

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

# MAYIBUYE



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YEAR OF THE SPEAR

The Fortnightly Journal of the African National Congress.

## VENDA INDEPENDENCE FRAUD

# STOP MPHEPHU BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

On the 13th September, 1979, we the oppressed people of South Africa will be saddled with yet another bogus 'independent' Bantustan, the so-called Venda Homeland. The apartheid disease is spreading with its ultimate aim of breaking up South Africa into disunited tribal units which will continue for political, military and economic reasons to take orders from the Pretoria racists.

We know from experience that Bantustan 'independence' merely means that black puppets administer the apartheid system in the Bantustan areas for their masters in Pretoria. In the Transkei and Bophutatswana the living conditions of the people have worsened, like in the rest of South Africa - higher prices, more unemployment, more migrant labour, more forced removals, and even higher taxes than before 'independence' so as to keep the Mangope's and Matanzima's in luxury. Those who refuse to take out citizenship cards are subjected to various forms of repression. Detentions and torture are routine, like in the rest of the apartheid state. And those of us living in so-called white South Africa know how 'independence' has increased the fear of being deported overnight to an unknown 'homeland' where we have no homes or jobs.

### MILITARY BUILD-UP

It is clear that Mphephu intends to impose 'independence' on the inhabitants of the Venda Bantustan with the same ruthlessness as his fellow traitors Mangope and Matanzima. He has just opened three new police stations, and is building a R500,000 high-security prison. Mphephu has declared war on us! At the same time the Botha regime is preparing for 'independence' by building large military bases, aircraft landing strips and mountain roads - why all these preparations if, as Mphephu and his white masters claim, we accept Venda 'independence'?

Venda's short and lamentable history of 'homeland' tribal politics started with what were then called Tribal Authorities - one or more tribal chiefs were clubbed together arbitrarily and promised some semblance of local administration. It was at this time, we shall remember, that the Pretoria racists occupied themselves with tribal division, placing an emphasis on tribal identity, tribal pride and language purity instead of national identity and pride and language growth. We all remember the harmony that existed before, the inter-marriages, language and cultural interaction that were and are the order of the day.

At that time Pretoria imposed a boundary on us, called the Zig-Zag Line, moving from somewhere around River-plaats, down Mbokota and Mashamba, Masia, Kuruleni, Pfukane, Shirindi, Piet Boo. We should remember that this line was made zig-zag so that it should satisfy nobody...and what happened? We started fighting amongst ourselves for this or that piece of land! Imagine how the loud laughter of satisfaction echoed through the corridors of the Union Buildings as we tore at one another's throats - Vendas, Shangaans, Pedis. And as we battled it out amongst ourselves, the people responsible for the fighting came to us as peacemakers!

### PRETORIA'S PUPPET CHIEF

The stage was now set for the Boers to divide us further. The Venbe Regional Authority was given the more emotive name of Thoho ya Ndou (elephant head) Territorial Authority. Mphephu was built up by the Pretoria regime as the leader of the Venda people using the fact that he is a traditional chief. It should be noted that whenever traditional chiefs oppose the white supremacists, they are removed. In contrast, the positive element of tradition whereby a chief who worked against his people could be thrown out by them, no longer exists. Mphephu is not answerable to the people of the Venda Bantustan but to our oppressors.

We shall remember that last year the racists tried to give Mphephu's position of control some semblance of honour and credibility by calling on the people to vote for 'their leader'. We voted him out. As far as we are concerned, he is not our leader. We voted him out because he wants this sham independence which is against the people, which robs us of our South African citizenship; this so-called independence that will keep us as a labour pool for 'white' South Africa, that has allowed rich areas like New England and Albain to belong to the whites. We voted Mphephu out because he is against the struggle of the people for genuine independence.



President Tambo introduces Comrades T.T. Nkobi, Treasurer General and Joe Modise, both members of the NEC, to Comrade Gustav Husak, State President of socialist Czechoslovakia.

On the other hand, we voted for those who were not just against Mphephu but against sham independence. We voted for these people because we were ready to struggle with them for our rights. In other words, we were not voting for individuals but for our interests, for the interests of the people of South Africa.

Fellow countrymen, things have since changed. Certain individuals have changed and moved away from the people. It seems that the detentions and torture of some of Mphephu's opponents (after the VIP defeated him in the Bantustan elections last year) have caused some of these opponents to backtrack on the question of fake independence. Did they think when they opposed Mphephu and the fascist regime that things would be easy for them? Our national leader, Comrade Nelson Mandela, has taught us by his own life the meaning of his words: "No easy walk to freedom".

The people have a right to an explanation of this change in the position of these individuals. We as a people must not sit down and hope that all is well; we must not trust that anyone is acting correctly now just because he did so last year. If last year it was NO to 'independence', why is it YES this year - when the struggle against it should be higher than ever before?

While we demand an explanation and a return to the principle of anti-independence from those who have weakened, let us not waste time or be confused by arguments. We know that we do not want apartheid and its Bantustans. We therefore *reject* this independence on the 13th of September and we should *work against* it as we did last year.

\*We call on the people of the Venda Bantustan to register your opposition to the Bantustan scheme. *Boycott* all the enemy's "independence celebrations". *Refuse* to work on all the projects connected with the "celebrations". *Disrupt* these projects by all means at your disposal.

\*We call on the youth and students of the Venda Bantustan to demonstrate in action your opposition to Bantustans as you did so heroically in 1976-77. Follow the example of the students at Thengwe High School; who refused to listen to Mphephu's messengers

\*We call on all patriotic VIP members and supporters to continue with the original and popular anti-independence stand. We further call on you to mobilise the population for direct action against the 'independence' sell-out.

\*We call on all democratic organisations to organise nationwide action against Venda 'independence'.

START NOW! STOP MPHEPHU AND HIS CLIQUE BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

Mayibuye No 7, July, Year of the Spear.

# CALL TO WOMEN ON AUGUST 9TH SOUTH AFRICA'S WOMEN'S DAY

*Fellow compatriots!  
Daughters, Sisters and Mothers of our country,*

In the history of our women's struggle for national liberation, August 9th, 1956, stands out strikingly as a day glorified by the heroic women's march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, the citadel of racist oppression of the white minority law-makers. It was the climax of various demonstrations throughout the country, when more than 20,000 women of all races, under the leadership of the Federation of South African Women, defiantly converged on Pretoria to protest at the extension of the pass laws to African women and to demand the abolition of passes.

The unity in action demonstrated by our women then is the outstanding feature of August 9th, the day which has since been recognised as South Africa's Women's Day. Our leaders of that day have been scattered by apartheid repression: banned, banished, detained, imprisoned, exiled - but still fighting! The new generation of young women in the struggle grew up after the banning of the African National Congress and its Women's League, and the crippling of the Federation of S.A. Women. But they are building on the experience and contribution of the women who shook the seat of racist rule in 1956. Within the national liberation movement, both generations work together as they have done before, guided by the ANC Women's Section, to mobilise all the oppressed women of South Africa to fight for their rights.

What are the tasks confronting our women this year, the 23rd anniversary of South Africa's Women's Day? Our prime task, if we are to fulfil our responsibilities as South Africans, as women, as mothers; is to participate to our fullest capacity in the national struggle for the seizure of power. The liberation of our country can be achieved only through our active participation alongside our men. At the same time, as the experience of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Vietnam has demonstrated, joint struggle with our male comrades at all levels, including in the people's army, contributes greatly towards asserting the role of women as equals in the struggle to determine our common destiny. Thus our equal contribution to the liberation war will help to clear the way for the new society, free from discrimination on the basis of sex as well as race.

Already women are joining Umkhonto we Sizwe in increasing numbers. Women play a special role in providing hiding places and supplies for our soldiers, and in organising the people by distributing ANC propaganda material or conducting other tasks to strengthen the underground machinery. We can develop the mass mobilisation of our people through legal organisations. Women have a special role to play here: in order to raise the level of political understanding and activity of our women we need to be active wherever women are grouped together.

Again in the Bantustans, where women form such a high proportion of the permanent population, it is important to have women working as political organisers, preparing the ground for the all-round intensification of the struggle. There is a need for trade union organisers, particularly in industries which employ mostly women, and in domestic service. The courageous women who went on strike at the Eveready plant demonstrate what our working women can achieve when they are organised and united.

In this International Year of the Child, we should reflect on our duties as mothers who have brought children into this divided society, where the racist oppressors expect us to offer them nothing but our tears and our blood. Since 1976 our children have been massacred, detained and tortured in their hundreds for daring to stand up for their rights, for following in the footsteps of their mothers by demonstrating against injustice. The rights of children as laid down by the United Nations are denied the black children of South Africa. As mothers we must encourage our children to join with the rest of the youth in struggling for those rights. We must bring up our sons and daughters to seek the truth amidst all the oppressors' lies and distortions. We must teach our children about their brothers and sisters who have taken to arms, and why this has to be so. We must bring up our children in the fighting spirit of Isandhlwana and Soweto. Like Mrs Mahlangu, Solomon's mother, we must raise young soldiers of the people of whom we will be justly proud.

In order to mobilise the women of South Africa, we need ONE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S ORGANISATION. The formation of such a body should not be the task only of democratic women and women's groups. It is the responsibility of all progressive organisations in South Africa, their male and female members alike, to help initiate such an organisation by calling a national women's conference for that purpose. The task of mobilising women should fall on all those committed to our liberation, not only the women.

A national women's organisation would be a means of drawing in more and more women into active resistance to their oppression by organising campaigns around issues which particularly affect women, such as rising prices, unemployment, forced removals, Bantustans, the lack of children's rights... It would be a means of sharing experience gained in local struggles - how much the women of Crossroads have to teach the rest of us about organisation and courage!

Countrywomen, in this Year of the Child, this Year of the Spear, the ANC Women's Section calls on all patriotic women to come together on August 9th to prepare for united action in the battles ahead. Only through struggle is our victory certain!

AMANDLA! MAATLA! POWER!

LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM, VOICE OF THE ANC AND UMKHONTO WE SIZWE.

\*\*\* RADIO MADAGASCAR

shortwave, 49 metre band, 6135 KHz. 8 to 9 p.m. daily

RADIO LUSAKA

shortwave, 25 metre band, 11,880 KHz. Sunday 7 to 8 p.m.  
Monday to Saturday: 6.10 to 7 p.m., Wednesday 10.05 to 10.30 p.m.

RADIO LUANDA

shortwave, 40 and 30 metre bands; mediumwave, 27.6 metre band  
7.30 p.m. daily

RADIO TANZANIA - External Service (Dar es Salaam)

shortwave, 19 metre band, 15,475 KHz  
8.15 p.m. Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday.  
6.15 a.m. Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday.

## Wiehahn & Riekert

### THREAT TO BLACK UNIONS

*The democratic trade union movement and all the patriotic forces of our country have rightly attacked the new legislation based on recommendations of the apartheid regime's commissions headed by its loyal servants, Wiehahn and Riekert.*

Of course, any commission appointed by our oppressors was bound to make recommendations to strengthen the system of white privilege, not to weaken it. Some circles would have us believe that discrimination in employment would have been eradicated if only the regime had accepted all of Wiehahn's proposals as they stand. This is untrue. The motives, spirit and basic principles of the Wiehahn report form the basis of the regime's White Paper and subsequent Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill, even if they differ in some details. Indeed, Wiehahn himself declared that he was satisfied with the White Paper. What is more, he has been touring the Western capitals trying to defuse the international campaign to isolate fascist South Africa, arguing that the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions herald the start of a new era - the dismantling of apartheid by the racists themselves.

Far from it! The new era of Wiehahn and Riekert represents an intensified and more sophisticated attack on the forces for change. While pretending to grant trade union rights to African workers, our oppressors are in fact tightening control over black workers and the militant unions which have sprung up in recent years despite harassment and lack of legal recognition. While claiming to scrap job reservation, the regime has left the white racist workers with the power to block African entry into 'whites-only'

jobs. As for Riekert's pretence at easing the pass laws, he is instead creating a more efficient system of influx control.

All these manoeuvres by the racists are part of their broad new strategy to preserve discrimination and exploitation while appearing to be gradually eliminating them; and to try and win over some sections of the black population into the apartheid camp. Other recent instances of the new-look policy in practice are the relaxation of 'petty apartheid', especially in sport; the creation of community councils, advisory councils and 'independent' Bantustans; and the efforts to persuade the Coloured and Indian communities to become junior partners in an alliance to suppress the African people through the three-tier parliamentary scheme.

The need for this new strategy for survival arises from the growing momentum of the liberation forces in Southern Africa and South Africa itself, combined with the increasing international isolation of the racist republic. Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, summed up the reasons for the appointment of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions in a recent statement:

*"They serve many purposes. One is to divert attention from the scandal of corruption and fraudulent mismanagement of public funds in the uppermost circles of government, including the (former) State President B.J. Vorster. Another is to give the regime's trading partners, the industrialists, bankers and multinational corporations of Western Europe, United States and Japan a plausible pretext for resisting the growing pressure for boycotts and sanctions against the apartheid state. Thirdly, the regime hopes that promises of reform will cool the anger of the exploited and suffering workers whose maturing class and national consciousness is rapidly reaching boiling point. A fourth dimension is provided by the stagnant economy, mass unemployment, persistent inflation, an acute scarcity of skilled workers, a low rate of economic growth, a*

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# NEC COMMENTS:

## JUNE 16 & 26, 1979

June 26th statement by the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, broadcast over Radio Freedom by Comrade Thabo Mbeki, Political Secretary to the President.

Compatriots, -

It is now ten days since the oppressed people throughout the country and the friends of our people in the rest of the world observed the third anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of your organisation, we would like to take this opportunity to commend all the patriots of our country who worked so tirelessly to ensure that once more thousands of our people gathered to honour the memory of the heroes who died on June 16th, 1976 and in the subsequent months.

It was indeed no small thing that in places as far afield as Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth, Durban and Pietersburg, Fort Hare and Springs, Bloemfontein and Krugersdorp and other areas, meetings were held to mark this anniversary.

The tenth day after the Soweto uprising is of course, June 26th, South Africa Freedom Day. This day also belongs very firmly to the glorious calendar of our struggle for liberation. On May Day, 1950, the same murderous police that shot down students on June 16th, 1976, shot down 18 of our people at Newclare, Johannesburg, where our people had come together in struggle to defeat the fascist Suppression of Communism Act.

As a result of these shootings and others that took place after that fateful May Day and as a continuation of the struggle against the passage of the Suppression of Communism Act, a successful national strike was called on June 26th, 1950, not only by the ANC but also by other organisations which also stood for a democratic South Africa.

Thus was born South Africa Freedom Day in united struggle against the encroachment of fascism in our country and as an intensification of the offensive of the oppressed people to win their own liberation.

Today we are marking the 29th anniversary of South Africa Freedom Day as we marked the 3rd anniversary of the Soweto uprising 10 days ago. It is correct that we should spend this 29th anniversary in quiet reflection on the tasks that confront us as a people.

The message that came out of the meetings to observe the 3rd anniversary of the Soweto uprising is quite clear. In speeches, songs, drama and in prayer, the masses of our people continue to demand what is their birthright, freedom. As Curtis Nkondo said correctly at the memorial service held in Orlando on June 17th: "It is freedom that blacks want and not the changes people profess to be chasing."

## Wiehahn & Riekert continued from page 2

decline in living standards of Black workers and peasants, and the reduced profitability of important sectors of industry and commerce.

Fifthly, there is unrest and deep discontent not only among working people but also in business circles, which urgently need a free labour market, access to markets in Africa and large inputs of capital and technology from Western countries.

These circumstances have led to the appointment of the two labour commissions and their efforts to provide relief without changing the basic structures of apartheid and white minority domination."

Wiehahn and Riekert are yet another sign that we have the enemy on the aggressive retreat, frantically searching for new ways to oppress us and disguise that oppression. One basic truth must be absolutely clear: the enemy's retreat is solely due to the people's offensive, just as our liberation will ultimately be won through struggle alone, including armed combat. We must never be deceived into believing that the fascists can have a change of heart and freely hand over our rights.

We must carefully assess the enemy's new tactics so as to avoid the traps he is setting for us - traps intended to confuse and divide us, and dilute the revolutionary content of our freedom struggle. By granting certain 'rights' and privileges to a minority of African people, Botha and his fellow racists hope to co-opt some sections of the black community into accepting eternal submission in return for a slightly more privileged position than the rest of the people. The fascists hope to induce some of our people to turn their backs on the national war for total liberation. But although there are always some traitors in any nation, the masses as a whole cannot be divided or diverted from the revolutionary path by such miserable bribes, which are an insult to our pride as black people in a society which denies our humanity.

Some African workers (i.e. some of the so-called permanent ones) are now entitled to trade union rights of a kind, although severely restricted. Coloured and Indian workers already possess this doubtful privilege. The bulk of the African workers do not - including over two million migrants and 'commuters', as well as the most downtrodden workers in our country, namely the miners, domestic and farm workers.

On this South Africa Freedom Day that is what we are called on to affirm - that what we want is freedom. The content of that freedom has to be defined by us also - by those, as Curtis Nkondo said: "who cannot vote, those discriminated against in employment and those who have no rights and privileges in the country of their birth". On this day, we the oppressed people must therefore not only affirm our commitment to freedom: we must also re-affirm our commitment to that freedom as defined by us in that outstanding document of our people, the Freedom Charter which says, **THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!**

By taking these positions we shall also be affirming our opposition to the so-called changes to which Nkondo referred and which are designed to deny us our freedom - changes such as were proposed by the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions and changes that fall under the enemy's separate development programme such as the treacherous independence that is being forced upon our people in Vendaland, and the community councils that can only serve the interests of the racist white minority. We must affirm our opposition to Koornhof's regional committees and call on people like Rev. Sam Buti to resign from these oppressors' institutions.

To repeat: our first task on this 29th anniversary of June 26th, South Africa Freedom Day, is to pledge in our thousands, as individuals, as families, in factories, schools - wherever we are - our commitment to genuine freedom, the freedom to rule ourselves, the freedom contained in the slogan which rang out throughout South Africa on the third anniversary of the Soweto uprising - **Amandla Ngawethu! Power to the People!**

But to bring about this result, for the people to win power, we need united struggle. Our next task on the occasion of South Africa Freedom Day is therefore to reflect on the question - what must we do to bring about the maximum unity of the oppressed people and all the democratic, anti-racist forces of our country?



The democratic world is with us in saluting Comrade Nelson Mandela on his 61st birthday and in demanding **FREEDOM FOR MANDELA AND ALL SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS!** In this Year of the Spear, 15 years after Rivonia, we rededicate ourselves to the freedom struggle which will secure the release of our imprisoned leaders and people.

The question we have to address ourselves to now, is how to combine the struggles of all black workers - African, Coloured and Indian; the organised and unorganised; those in registered and unregistered unions; those in unions led by patriots and those in the hands of sell-outs.

It is the urgent task of the anti-racist trade union movement to strengthen links with workers in unions presently controlled by collaborators, and to expose the treachery of this leadership. This will assist the members of those unions to wrest control from the traitors now at the top and rejoin the genuine workers' movement.

The black trade unions are now faced with the regime's poisoned offer of registration on its terms - terms which are intended to tame the unions. Whatever the decision of the unions concerning registration, in the end it is the strength of the workers as a collective, organised force which determines an employer's attitude to a particular union, whether it is registered or not. If that strength is great enough, employers will be forced to operate agreements with unions - even if they are not called agreements.

In this difficult period facing the democratic labour movement, **united mass action** remains the workers' most powerful weapon. No amount of legislative restrictions or brute force can prevent us from striking a united blow at the apartheid economy when we so chose, as we have in numerous national political strikes in the past. Even if the regime were ultimately to ban black trade unions completely, this would not stop us from acting together as workers.

The latest restrictions imposed on the black trade unions underline the need for other forms of organisation besides legal trade unions. We need to be organised into small, secret groups in our places of work, linked together into a nationwide network - ready for action at the relevant moments. In addition to our open unions, that is the sort of organisation we require if we are to succeed in our goal of seizing state power.

**JOIN THE ANC AND UMBHONTO WE SIZWE!**

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE IN A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA!**

Mayibuye No 7 page 3, July, Year of the Spear.



# YEAR OF THE SPEAR

In this Year of the Spear we pay tribute to the great general and statesman, Moshoeshe I, who strove in the 19th Century to build a united front of African resistance against the invaders.

He tried to federate the various national groups in his area and offered security against the colonial plunderers to people from far and wide. A major achievement was the establishment of peace between his people, the Basotho, and the Matabele under Msilikazi, which Moshoeshe accomplished by giving them food after a number of clashes between the two armies.

From his mountain fortress of Thaba Bosiu, Moshoeshe inflicted a number of humiliating defeats on the Boer and British forces in defence of his Kingdom of Lesotho, whose frontiers were defined in a treaty with the British. In 1849 the British broke this treaty and handed over part of Lesotho to the Boers, but the Basotho in alliance with the Taung under Moletsane resisted the Boer occupation. The British led by Warden then attacked Taung villages on Viervoet Mountain but were defeated when Moshoeshe came to his allies' aid. In an attempt to restore British prestige, 2,000 infantry and 500 cavalry set off to "teach the Basotho a lesson". Instead they were ambushed by Moshoeshe's warriors and forced to retreat after a severe mauling.

The Boers ravaged Lesotho although they never succeeded in conquering it. They had an advantage over the Basotho - superior weapons obtained from the British who banned the sale of guns to Africans. Eventually Moshoeshe was forced to accept a harsh settlement depriving his kingdom of much land in return for protection from the British.

Moshoeshe died in 1870, leaving us with a legacy of unity and resistance which should be an inspiration to us in this Year of the Spear.

**THE SPEAR LIVES ON!**



We must aim for the situation in which every oppressed person, regardless of their age, their walk of life, regardless of where they are, in the towns and the countryside, including the so-called Bantustans - everybody must be engaged in struggle. This is what Mrs Kgware meant. We must follow her advice. Nobody will liberate us except ourselves through our own efforts.

Therefore on the occasion of June 26th, we must reflect also on this question: in our struggle for genuine freedom, using our united strength, what must each of us do to ensure that everybody is engaged in struggle now - against mass removals, the Bantustan system, a racist education system, low wages and the denial of trade union rights, landlessness, high prices, unemployment and all the other problems that confront us daily.

As part of this effort and in observance of the 3rd anniversary of the Soweto uprising, the African National Congress called on the people to stay at home on the 18th of June. The truth, which we all know, is that in fact the workers did go to work on this day.

We must draw the correct conclusions from this failure. In the first place, criticism must be levelled not against the masses of the people but against our own organisation. We took too much for granted, did not prepare adequately for this form of action, issued the call too late and therefore could not ensure that the call, once made, did in fact reach all organisers and the masses of our working people in both residential and working places. High commendation is due to the activists who still put in a heroic effort to organise the strike in the face of serious odds against them.

Secondly, the very military preparations that the enemy undertook to confront our people, including the cancellation of army and police leave, means that we ourselves must combine mass political action, such as strikes, with military action designed, in part, to make it more difficult for the enemy to use force against the masses of the people.

Thirdly, we must use the weapon of national general strikes as part of a series of on-going open confrontations between the oppressed and the oppressor, and therefore as a higher phase of a battle that is already taking place.

These are some of the lessons that we ourselves have drawn which will help to ensure that on the next occasion, as revolutionaries, we do not repeat past mistakes and that our people will in fact use the weapon of general strike successfully, whatever the intensity of enemy repression. From the failure of June 18th, we must therefore emerge stronger.

When we observe the 30th anniversary of June 26th, when there is another commemoration of June 16th, we must be in a position where we can positively say - we have brought ourselves nearer to our goal of securing genuine freedom for ourselves, the goal of transferring power to the people, having scored victories in the continuing offensive against fascist and racist tyranny.

On the occasion of June 26th, South Africa Freedom Day, we greet you all in the name of the African National Congress and the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. In their name we pledge that we shall not rest until apartheid tyranny is destroyed and power is in the hands of the people.

**AMANLA NGWETHU!  
MAATLA KE A RONA!**

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## JUNE 16 & 26 *continued from page 3*

At the meeting held in Pietersburg on June 16th, Mrs Kgware said: "Let it not end here with this commemoration. Don't go home and wait for June 16, 1980 to gather again. Wherever you are, discuss the black cause with your friends, your relatives and your parents."

These are very correct words. The cause of the black people cannot be satisfied merely by memorial meetings, important as these meetings are. These meetings must serve as a basis to fire us with enthusiasm to intensify the struggle. The call to all of us to unite and dedicate ourselves to the struggle for liberation was made at all the anniversary meetings. Our collective task is to find ways and means of achieving this.

The black people throughout the country are confronted with very serious problems which we must tackle. We can say for certain that the conditions of life of our people will be worse this time next year than they are today. We all know that.

The question therefore is what we must do about this. The answer of course is simple. We must struggle. We must fight. As Mrs. Kgware said: "Let it not end here with this commemoration."

A good start has already been made in that many forces united to observe June 16th. Everybody pulled together to make all the meetings a reality including church people, sportsmen and women, trade unionists, students, writers, activists in the field of culture, the young and the old, members of various organisations - we all came together to observe June 16th. This was indeed a very good beginning.

On the occasion of South Africa Freedom Day what we must do is to reflect on the question - how shall we extend this process of the united action of the oppressed people? It is clear that much still remains to be done. On the basis of what we have already achieved, we must build more unity, more united action, drawing in more forces into active struggle including those which, though also observing June 16th, did so passively and not actively. For instance, it is quite clear that there was insufficient participation by the black trade union movement in all these events. We must find out why and correct this as part of a process of building up the united combat strength of our liberation forces.

United action also means solidarity. We must come out in solidarity with our people in Vendaland who are being forced into a state of so-called independence which they do not want. The struggle against Mphophu and his masters should not be left just to the Venda people. All patriots throughout the country must join in this struggle. We must also come out in solidarity with the people on the Winterveldt-people who are being harassed daily by Mangope acting in the interests of his apartheid masters.

On the occasion of June 26th, South Africa Freedom Day, the African National Congress therefore calls on all patriots throughout the country to reflect on this question - how should we deepen and extend the unity of the oppressed people? We must together find solutions to all obstacles blocking this unity in action so that the millions of our people should move as one man to intensify the struggle which will bring us the freedom for which our people died in Newclare in 1950 and in Soweto and elsewhere in our country in 1976.