



MAYIBUYE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

MAYIBUYE NUMBER 6

1982, YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION.

Journal of the African National Congress

The key to progress is in the attack!

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT
O. R. TAMBO — JUNE, 1982.

QUESTION: The regime is today advancing the so-called constitutional proposals of its President's Council as a concrete manifestation of the 'fact' that apartheid colonialism is as good as dead! In addition to statements by such leaders as fascist Roelof Botha that the rulers are prepared to admit past mistakes and so mend their ways, we are also told that the split within the fascist Nationalist Party is a sign that these "men of reason" want to change apartheid. Would you comment on this?

ANSWER: First of all, let us emphasise that apartheid colonialism will be killed by the people, not by the apartheid colonial regime. The so-called President's Council is a body created by the regime in pursuit of the regime's own strategy for survival. The foundation of the Council's mandate is white domination, baaskap, white minority rule; not democracy, not the political and socio-economic liberation of the oppressed and exploited masses. It is important to

recognise this fact about the President's Council. It does not proceed from a conviction that there must now be one-man, one-vote in South Africa. It is created on the basis of a declaration that there never will be one-man, one-vote in South Africa, and that South Africa will remain white. It was, therefore, created to do the opposite of liquidating apartheid colonialism: to guarantee the permanence of, and reinforce, the structures of apartheid in the face of the swelling tides of revolution which are building up in and around Pretoria.

Now, in its recommendations, the President's Council selects our "Coloured" and "Indian" compatriots to play



Presidents Tambo (left) and Sam Nujoma at the historic Maputo Summit of Frontline States last March. Sitting in the back row are (from left to right): Comrades J. Nkadmeng, M. Mabhida and J. Modise — all members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC.

this desperate role of defending apartheid colonialism. That is why they are being brought in especially at this time. They are the ones to be sacrificed in the interests of continued baaskap against the majority in

the country. They are being invited by the enemies of this continent and of our people to break ranks from among the black and oppressed majority of which they

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Boycott ghetto 'elections'

The Pretoria regime is bent on using its dummy institutions such as Community Councils to keep us in perpetual bondage. The Council "elections" scheduled for September, 1982 throughout the whole country form part of this scheme, and are aimed at giving credibility to the system of apartheid colonialism.

• In an attempt to entice us to vote for our oppression, the fascist rulers recently passed an act in the all-white parliament giving so-called "new status" to these oppressive instruments which in fact means a new status for Pretoria's puppets

who will now more actively assist the regime in the administration of its racist laws.

• All democratic and patriotic organisations and individuals have categorically stated that they will not participate in these sham "elections", and are continuing to demand the right of all the people to vote for, and be voted to all organs of power — which will become a reality in a free and democratic South Africa.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS CALLS ON ALL OF YOU TO BOYCOTT THESE SHAM "ELECTIONS"!

All patriots must intensify this important campaign to mobilise the people throughout the country to stay away from the "elections".

FORM BOYCOTT COMMITTEES!! MOBILISE IN YOUR LOCALITY, AND CO-ORDINATE AT NATIONAL LEVEL!!

Organise meetings, demonstrations, house-to-house campaigns!

Spread the BOYCOTT message!

NO VOTE FOR OPPRESSION!!

FORWARD TO DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL MUNICIPAL COUNCILS!

In this issue:—

Chief Luthuli..... Page 2

MK Strikes..... Page 3

Mayibuye Briefs..... Page 6

Letter to Youth..... Page 7

SAPPI Strike..... Page 8

15th ANNIVERSARY OF CHIEF LUTHULI'S DEATH

Remember him in action

THE 21st of July 1982 will mark the 15th anniversary of the death of a great stalwart of our movement, Chief Albert Mvumbi John Luthuli, who was the President-General of the African National Congress from 1952 up to his "accidental" death in 1967.

Chief Luthuli was not only a great Congressite but also a great chief of his people of Abasemakholweni in Groutville. In 1952 the racist Governor-General gave him an ultimatum to either leave the ANC or resign as chief. He unequivocally refused to do both, stating that he saw no conflict in his dual leadership. He saw the problems of his people, which is today in the process of being removed from its ancestral lands of Groutville, as inextricably inter-related to those of the entire oppressed people for whom the ANC stands.

Role of Chiefs

Chief Luthuli's stand on the role of chiefs in the liberation struggle, symbolises the position of all patriotic chiefs who refused and still refuse, like Chief Sabata today, to be used by the racists to oppress their own people.

• He was born in 1898 and educated in various mission schools. He later taught at

one of these, Adam's College. In 1936 he left his teaching post to lead his people who had elected him as their chief. This brought him closer into contact with the plight of his people whose landlessness had greatly increased as a result of the Hertzog Bills.

• Realising that the problems of his people could not be solved within the local context, he sought the ANC and joined it in 1945. Seven years later he was elected its President-General.

• The 1950's were stormy years in the history of our struggle and required an able leader to steer the movement. Undeterred by the increasingly fascist methods used by the regime, he was able, together with people's leaders like Sisulu, Tambo, Kotane, Mandela, to lead the movement through such memorable struggles as the Defiance Campaign, resistance against Bantu Education, removals, Congress of the people, bus boycotts, anti-pass campaigns and many



Chief Luthuli (right) with President Tambo (then Deputy-President of the ANC) and Moses Mabhida (wearing beret).

others. In 1956 he was charged with 155 other leaders in the famous Treason Trial. After the banning of the ANC in 1960, he was arrested with many others under the state of emergency.

Practising Christian

As a practising Christian, Chief Luthuli assumed his place alongside the struggling masses and believed that his Christian faith was not a private affair, but rather, a belief which equipped him in a unique way to meet the challenges of our society. This is a challenge that all the Christians of our country should take up, and as Chief said "Obviously, we do not expect to see the church organising political movements. But it must be with people, in their lives . . . If it stands on the outskirts we cannot expect our religion to survive and be respected - we are untrue to our mission and that is suicide."

Chief Luthuli saw no contradiction in his belief and the course the liberation struggle was taking with the increased violence of the state. When our leaders Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Mlangeni, Goldberg, Mhlaba and Motsoaledi were sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for their role in the formation and leadership of Umkhonto We Sizwe, Chief Luthuli did not hesitate to take his stand. "The African National

Congress never abandoned its method of a militant, non-violent struggle, and of creating in the process a spirit of militancy in the people. However, in the face of the uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage - freedom - no one can blame brave and just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods. . . . They represent the highest in morality and ethics in the South African struggle; this morality and ethics has been sentenced to an imprisonment it may not survive."

In 1955 the ANC honoured Chief Luthuli with the highest award of the people of South Africa - *Isithwalandwe*. The first unit of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* to engage the enemy in guerilla warfare in Wankie in 1967 was named the Luthuli Detachment. In 1961 he received the Nobel Peace Prize for his untiring struggle against apartheid.

We can pay tribute to him by observing this anniversary in a fitting manner. We must organise commemorative meetings, visit his grave, but above all, we must on this day rededicate ourselves to the struggle to which he dedicated his whole life. He died in 1967, but his spirit and ideas live on! Let us take up his battle-cry -

*Inkululeko ngesikhathi sethu!
Freedom in our life time!*



LISTEN TO

RADIO FREEDOM

VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND
UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

Radio Tanzania

External Service, Dar es Salaam, on:

1035 KHz, Medium wave; 9685 KHz, 31mb shortwave
Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays at 8.15pm (S. A. time)
Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays at 6.15am (S. A. time)

Madagascar

6135 KHz, 49mb shortwave. Monday - Saturday 7-9pm
Sundays 7-8.30pm.

Ethiopia

9545 KHz, 31mb shortwave; 9.30 - 10.00pm daily.

Lusaka

9580 KHz, 31mb shortwave, Monday-Friday 7.00 - 7.45pm,
Wednesday 9.30 - 10.00pm, Thursday 10.05 - 10.30pm,
Friday 10.30 - 11.00pm, Saturday & Sunday 7-8pm,
Sundays 8-8.45am, 25mb, 11880KHz

Luanda

11955 KHz, 25mb and 9535 KHz, 31mb
7.30pm (S. A. time)

MK strengthens united mass action

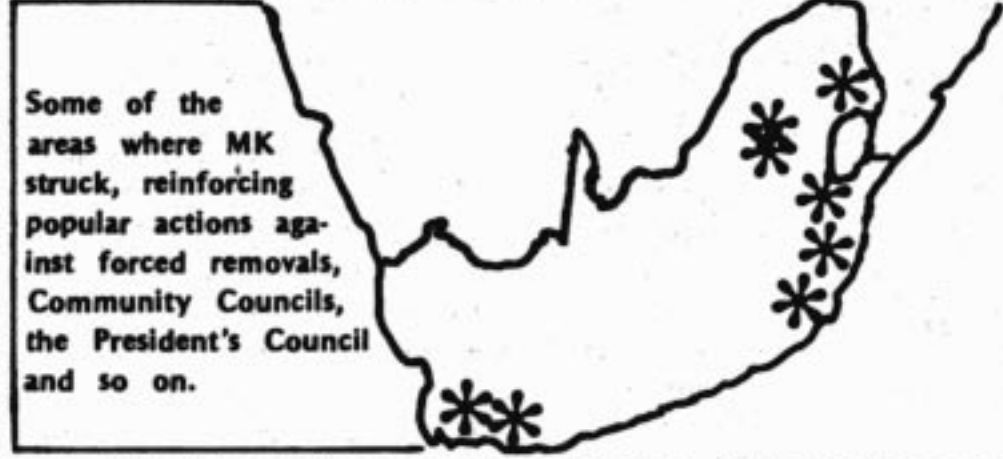


THE call made by our movement the ANC for 1982 to be observed as the Year of Unity in Action is being realised in our battle-fields. Actions of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* are complementing the day to day struggles of the people throughout the country.

In Durban, Pinetown, Chesterville, Hectorspruit in the Eastern Transvaal, Paulpietersburg in Northern Natal, Soweto, Cape Town and in many other widely dispersed areas, the heroic fighters of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* are gallantly attacking the fascist regime, strengthening the people's resolve to continue the struggle on all fronts.

The people's struggle against removals in Paulpietersburg, Vryheid and the Eastern Transvaal has been reinforced by their knowledge of the presence in their midst, of the people's spear, MK, which has caused devastating damage to electricity transformers, oil depots, petrol storage tanks, conveyors,

elevators, etc. The oil depot struck in Hectorspruit supplies the greater part of the Eastern Transvaal. The enemy tried,



Some of the areas where MK struck, reinforcing popular actions against forced removals, Community Councils, the President's Council and so on.

to hide the facts about this operation, but could not hide them from the jubilant residents who saw the flames of freedom days after the enemy had claimed that it had the fire under control!

The racist regime's delusion about the acceptability, to the people, of its "new deal" on the President's Council, was shattered by powerful bombs in the buildings housing the President's Council in Cape Town and the Department of Internal Affairs in the centre of

and the West Rand Administration Board in Meadowlands, were demonstrations of the people's rejection of the community council system.

The enemy is desperately trying to keep us misinformed about our army's actions. Its new Information Bill intends to put a blanket on all reporting about MK. While doing this they will spread their lies. Recently they claimed to have killed two people, in the Durban locations, who were responsible for the wave of sabotage in the area. This is false, the aim being to lower our morale. We must stifle the enemy's misinformation campaign. We must pass and discuss information about the actions of MK. The enemy cannot succeed in its campaign because MK is our army and lives in our midst!

Durban. This was the people's answer to the racists attempts to co-opt the Indian and "Coloured" section of the oppressed masses to its side. Similar attacks on the offices of the Port Natal Administration Board in Pinetown

DEATH SENTENCES ON PRETORIA 3 COMMUTED:—

Intensify the offensive

In the interview with Comrade President O. R. Tambo, we asked him whether the commutal of the death sentences was of any significance to us, and how we should respond....

ANSWER: We need to recognise that the decision to commute the death sentences on our comrades -- Naphtali Manana, Ncimbithi Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo -- is the culmination of a very determined campaign which unfolded in great force after the announced decision of the Appellate Division confirming the death sentences. The commutal has not been automatic. The United Nations, governments, support groups -- virtually

the entire international community -- has come in to support the call against the death sentences being carried out. This manifests, of course, the fact that our struggle is at the focus of international attention; and every move in our country reaches the world.

But the international community is encouraged by the obvious support for these comrades who are dragged before the courts and charged with "high treason". Our

people are with them. Their own courage speaks up for all the oppressed. This has now been the pattern. Whenever our people appear in court, their morale and determination are intact. They are ready to die, if they must die, in the cause of liberation.

There are others in the queue for hanging -- Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu, David Moise. The fight against their hanging should not be postponed. There are more trials on "high treason". Therefore, there is a whole procession to the gallows, which ought to be nipped at its source. What crimes, really, have our people committed against the majority in our country? Why are they being arrested? What is "high treason"? "High treason" is an excuse for killing them in the expectation that the struggle will thereby be defeated, discouraged.

his wife, Jabu, have been killed by the enemy, our determination is the greater.

So, while we greatly welcome the triumph of the campaign against the hanging of these comrades, we want to stress the fact that the enemy is not going to abandon this course before he has been completely subdued by the forces for the liberation of our country. Our response to this, death or no death, is to intensify the offensive. We must limit casualties; but we must intensify the offensive. Death, torture, arrest, long terms of imprisonment -- all these belong to the struggle, and will not stop until the enemy has been himself crushed.

These members of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* have, by their actions -- their brave, courageous, valiant actions, helped to mobilise and unite our people, to reinforce their determination. And if today we are a force that threatens to take over power in South Africa, it is thanks, amongst other things, to these great heroes of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* who even during this past week have been on the offensive, delivering telling blows against fascism.



The fight against the hanging of Comrades Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise should not be postponed!

The enemy ought to know that, with everyone who is killed, as Petrus Nyaose and

are an integral part. They are being invited to join the fascist murderers against the Africans; to join the clique which has notoriously behaved as foreigners in Africa — hated and isolated; to join and become part of the only world pariah! They are being invited to jump onto a sinking boat, to assume responsibility for the massacres, assassinations, torture and other crimes perpetrated against our people and against the people of Southern Africa, and especially so, during the past three-and-half decades.

Eve of Victory

Of course, our "Coloured" and "Indian" compatriots will not join the fascists — not on the eve of victory for the majority, which is where we are. These compatriots, who are the targets of fascist schemes, have, in the years of struggle, grown to become an integral part of the majority which is fighting victoriously for a totally new order in South Africa. They demonstrated this last year, and this will remain their position. It is inconceivable that in this year of the 70th anniversary of the formation of our national organisation, the fascists should dream up the idea of breaking up the unity which has been built up over these years, only to enable them to continue the crimes which have made them so notorious throughout the world.

Roelof Botha and his fellow fascists admit having made mistakes. If they did, the mistakes were deliberate. They knew exactly what they were doing. They thought a miracle would save them from the grinding forces of history. The miracle is not forthcoming; and now they want our "Coloured" and "Indian" people to join them. Our people will not make that kind of mistake.

There is talk of there being "men of reason" who now realise that apartheid must change. Let us warn that there have always been "men of reason" in our country from time immemorial. On the final reckoning, they have changed our lives for the worse. From 1910 to 1982 — that period has been full of "men of reason" — our situation has changed out of all recognition. We end up being the

most persecuted people in the world. The problem is not one of lack of "men of reason". The problem is a lack of realists who can correctly identify the realities of our time and respond to them. And the reality of our time is that our liberation will be delayed, will be postponed, at great cost to those responsible for that delay and postponement. The great mistake lies in the failure to recognise that South Africa is destined, by the vigour of our struggle and the very nature of our being a people, to be liberated. As things stand, it is going to be a costly process in terms of life and property. But our country will be liberated!

Those who have made mistakes in the past and now admit it have learnt nothing from the mistakes of others before them. They have learnt nothing from the mistakes of Salazaar and Caetano; they have learnt nothing from the mistakes of Ian Smith. Their conduct in Angola and Namibia shows that they are not even prepared to learn. Therefore, all this talk about mistakes that have been made is intended to blindfold not only our people, but the international public. In any case, do you need three decades to discover that a policy vigorously opposed everywhere in our country and throughout the world, is wrong; especially when the maintenance and defence of that policy necessitates the perpetration of massacres and heinous crimes against millions of African people throughout Southern Africa? Talk about mistakes is part of the strategy for perpetuating and saving apartheid colonialism.

Fascist Party

There are splits within the fascist party, but these must be seen in the wider perspective of the growing concentration of progressive and revolutionary forces upon the apartheid laager. The internal system is giving in to the force of external pressures which are emanating from our fighting people and from the international community. The split is permanent; it can only deepen. Generally, in fact, we are witnessing a process of fragmentation among the enemy ranks. This has always been predictable

THE KEY TO THE

as a consequence of our advance, a pointer to the weight of our revolutionary pressures upon the regime and its system. It is to join this process of fragmentation that our "Coloured" and "Indian" compatriots are being invited. The proposals of the President's Council therefore are, really, still-born.

Unity in Action

QUESTION: At the beginning of this year the people's movement, the ANC, called on the people of our country and our allies to make 1982 a year of Unity in Action. Now that we have traversed almost half of the year, how do you assess the response of these forces to that call, and what needs to be done to build on the achievements made?

ANSWER: Let us first of all take a brief look at the purposes of the call. It was made on the 70th anniversary of one of the most important events on the African continent. It sought to ensure the consolidation of our forces for victory in the decade of the eighties by deliberately forging unity and fighting as a united force. The call was made in the context of a determined counter-offensive: an imperialist counter-offensive headed by the Reagan administration, which immediately reinforced the racists and set them on a war path against the forces of progress, the forces of change, not only in our country, but in the whole of Southern Africa. It was, of course, a counter-offensive against the forces of progress throughout the world. It was necessary to call on our people and our allies to fight back and then to move on to the offensive.

What has been the response? As far as our people are concerned, I have no doubt whatsoever that the response has been very positive. The struggle this year is being waged on numerous issues and fronts with unyielding determination. That explains the rising wave of arrests, detentions and

torture. There is unity about the goals, and a great measure of solidarity actions; which means we are beginning to act as one consolidated force, such that a struggle in any part of the country is a struggle involving the rest of the country. There is a build-up for massive actions which, as last year, will demonstrate the degree of unity and commitment to united action which we have achieved. The example of the workers' united action in protest at the murder of Dr. Aggett has not been lost either to the trade union movement in our country nor to the various forces engaged in the liberation struggle.

There is, however, as always, much that has yet to be achieved by way of a response to that call, because 1982 is not merely the end of 70 years of struggle. It is in its own right also a beginning, and is placed most strategically in relation to our objectives for this decade. Therefore, 1982 must be seen as the begin-



PROGRESS IS IN ATTACK!



For it must take a great deal of sacrifice by a people to stand up to victimisation, and intimidation, and oppression, and a series of massacres over a period of 70 years and still remain at the forefront of the struggle for the total liberation of mankind. This fact about 1982 has strengthened our international support, not least in Southern Africa.

But we are halfway down the year 1982, and how do we build on this climate of support? The key, of course, lies in the hands of the oppressed masses and the exploited workers of our country. It is their struggle which has won, and attracted, support for them. And the key to the progress of our struggle is in the attack. The unity we speak of is ineffectual except in action. We have the former: we have unity; we need the latter: we need action! Our situation is a daily call to action. We have no alternative but to struggle with ever-increasing vigour. 1982 must yet make its revolutionary imprint in the annals of our struggle.

QUESTION: In that historic call on January 8th, you also emphasised the fact that the ANC is a product of the collective effort of the people of Africa in general and Southern Africa in particular. Would you say that the people of Southern Africa, in this period - building on their past efforts - have adequately responded to the challenge of this year?

ANSWER: The ANC and its struggle over the past 70 years runs in the political veins of Southern Africa because it is a creature of the people of Southern Africa, and is based at the heart of a system which is waging war against all the people of Southern Africa. There is no country in this region which is not aware of the gruesome presence of a fascist, oppressive, exploitative regime in this part of Africa. There is no one in Southern Africa, as indeed there is no one in the rest of Africa, who does not feel the urge to fight and destroy this regime. Therefore, the

struggle waged by our people and by the ANC touches questions of the future of the people of this region. They have become unavoidably part of that struggle.

Throughout our struggles in this whole region, as various peoples based in different territories, there has been remarkable unity and solidarity. We, in South Africa, have been strengthened and inspired by the determination of the peoples of this region not only to fight and, if needs be, to die in the fight for their liberation and independence, but also to fight and sacrifice for the liberation and independence of those territories in the region such as Namibia and South Africa which remain under colonial, apartheid and fascist domination.

If there were any doubts about the resolute and united response of the people of Southern Africa to the challenges of this great year, these doubts were surely dispelled finally and firmly by the historic meeting of the Frontline States held in Maputo in March this year. At that meeting, the leaders of the peoples of this region -- and although Swaziland and Lesotho were not represented, the meeting reflected their positions -- identified South Africa as an enemy of the people of this area waging war against them. They recognised that until that regime has been removed, there would be no end to that war; that there were no prospects of growing out of underdevelopment, of pursuing their development programmes. They decided to call upon the ANC and SWAPO to intensify the armed struggle for the destruction of this regime. They did so, fully aware of the implications for themselves. But they were no less determined to defend their independence and their future than they have been in the past.

From the point of view of the struggle in South Africa, the declaration made by the Heads of State and Government of this region is one of the most important developments in the history of our struggle -- certainly during the past 8 years when many of these countries had become independent. The implications of the declaration by these leaders of our people for the fascist regime

are far-reaching. On the other hand, the Frontline States have posed a great challenge to the oppressed and exploited masses, to all democrats, in our country. For it is we, who, by our struggle and our sacrifices, must put an end to this regime of horrors; we, who must seize power and bring liberation to this whole region and complete the process of the total liberation of Africa.

QUESTION: This year, the 20th anniversary of the arrest of Comrade Nelson Mandela, also reminds us of the fact that our leaders and patriots are still confined within Pretoria's prisons. At the beginning of April, the regime transferred Comrades Mandela, Sisulu, Mhlaba and Mlangeni from Robben Island -- leading to fantastic speculation especially in the columns of the so-called liberal press. What is our opinion on this development?

ANSWER. Firstly, 20 years is an inordinately long period for any one or any group of people to spend in jail for the supposed crime of demanding a non-racial, democratic and peaceful South Africa. It is an extremely long period of time to spend in the gruelling conditions of Robben Island. In the past 20 years, Africa has emerged out of centuries of colonialism and foreign domination to become independent. This has been part of a sweeping process which is now gathering momentum, and is destined to reach down to the Cape at the southern tip of this continent. It is destined to bring about the liberation of our people and to put an end, the final end, to the practice of imprisonment, torture and detention which characterises white minority rule in our country. Like the wanton murder of our people, however, the imprisonment of our national leaders only fuels and sustains our determination to seize power and liberate ourselves and them.

There has indeed been dangerous speculation about the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela and others, following their transfer from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town. This speculation has the effect of blunting the edge of the demand for their release. It covers up, in fact, the terrible conditions of imprisonment

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

ning.

Internationally, the call for unity and action provoked massive support and various supportive solidarity actions around the world. The international community has identified with the struggle led by the ANC, and is closer at hand this year than at any previous period. A climate of international commitment to the cause of liberation in Namibia and South Africa has built up, with the consequence of making the South African regime not only an outcast among the nations of the world, among the peoples of the world, but a hated one also. From the United Nations, in various parts of Africa, in the international conferences that have been held, in the supportive actions of various groups, in the movement, for example, against the hanging of our comrades; all this -- and the list would be long -- demonstrates the extent to which the year 1982 has been recognised internationally as a significant year.

Interview continued

to which they are being subjected. They have been removed from the frying-pan of Robben Island to the fire of Pollsmoor. For we have it from most reliable reports that this prison was in fact selected for its harsh conditions. If there was an urgent need for the release of political prisoners confined and incarcerated on Robben Island, the removal of these Comrades — Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni — to the new place of detention calls for an intensified demand for their release and for the release of all political prisoners.

Detentions, continuing arrests, continuing torture (some reported, some unreported), killings which are either unreported or misreported, trials that are taking place all over the country — all these require a new offensive to press the regime into releasing these victims of apartheid fascism and racism.

Murderous Regime

What we would hope the so-called liberal press will do is to avoid looking for evidence which projects a murderous regime as a peace-seeking collection of people. There is too much readiness to see in the actions of the regime the possibility of changed policies. But the people who suffer under this regime experience no likelihood of changed policies. Perhaps this is because it is not just changed policies that the people seek; it is total liberation in their country.

And the press which is now being subjected to repression is required in these circumstances to bring out the truth of what our people are suffering. The comrades who have been removed from Robben Island are now under intense repression by the regime.

QUESTION: This month we commemorate significant national days — June 16th and 26th. The significance of these days is enhanced all the more by the fact that June 26th this year marks the 30th anniversary of the Defiance Campaign. What should be done to observe these days in a manner that is truly fitting?

ANSWER: The month of June is for us, today, the month of the youth. June 1st is observed worldwide as International Children's Day. In South Africa, it was in this month that we witnessed a massive massacre of children, in response to which there was immediately an uprising by the children, which spread across the face of the country. The month of June, some 30 years ago, launched the exploited workers and oppressed masses into militant struggle. This was in 1950. That struggle has, since 1976, been joined in massive dimensions by the youth of our country. They are in the battlefield. Therefore, the month of June, highlighted by the 1st of June, June 16th and June 26th, is a month which means struggle: continuing the struggle on a higher level than in the past.

This year we commemorate the great Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws which lies at the foundation of the militant struggle which has been waged by our people in the past 30 years; and the central theme about the Defiance Campaign whose 30th anniversary we observe was precisely the spirit of defiance. Today that spirit manifests itself in the defiance of torture and arrest, defiance for victimisation, defiance for imprisonment, defiance for death itself. If we lacked this spirit of defiance, we should long have abandoned our struggle. But even as our youth stand in the fascist courts to receive sentences of death, they

salute their struggle. Men of age, like Oscar Mpetha, have not abandoned the battlefield. A great feature of our struggle is that it combines the young and the old, the children and their parents. It brings together various classes and sectors of our population. It is a unified struggle!

In this year, when the regime is mobilising as never before to suppress that struggle, June 16th and 26th are sharp reminders of the sacrifices that have been made by others before us. These two dates are a clarion call to mass action; to a determined offensive by the youth in all areas of activity — in the trade union movement, in the resistance to the regime's laws, in opposition to removals and, above all, in the struggle with arms in hand. The spirit of defiance must emerge during 1982. June 16th, 1976 demonstrated a defiance for death on an enormous, incredible scale. It is that kind of determination, that spirit of defiance, which is being called for in the year of our 70th anniversary as we observe these two days.

Level of Unity

Therefore, we would call upon our workers to pursue the level of unity achieved over the past and demonstrated especially at the beginning of this year. We face the challenge of Community Council "elections", which are not a creation of our people, but are part of the mechanism of keeping us out of power. These Councils must be crushed. The "elections" offer us an opportunity to fight this enemy strategy. On the education front, the enemy has come forward with regulations and devices which further condemn the black people of our country — all the black people of our country — to inferior education to perpetuate their inferiority and enslavement. Among the women, numerous organisations have emerged, local and regional, and there are attempts to link up at the national level. But we think it is necessary first to consolidate the regional women's organisations and fight on the ground, co-ordinating the activities in the region with those of other regions. Other-

wise the pursuit of unity will be impaired to our disadvantage. The youth organisations face the challenge of unity and action. Our youth have featured in every area of struggle, but, as youth, they need further organisation. The challenge of removals is still upon us. These are areas of struggle which require united resistance.

Umkhonto we Sizwe, born in the '60's, fighting side by side with victorious armies in Southern Africa, and now with the Namibian heroic armed forces, has got the challenge of moving against the enemy across the land. *Umkhonto we Sizwe* has started; the people must join. We cannot pause; our victory is calling!

Mayibuye Briefs

THE 6th anniversary of the '76 uprisings was commemorated through a stay-at-home and other actions. June 26th was observed also in a massive meeting which coincided with the funeral of Mavi. Both days were widely observed internationally. In Zambia, a huge rally was addressed by Comrades Mzwai Piliso — NEC (ANC) member, SWAPO leader, Moses Garoeb and Fines Bulawayo, a leader of Zambia's UNIP.

THE Zionist Israeli army has invaded Lebanon and is surrounding Beirut, capital of the sovereign Arab country. The terrorist army continues to murder and maim thousands of Palestinian refugees and Lebanese nationals. Zionist Israel — an ally of Pretoria — enjoys the support of the US administration which vetoed a Security Council resolution demanding Israeli withdrawal, and other imperialist governments. The ANC stands fully behind the people of Palestine led by the PLO.

THE ANC congratulates the anti-imperialist, democratic front of Mauritius, the MMM and the PSM, which recently won the country's elections. The Front intends to cut ties established by the previous government with Pretoria; it demands the return of Diego Garcia — now a US military base in the Indian Ocean — to its rightful owners; and plans to introduce popular reforms in the industrial, agricultural and other sectors.



Comrade President Tambo together with Comrade Nelson Mandela in Ethiopia, 1962.

CENTENARY OF THE DEATH OF. . .

Kgoši Sekhukhune I

THE 13th of August has special significance for our liberation struggle. One of our greatest leaders of the wars of resistance against the colonialist invaders, Sekhukhune I, son of Sekwati, King of the Bapedi, was killed on this day in 1882. Eighty-five years later on the same day, units of Umkhonto We Sizwe engaged the enemy in Wankie, continuing in his fighting tradition.

It is significant that this centenary takes place in 1982 a year declared by the ANC as the Year of Unity in Action, for Sekhukhune struggled throughout his life to achieve this goal. He worked with Kings Moshoeshe of the Sotho, Cetshwayo of the Zulu, Khama of the Tswana, Ngungunyane of the Shangaan and others to effect a united front of struggle against Boer, British and Portuguese colonialism.

Sekhukhune was a great king and commander, who was never defeated by the Boers or the British, but by

a combined force including thousands of African levies in 1879. He was arrested and imprisoned in the Pretoria prison with his family and leading generals. It is in this same prison that the new generation of resisters was imprisoned before Robben Island was used. It is in this same prison that white political prisoners languish today as he did 100 years ago.

We must take up his spear and commemorate this day as a tribute to him. The new generations in Sekhukhuneland and else-



where must continue in the tradition of resistance. We must smash the bantustan system, isolate the treacher-our chiefs who have gone to

the enemy's side and together build a united revolutionary movement worthy of the example that King Sekhukhune set.

Letter to the Youth

DURING the month of June — a month that has been marked by great events in the history of our struggle — we commemorate June 16th, the 6th anniversary of the 1976 uprisings, and the 30th anniversary of the Defiance Campaign on June 26th, South Africa Freedom Day.

Both these historic days symbolise our determination to destroy fascism in our country. They are outstanding milestones in the practical implementation of the slogan, Unity in Action, which has become a permanent feature of our struggle for freedom.

The spirit of defiance shown by the great Volunteers of 1952 found new expression in the mass uprisings of the youth, workers, women, and so on in 1976-77, and in many other campaigns before and since. Murder, arrests, torture, banings and banishments which are the hallmark of apartheid colonialism, have not deterred us from struggling even harder for our cherished goal of freedom.

We, the South Africa youth, whose contribution to the freedom struggle is immense, face many challenges now and for the future. We played no less a significant role during the Defiance Campaign. For, in the first place, it was out of the 1949 Programme of Action initiated by the stalwarts of the Youth League such as Oliver Tambo, Nelson

Mandela, Walter Sisulu and many others, that the mass actions of the "roaring '50's" evolved. We were at the forefront of many mass actions of the people, and remain active participants in many campaigns. Yet, much more needs to be done in the way of organisation, co-ordination and ensuring that all the youth and people are actively involved on all fronts — both in the urban and rural areas.

We commemorate these events in the Year of Unity in Action, the year of the 70th anniversary of the formation of the people's movement, the ANC. What has been our response to the call of the movement for Unity in Action?

Indeed, in actions of the units of the people's army, MK, across the length and breadth of our country, in the underground of the people's movement, in open political struggles in the factories, schools, townships and villages we have not been found wanting. Our united mass actions saw us through to victory in the campaign against the re-writing of examinations. We are actively participating in the mass

campaigns against forced removals especially in Natal; we are found in the front ranks of the Wilson-Rowntree boycott and many workers' strikes. In Fort Hare, we forced puppet Sebe to leave the campus tail between his legs during the graduation ceremony, and we have registered our support in various ways in solidarity with the expelled Fort Hare students . . .

But, have we done enough to ensure that the opposition to the new fascist education regulations is transformed into action? How far have we gone in the drive to take our popular organisations to every area, school, university and college? Are we active enough in the crucial campaign for the boycott of Community Council "elections" scheduled for September this year? What about the campaigns for massive rejection of the Pretoria regime's "Coloured" and "Indian" co-option conspiracy, and massive resistance to conscription into the fascist army in the urban areas and the bantustans?

All these and many other questions must be responded to in united action. Let us confront the enemy of the people on all fronts in commemoration of this, the 70th anniversary of the

people's movement to bring nearer the new South Africa based on the demands of the Freedom Charter.

The National Executive Committee of the people's movement announced at the beginning of this year that many events will be held during the course of the year to mark this 70th birthday. It is indeed a reflection of the value that the ANC places on the youth that one of the greatest of these events will be a National Youth Conference to be convened (later this year) by the ANC Youth Secretariat.

It is the fundamental aim of the Youth Conference Preparatory Committee that the conference will fully utilise our past experiences — especially the experience gained in the heat of struggle inside the country; that it will be infused with the spirit of each democratic youth unit inside the country — both underground and above-board. In this way, the conference will be better-placed to correctly define the role and tasks of the youth of our country and to work out a Programme of Action which will guide us in answer to the call for UNITY IN ACTION! OURS IS THE LAST GENERATION TO BE OPPRESSED!!!

Signed: EDDIE FUNDE
CONVENOR — YOUTH CONFERENCE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE.

Lessons of the Sundumbili general strike

ONE characteristic feature of all mass actions is that such actions help to answer pertinent questions on strategy and tactics; they put to test our organisational strength, expose our weaknesses and thus pose new questions and challenges.

The general strike at the Mandini-Isithebe industrial complex near Stanger at the end of March, constitutes yet another practical contribution to the on-going debate on the relationship between workers' and community organisations. At the same time, it posed new challenges to the trade union movement, and to the rest of the democratic movement of our country.

The strike started at the SAPPI plant when 1 600 workers downed tools to protest against the arrest of two fellow workers. These

workers were accused of assaulting a treacherous colleague who defied the paper-workers' decision to boycott the canteen — an action taken to back up their demand for a 30cents per hour wage increase. The arrested workers were also considered leaders by the residents of the Sundumbili township in that they were members of the "vigilante committee". Within two days of the SAPPI strike, the whole industrial area had come to a halt, and the demand for their release had become a household issue in

the township. As the Sundumbili Town Council Chairman later admitted, "virtually all the 20 000 houses in Sundumbili were affected", and "even domestic workers did not go to work."

Whilst the two workers are members of the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union, they are also active in community issues. Their participation in a leading role in these community actions does not imply a merger between their trade union and the community organisations. Rather, it shows that both these contingents can and should, maintain separate forms of organisation, but tackle, together, problems afflicting them, as a united force.

The fact that these workers are leaders of the community, made it easier for the SAPPI workers to bring the conflict at the paper factory to the attention of the township residents and so secure their support. As such, one achievement of the general strike is that they managed to prevent 'scabbing'.

The decision by workers of the Isithebe complex to down tools was more than an act of solidarity with their SAPPI colleagues. They were, as part of the community, giving a cutting edge to the community demand for the release of its leaders. This gave the general strike a wider political content.

As is always the case, the exploiters were fast to solicit the assistance of their bedfellows, the fascist police, to suppress these actions. However, the people of Sundumbili went ahead to confront the heavily-armed police who found themselves engaged in a "running battle with more than 10 000 striking workers". Finally, the united community won the day — their leaders were released!

In these actions, the people of Sundumbili have shown the way forward — the way of united action. They have shown that workers and the rest of the community can act in unity on a massive scale around a whole range of issues, be they at factory-floor or at community level. They have shown that these struggles are interlinked; they form part of the national struggle for freedom.

They have, however, also put before the trade unions the challenge to lead the workers more resolutely and effectively. The need for greater trade union co-ordination and unity, at both regional and national levels — as shown by the Sundumbili general strike — should serve as a spur to our efforts in the discussions on this issue. The people of Sundumbili have also posed to the democratic movement as a whole the question, how best can battles on such a scale be transformed to become effective uprisings and thus a stepping-stone for the general assault to come!



JOSEPH MAVI

Memorial service for people's leaders

community leaders such as Nthato Motlana and Albertina Sisulu and journalists covering the event is an obvious admission of guilt for the heinous murder of Pat and his wife. If they thought they would cow the ANC and the people of South Africa by this murder, the memorial service held in Soweto showed quite clearly that they had in fact achieved the opposite. As the Secretary-General of the people's movement, Comrade Alfred Nzo said, in a statement on this murder: "The murder of Petrus Nyaose and his wife, Jabu, will of course not interrupt the rising tempo of the national democratic revolution within South Africa. If anything, these desperate acts of terrorism add fuel to the burning embers of our revolutionary struggle." In the same vein, the regime's attempt to intimidate the people — through arrests and other forms of harrassment, including the latest banning order on Mrs Albertina Sisulu — will founder on the rocks of our resolve and determination to be free.

In a statement condemning the murder of the ANC Acting Chief Representative

in Swaziland and his wife (both leaders of SACTU), the General-Secretary of SACTU, Comrade John Gaetsewe stated that this murder "will do nothing to stop the work of SACTU and the whole Movement. We view this despicable act with horror and with anger", Comrade Gaetsewe stated.

Comrade Pat was a founder-member of BAWU in Durban; and Comrade Jabu was a textile worker, a member of the Textile and Allied Workers' Union, and she was active in the Trade Union Advisory and Co-ordinating Council (TUACC). They left the country in 1977 due to police harrassment and continued with their revolutionary work in the ranks of the liberation movement. They have now joined the ever-growing roll of martyrs who have fallen at their posts in the struggle for freedom.

The ANC and SACTU convey our deepest sympathy to Jabu's, Petrus' and Mavi's families, parents and relatives. In sharing your sorrow, we resolve that their deaths shall be avenged!

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!!

ON Sunday, the 13th of June, the racist regime let loose its fascist police on mourners at the memorial service for Joseph Mavi and Comrades Pat and Jabu Nyaose. Comrades Pat and Jabu were brutally murdered in Swaziland by agents of the South African regime when a bomb exploded in their car on June 4th, 1982. Joseph Mavi, a popular leader of the Black Municipal Workers' Union in particular, and the democratic trade union movement in general, died in a "car accident" in the Orange Free State on a mission of the trade union movement to Port Elizabeth where a branch of the BMWU was to be established.

The panicky reaction of the regime to the memorial service is particularly instructive. Their decision to order the arrest of the more than 250 mourners, including