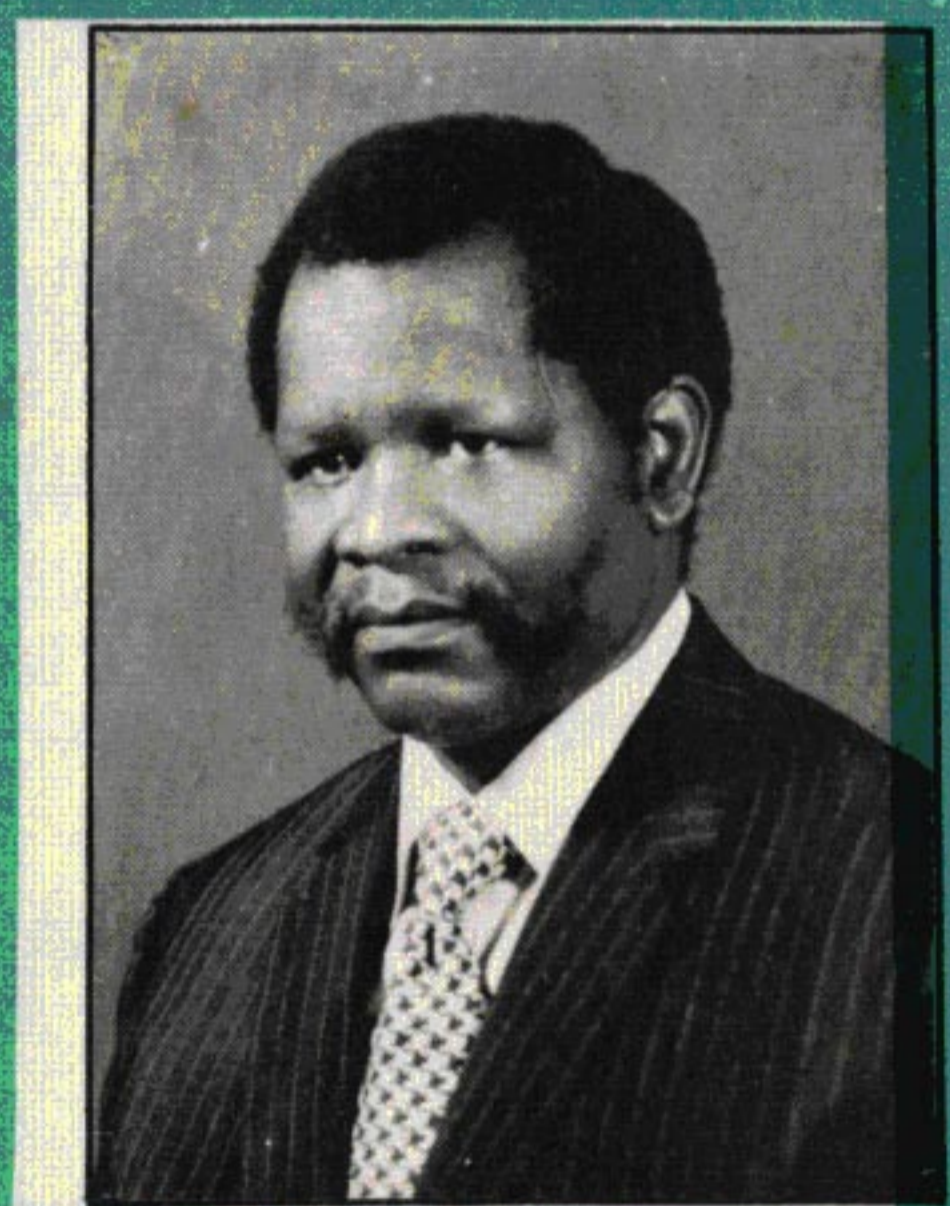


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President of the A.N.C. (S.A.)

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THE SISHEKE MASSACRE AND BEYOND

The history of apartheid is red with human blood and the chief instrument of this carnage is state violence. This violence has long spilt into the entire Southern African subcontinent.

In 1967 the racist South African troops moved into Rhodesia. In 1975, the same forces wantonly invaded Angola spreading death among the people of Angola whose sin was that they were determined to be free. To this day these troops continue to terrorise the people of Namibia.

In April 1978, the South African troops again invaded Angola, this time razing refugee camps and claiming 600 Namibian lives. The deadly hand of apartheid was pursuing freedom-loving Namibians away from its illegal enclave and into Angola.

This month South African troops killed and kidnapped many civilians in Sisheke, Zambia. The lying excuse was that these aggressive troops were pursuing SWAPO freedom fighters.

Over the years, the fascist regime has been building up its aggressive potential. Between 1963 and 1976 South Africa's military budget soared from R291.05 million to R1,494.00 million.

Thanks to scores of licences from foreign firms, she now manufactures a wide range of instruments of death, ranging from the Belgian FN automatic rifle to missiles and the French Mirage fighter planes.

She has also established the "Advokaat" surveillance system which allows her to keep under watch the entire area stretching from South America all the way to Bangladesh. This system also links her permanently with the United Kingdom Admiralty and the United States Navy. With the assistance of the imperialist powers, the Vorster regime has acquired the know-how and the capacity to produce atomic weapons.

The conduct of the racist state with respect to the use of force and its military buildup confirms it as a militarist state. This fact is not accidental but is the result of deliberate imperialist calculation.

Option 2 of Memorandum 39 prepared by Nixon, Kissinger and the US National Security Council in 1969, confirmed apartheid South Africa as the surrogate of US imperialism in Southern Africa. The same document confessed that the liberation movements in the region were a threat to the continued domination of the region by international imperialism. It consequently regarded the liberation movements as a force to be opposed.

It also admitted awareness that overt opposition could alienate those African countries favourably disposed towards the liberation movements.

It then settled for a strategy that would foster eventual defeat of the liberation struggle. This was to consist of economically incapacitating the front-line states to make it impossible for them to support the liberation struggle. Through the promotion of "detente" apartheid South Africa would seek to subjugate the region economically and politically. Through sheer military might apartheid would seek to intimidate the front-line states and the rest of Africa into cowering in the face of this might and turning against the liberation struggle. All these lines of attack were subsequently vigorously pursued.

Even when Vorster, under cover of darkness, was shuttling across the African continent promoting "detente", he made it clear to his audiences that "detente" would not entail "external interference in South Africa's internal affairs". It must follow from this that "detente" could not be used by independent Africa as a possible platform for the promotion of liberation.

As history testifies, the posture of "detente" collapsed. The imperialist strategy contained in Memorandum 39 failed.

Instead the contrary took place. The liberation struggle intensified, moving from victory to victory.

After the victories of Mozambique and Angola, liberation knocked louder at the very doors of apartheid South Africa. The mounting successes of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia have made the knock of liberation increasingly loud, insistent and real. Apartheid is in very narrow straits.

In its desperation, the apartheid regime has become correspondingly more vicious and brazen. It is attempting to reverse history, to turn the tide of liberation backwards.

In pursuit of this, the apartheid regime will spread as much wanton violence as its military machine will permit, a machine that continues to grow by leaps and bounds. Yet it is precisely at this hour that the forces of liberation and the people of independent Africa will not be intimidated into retreat.

Thanks to the role allocated to fascist South Africa by the major Western powers for the maintenance of the integrity of the imperialist system, the perspective that faces the peoples of South and Southern Africa is one of yet more bloodshed such as we have just witnessed in Sisheke, Zambia.

The day must come when the peoples of Southern Africa will be rid of aggression by the apartheid regime. And that day can only come when apartheid, the source of instability in Southern Africa, the threat to international peace and security, is eradicated. The liberation struggle must and will triumph!

by Neo.

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 + "In the confrontation with the forces of
 + progress, the fascist state is destined
 + inevitably to lose, wherever that confron-
 + tation takes place, but above all, and
 + especially, within South Africa itself".
 +

Comrade O.R. Tambo.

"In the course of the imposed paralysis of Mayibuye towards the end of 1975, a vast distance has been covered by the people of South Africa and their vanguard, the ANC both in the political, diplomatic and combat fields.

Because of the classical historic significance of a number of ANC statements, Mayibuye shall now and again go backwards and forward in time, with the major purpose to politically arm all our units with this invaluable material and also to preserve it as a political azimuth for even posterity".

Editor,

MAYIBUYE Vol.1 No.5

SOUTH AFRICA AFTER SOWETO +

OLIVER TAMBO

President, African National Congress of South Africa .

The events in Soweto and other parts of South Africa have become a significant milestone in the development of the liberation struggle. To assess these events and their impact on the future of our movement we must first consider them as one of the manifestations of the new revolutionary level to which the confrontation with imperialism has risen not only in South Africa itself, but in Southern Africa as a whole.

For the liberation movement in South Africa, in addition to the armed and unarmed struggle led by the African National Congress, the collapse of Portuguese colonialism has been of decisive importance. This applies particularly to Mozambique's winning of independence, the emergence of an independent progressive state directly on the South African border, and the victory of the MPLA in Angola over the aggressive forces of the South African regime..

This victory had a tremendous mobilising impact on the masses in South Africa. In the same period the national-liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Namibia, which are waging an armed struggle for independence, have increased their striking power and are bringing ever greater pressure to bear on the racist forces of Smith and Vorster.

The events in Soweto and other areas fit into the context of this new stage that has arrived for the national-liberation movement in Southern Africa, and correspond to its demands. It may be claimed that since Soweto our struggle in South Africa has been at par with other countries of Southern Africa that have not yet freed themselves. It should be noted that the number of fighters who have perished in our country in clashes with the regime in the 18 months since the Soweto events is approximately equal to the number of guerillas who died the death of the brave in the same period in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Our struggle has developed in two basic directions. The main one is mobilisation of the masses, workers, peasants and young people. The other is stepping up of armed action. In South Africa in 1977 mass action with workers and young people participating was combined with actions by the military formations

of the African National Congress and both types of action were obviously coordinated in time. This demonstrates, on the one hand, the support of the masses for the armed struggle that is needed to bring ultimate victory, and on the other, the reliance of our underground organisations on the support of the mass of the people.

For many years the Vorster regime tried to prevent such coordination, such an alliance, resorting to various repressive measures, imposing long terms of imprisonment without trial, to assassinations and shootings, the victims of which were often young people. However, the scale and intensity of the struggle grew inexorably, in the autumn of 1977 the Vorster regime was confronted for several weeks by a mounting popular offensive. Realising that the activities of the masses confronting the government were getting out of hand, Vorster imposed additional restrictions. He banned a number of moderate organisations and newspapers, prohibited the political and social activity of certain individuals, and later arrested some of them. Vorster must have known, of course, that such actions were bound to evoke the condemnation of international opinion, further isolate the regime and force even the imperialist powers, verbally at least, to dissociate themselves from him.

But declaring political and other public organisations illegal means forcing them to go underground and leaving them no alternative but to take up arms against the Vorster regime. So intensified repression leads to intensification of the struggle, which in its turn evokes even more brutal repression. Despite all this, however, we still regard such a situation on the whole as a positive factor; the enemy is in considerable disarray. There are increasing opportunities for stepping up the struggle at all levels and in all spheres. More and more people are being drawn into it. A radical change is occurring in the people's mood in South Africa.

The ANC now has to put all its weight into maintaining the momentum of the struggle, the offensive against the regime. Armed action must be intensified, blows must be struck at the enemy from every possible direction. In this connection it must be stressed that we attach the greatest importance to international support, particularly in the form of material aid.

Although the situation favours us, the enemy is far from beaten. In South Africa vigorous attempts are being made to divide and weaken the forces that are working for revolutionary change.

For instance, for the first time in the history of exploitation of an indigenous population the ruling regime is encouraging and is building up a black bourgeoisie, both in the rural areas, where the so-called bantustans have been set up, and in the cities. This is nothing less than an attempt to create a "shock-absorber" for the blows that the working class strikes against the capitalist system in South Africa.

The bantustan system, as we know, is calculated to divide the oppressed and exploited masses, who are forced into economically and politically weak ethnic formations, the idea being to facilitate exploitation of the whole people, with the "independent governments" of the bantustans acting as its direct instruments.

Pursuing the same aims of splitting the exploited masses, the regime of the white minority is planning to create separate "parliaments" (inferior and helpless, of course) for South Africans of Indian origin and "coloured people" (mixed blood). But to carry out these plans, Vorster needs time. His imperialist supports also need time to adapt to the changes caused by the rapidly developing revolutionary offensive in South Africa. This is one more reason why the African National Congress regards the intensification of the struggle as an absolute necessity at the present stage.

The ANC is also quite certain that the revolutionary movement in Zimbabwe and Namibia will press forward with the offensive against the racist forces and in the near future lead the people of these countries to final victory. And this is yet another factor contributing to our confidence in the ultimate triumph of our people's struggle for liberation.

Q. Couldn't the plan for setting up "Parliaments" for the Indians and Coloureds mislead the people belonging to these communities?

A. Of course, even among the exploited and oppressed there are traitors. Of course, even among the Indians and the Coloureds one can find people ready to collaborate with the enemy for personal gain, who will support Vorster's policy of perpetuating the enslavement of their peoples. Others, perhaps, may think this is better than nothing at all.

However, people representative even of these Indians and Coloureds of South Africa who are working "within the system" - I am not referring at the moment to participants in the revolutionary movement - cannot remain indifferent to the problems of their peoples and the revolutionary currents in their country. And they have already rejected Vorster's plan. They say quite rightly that it would perpetuate the domination of the white minority and help to

stiffen racist policy. Vorster's plan is designed to separate, to isolate the Indians and Coloureds from the majority of the population. This would naturally put them at the service of the racist minority.

I am sure that the racist and imperialist puppets will agree with the Vorster plan, but the mass of the population will not. All the organisations representing Indians and Coloureds are exposing this plan. It is being fought not only by the ANC, but also, for example, by the Coloured Labour Party, which operates legally. Coloureds and Indians are taking part in the national-liberation and working-class movement of our country. Their opposition to racist policies is obvious. They are against any and every kind of ethnic and racist "state" formations.

Q. What about the granting of so-called "independence" to the bantustans?

A. Well, what is meant by "independence" of the bantustans? It means privileges for a few - big houses, cars, and so on. But such "independence" gives the masses nothing. The people who live in the bantustans are usually unemployed and with a very few exceptions are unable to find work locally. They have to go to the cities, which belong to the white minority. But even there they are often unable

to find a job and, if they do, the conditions amount to semi-slavery. The bantustans cannot help the people living in them to overcome poverty, give them an education, and meet their other needs. On the contrary, in formally becoming "citizens of independent states", the people in the bantustans lose all rights in South Africa - their citizenship, right to travel, and so on. They are subjected to new, unprecedented restrictions. They are herded together in quite small territories, whereas before they were at least able to travel anywhere in the country. The "citizens" of Transkei, for example, are severely restricted beyond the Transkei borders, which means throughout the rest of South Africa.

But there is another important side to this situation. The policy of worker migration pursued by the South African regime means that every year thousands of Africans are driven out of the cities into rural areas, while thousands more are forced into the cities. So the rural areas are being steadily enriched with the political experience of proletarian struggle. Today the Africans living in rural areas have become semi-proletarianised. They actively oppose the bantustan system and this is a significant factor in the development of the struggle in our country.

Q. A lot is said in so-called liberal circles about the "moderate leaders" of the black population, who could help to reduce the tension, act as a safety valve, so to speak?

A. They are yet another shock-absorber that the regime is trying to create. But they have thought of it too late. The "Moderate leaders" will be swept off their feet by the mighty tide of revolution, and this is already happening. On the other hand, some of the moderate leaders who had been so highly praised by the South African liberals were arrested in the autumn of 1977 because, in the view of the regime, they could not be moderate enough in the present situation.

In general, South African liberalism is in crisis. It has lost its self-given mandate to speak for the oppressed and exploited masses. Today they speak for themselves, by their actions and often at the cost of their lives. And the politicians who want to build their careers on "defence of the grievances of the oppressed" now find themselves out of a job. Hence the confusion in the ranks of the South African "reformists", the disappearance of one of their parties and the formation of new parties that are also doomed to split and disappear. Amid the working people's mounting struggle for national and social liberation, the contradictions in the ranks of the exploiters become even more acute.

Q. The press in the imperialist countries writes a lot about South African businessmen who because of their need for a steady flow of new manpower have an interest in some relaxation of apartheid and might bring pressure to bear on the government. What is your view on this point?

A. The hopes of the so-called liberal South African businessmen are pinned on certain minor reforms that could, so they believe, help to put things right and lift some of the restrictions of apartheid. They think that this would satisfy the people enough to hold back the revolution. But it is unrealistic today to imagine that the actions in Soweto were intended to achieve only partial improvements and reforms in minor matters. If this were so, it would have been all over in one day, after the first shooting. But the staunchness, the unbending will shown by the people proves that they are fighting for complete liberation and not against "petty-apartheid", not for "pleasant exploitation", but against all exploitation of man by man.

The social content of the national-liberation movement in South Africa has now come much more clearly to the fore, because the regime's racist policy means that the most exploited are those who are most oppressed in the national sense. This is what has determined the social content of our national-liberation struggle.

Q. The murder of Steve Biko and the banning of a number of moderate organisations in South Africa was followed by a big uproar in the press of the imperialist powers and some government leaders spoke out against the regime. Does this signify any real change in their attitude towards Vorster?

A. The growing power of world progressive opinion, which opposes racism and supports the struggle for national-liberation, tends to isolate the imperialist powers that are helping the Vorster regime. Their role as accomplices in the racist crimes against the peoples of South Africa is becoming increasingly clear. World opinion is concentrating the fire of its criticism on these powers as the force that is behind the executions in Soweto and other crimes of the Vorster regime. The masses of the people in these countries do not want to see their governments on the side of the regimes of the white minority.

Even the argument that South Africa must be defended as an anti-Communist bastion does not hold water nowadays, although the South African regime clings to it for lack of anything better. The South African racists have sung the anti-Communist tune for a quarter of a century and are still singing it. But in the present situation there is hardly anyone anywhere who takes it seriously.

These factors compel the governments of the imperialist powers to present matters as if they are siding with world opinion with regard to the South African regime. So the protests against the murder of Steve Biko and other repressive measures do to some extent express the feelings of ordinary people in these countries, which are similar to those of ordinary people the world over. And this is certainly a sign of the growing power and influence of the progressive forces on the world scene.

And there is another aspect to all this. Imperialism today is incapable of crushing the revolution by force, as it did in the past. But it is trying to control and contain it. And if imperialism starts speaking the "language of liberation", some see this as a "change of flag". But experience has shown that one can attack apartheid in the fiercest terms and call it a crime against humanity - and still give it military, economic and political support. So the loud protests that we have been hearing lately from a number of government leaders in the imperialist countries do not necessarily mean the end of these countries' support of the racist regime in South Africa.

"The African National Congress with its allies, is the representative inside apartheid South Africa of the kind of life that the people of Angola and Mozambique are striving to build, the kind of life that all peoples advancing towards progress aim for. Exactly because of this, its authority among the broad masses of our people has risen so high and has proved so indestructible that the enemy himself has had to admit this fact openly and repeatedly".

Comrade O.R. Tambo

"We of the African National Congress visualise a South Africa in which the people shall govern, in which the wealth of the country shall be restored to the people and where the land shall be shared among those who work it. We aim to establish in our country a society free of the exploitation of man by man".

Comrade O.R. Tambo

ROOTS OF MILITARY INVASIONS OF NEIGHBOURING
 INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES BY THE SOUTH
 AFRICAN RACIST REGIME TROOPS AND THE SOLU-
 TION. COMRADE O. R. TAMBO, PRESIDENT OF
 THE A.N.C. (SA) ON 21ST MARCH, 1978.

The racist regime prides itself on having one of the most powerful armies on the African continent, and for good reason: for nearly 20 years the fascists have paid particular attention to the creation of aggression with an offensive capability far beyond the task of suppressing the national liberation movement within the country. Today the world is confronted by the reality that the racist regime has the capacity to produce nuclear weapons and has acquired the means for their delivery. What is to come has already been presaged by the arrogant invasion of the People's Republic of Angola and by the so-called extension of the defence border to the equator. The criminal acts of armed aggression against Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia are not unrelated to the aggression policies of the S.A. regime.

The path that the apartheid regime has traversed over the last 30 years is in essence no different from that pursued by the Nazis in the period up to 1939. It is inevitable that like its predecessor, the South African Reich will seek to impose a world order characterized by national and colonial oppression,

extreme exploitation, rabid racism and fascist repression.

We have said before and say again that by its nature, apartheid, like Nazism, constitutes a threat to peace and international security. The collective experience of the people of the world attests to the truth of this statement.

Yet there are some member States of this, of all Organizations, (the UN) who today refuse to recognize this reality. In this regard, history is again repeating itself. Once more the Western Powers are embarked on a policy of appeasement for very much the same reasons as they gave encouragement to Nazi Germany, and they routinely proffer the same arguments to justify this dangerous policy.

Again the reason for this is to be found in the fact that the same West European and North American financial and military interests which financed and armed Nazi Germany still occupy decisive positions in these countries today. As in the past, they are moved by considerations of earning super profits and therefore support any regime that guarantees them these profits, without regard to the cost in human privation and suffering.

Half a century ago, the forces of reaction designed a grand strategy to strengthen Nazi Germany with a view to using her as their striking force for the imperialist domination of the world. That policy led to one of the most barbaric episodes in the history of mankind, the highest price being paid by the ordinary working people of the world who had never sought war but yearned for peace, democracy, a fuller life for themselves and equality among the peoples.

The same strategy is being pursued today with regard to apartheid South Africa. The same interests are continuing to strengthen the Vorster regime and wish to use the South African fascists as their striking force against the peoples of the African continent to stall and reverse our advance towards complete political and economic independence.

Already the sterling efforts of the Governments of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia and the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique to improve the lives of their peoples have to take into account the fact that on their borders there exists a regime which is hostile to their efforts, a regime which on a daily basis uses its economic, military and political power to try to transform these countries into appendages of apartheid South Africa. Recent events prove this. The international community is

confronted with the immediate threat that the Vorster regime will sooner or later gamble on its military might to ensure the success of this policy.

The African National Congress is convinced that these attempts will fail, thanks to the firm patriotic and anti racist positions of the Governments and peoples of the independent countries of Southern Africa. We are equally convinced that we must play a decisive role to guarantee this victory.

As we have done before, we wish to pledge again that the African National Congress, its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, its allies and our people as a whole will spare neither their lives nor their labour in the sacred struggle to rid the world of the South African fountain head of racism and international aggression.

Our specific special responsibility to the peoples of the world lies in our ensuring that our country is removed from the coterie of areas which constitute a threat to international peace and security. We, together with the governments and the peoples of Southern Africa must ensure that fascism is denied the regional base which would improve its possibility to carry out its role to its ultimate limits as the enemy of mankind.

We are therefore the front line troops of a world-wide army which, victorious in 1945, is still confronted with the responsibility of ensuring that the peaceable purposes of that victory are not compromised or denied by permitting the forces of international reaction in South Africa or any other part of the world to regroup and prepare themselves for their longer-term objectives.

The international campaign of solidarity with our fighting people and all the peoples of Southern Africa must therefore be seen in the wider and more fundamental context of building a world in which democracy, social progress and peace are assured.

Centrally there is the task of supporting, politically and materially, the armed struggle and the entire forces led by the African National Congress.

It is a matter of great strength to us that peoples of Africa, united in the OAU stand with us in our struggle to destroy the apartheid regime, and liberate our country.

The Socialist countries are ever a bed-rock which assures us the material and political support to counter the preponderant assistance which the powerful economy, military and political establishment of the leading imperialist countries accord to fascism in South Africa.

Ever increasing numbers of peoples and governments in Asia, Latin America and Western Europe are also joining hands with us in the struggle. We must again pay tribute to the Nordic countries, Holland and Canada for the more responsive positions they are taking to our demand for concrete action to isolate the Vorster regime.

Much has been done throughout the world by the voluntary anti-apartheid groups, by democratic political parties and the international trade union movement and by the United Nations itself to advance our common cause. Without the support of these forces our struggle would not have reached the level that it has today.

Yet, in spite of the heroic sacrifices of our people, in spite of the actions of the rest of mankind in support of our struggle, the reality is that the Vorster regime remains uncowed. This as you know and as we have said is thanks to the support which that regime gets from the dominant forces in the imperialist countries.

But we emphasize that however forbidding the sacrifice we in South Africa have to make as the price of victory it is all dwarfed by the greatness, the supreme nobility and above all, the absolute justice of the cause for which we fight.

Inevitably, therefore, we shall win! Africa will be totally liberated; a new and truly democratic world order will be born, and, as the ANC declares in its Freedom Charter, there will be peace and friendship.

Victory is assured!

DAWN HAS COME!

DAWN TO LIBERATE YOURSELF!

DAWN, the voice of the liberation army of the people in South Africa - Umkhonto we Sizwe!

STOP PRESS!GENERAL MOTORS MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION
MEMOS REVEAL COOPERATION WITH SOUTH
AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE

'Documents outlining General Motors' "contingency plans" to cooperate with the white South African government "in the event of civil unrest" by the country's black majority are in circulation.

"The documents are copies of memoranda prepared one year ago by white managers of GM's South African subsidiary and hand delivered under conditions of considerable secrecy to GM headquarters in Detroit".

"According to the documents, GM's two plants in South Africa, which employ over 3,600 persons, have been designated "key points" by the military authorities of South Africa. The documents note that the GM plants "will be accorded protection in emergencies through the medium of the Citizen Force Commando System", commanded by the white-run army in South Africa. The memos note that "all White male South African citizens up to age 65 are liable for military service" and would supplement the commando unit.

"The commando unit covering the GM plants would be made of "plant personnel who have had military training" who are "encouraged by the authorities to volunteer to join a local commando unit".

"Thus the GM Commando' would assume guarding responsibility for the GM plants and would fall under the control of the local military authority for the duration of the emergency" the memos conclude.

"Concerning operations of the plant, the documents state that in an emergency "the major elements of this industry would be taken over by an arm of the Ministry of Defence.....which would completely regulate output. . . operating control of plants such as General Motors and Ford would most certainly be vested in South African nationals".

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SOME FORTHCOMING "MAYIBUYE" SPECIAL ISSUES.

In Vol.1. No.7, the Secretary General, comrade Alfred Nzo in an exclusive interview with Radio Freedom analyses the current political situation in South Africa.

From Vol.1. No.8, you'll get the background to and know more about what the A.N.C. of South Africa is fighting for. The analysis is made by comrade Thabo Mbeki, member of our National Executive and Secretary to the Political Commission.

You too can write.

Please send your contribution to Mayibuye.

Editor.

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