push comes to shove they'll be left with nothing but the empty promises of Pretoria and Washington - and desperate people tend to be irrational in mind and their cruelty passes all human understanding.

We must, through our workers', rural, civic, women's, students', writers', artists', church and youth organisations, make our people aware that the road to freedom is not via quislings who have been created by the apartheid regime. These will try to confuse us by pretending anger at some of the schemes of the racist regime. They will say that they also oppose the constitutional proposals, but we know that their stand, really, is not with the people but against the people. They are protesting because their masters have not given them seats in the parliament of the oppressors and their puppets. After the results of the white referendum were released, Gatscha said that he considers forming a "marriage of convenience" between Inkatha and the ANC. The African National Congress calls upon all the freedom loving people to fight for the overthrow of the racist regime. Its doors are open to all. But our people who have suffered so much and for such a long time know that it's only a madman who would strike an alliance with the Butcher of Ongoye!

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