



MAYIBUYE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

MAYIBUYE NO.7
1985 - YEAR OF THE CADRE

Journal of the African National Congress

PRESIDENT TAMBO ADDRESSES **THE NATION** ON THE STATE OF EMERGENCY

Compatriots:

Forty-eight hours ago P.W. Botha announced a state of emergency affecting the Eastern Cape, the Witwatersrand and the Vaal Triangle. Already in these areas, many people have been arrested. Combined military and police units have moved to occupy certain townships such as Kwa-Thema. People have been murdered by these forces of occupation. The truth about the criminal misdeeds of these bands of marauders has been kept out of the public eye through tightened press censorship.

Inevitably the fascist measures of extreme repression that Botha has imposed will be extended to other areas of our country. This is an eventuality for which the Botha regime can now no longer conceal its true face. What has become plain for all to see is the reality of military dictatorship and not the comforting but spurious image of a reformer that Botha had sought to cultivate and project.

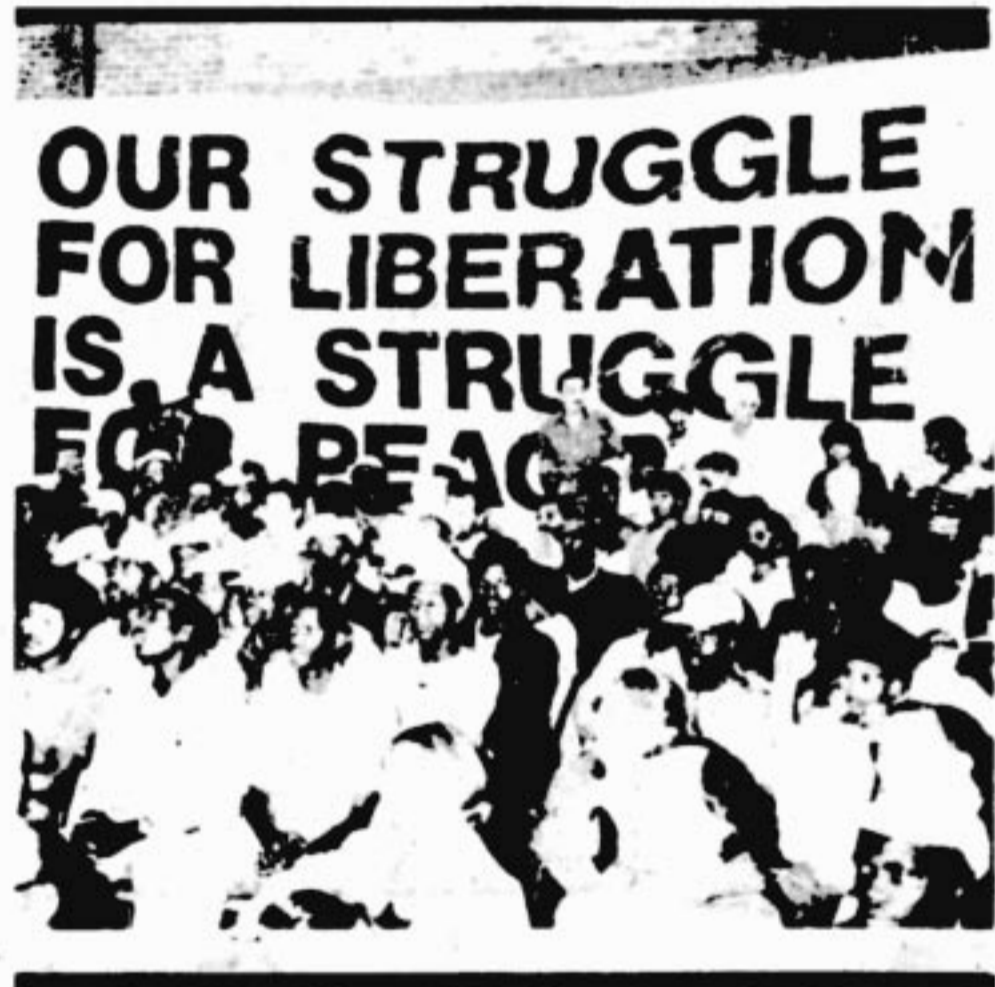
The Pretoria regime speaks about law and order. It says it has imposed martial law on large parts of our country in order to re-establish order and stability. In cynical disregard of the interests of the majority of the people of our country, the US Government, the principal ally of the apartheid regime, has not hesitated to approve of the new measures of repression that its friends in Pretoria have adopted. The Reagan Administration has openly said that it hopes that these measures will succeed in their purpose. Botha and Reagan hope and pray that the intensified campaign of terror against the people and our democratic movement will succeed to stop our march to liberation. They are intent to ensure that racist law and apartheid order continue to hold sway. That is the hopeless mission that the Pretoria regime and its supporters have given themselves.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Our own tasks are very clear. To bring about the kind of society that is visualised in the Freedom Charter, we have to break down and destroy the old order. We have to *make apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable*. The accomplishment of these tasks will create the situation for us to over-

IN THIS ISSUE

- Page 2 Editorial Comment
- " " Women's Day
- Page 3 Workers' Unity
- Page 4 Cradock Funeral



throw the apartheid regime and for power to pass into the hands of the people as a whole.

We have achieved a good deal of progress in making South Africa ungovernable. Correctly, we concentrated on the weakest link in the apartheid chain of command and control. For months, we have maintained an uninterrupted offensive against the puppet local government authorities in the black urban areas as well as other state personnel in the townships such as the police and their agents.

By declaring a state of emergency in these areas, Botha has admitted that his organs of government have collapsed. He has conceded that the only way he can restore apartheid rule in these townships is through martial law. He could no longer govern in the old way. The perspective ahead of us is to intensify the struggle exactly in these areas that are under martial law. In struggle, we must make it impossible for our enemy to govern even in the new way. We must confront its new organs of government in the townships — the combined army and police units which have been brought into our midst exactly to reassert apartheid rule and therefore to perpetuate our oppression and suffering. This is the first task we have to accomplish in the light of Botha's state of emergency — to confront and defeat his new organs of government.

CONT. P.7

EDITORIAL

THE PROCLAMATION of a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts in South Africa constitutes an open admission by the Pretoria regime that it is losing control and can no longer rule in the old way. It has therefore instituted martial law and ceded to its armed forces the right to govern millions of our people, with unlimited powers given to these armed killers to do as they wish, acting in secret.

This inevitable fascist response to the demand of our people for justice and democracy will solve nothing. All it will do is to raise the level of violent confrontation between the people and the apartheid regime and its instruments of repression. This struggle will also spread to the white areas of our country regardless of enemy efforts to confine it to the black townships.

These new measures of increased repression demonstrate the bankruptcy of the Botha regime whose only answer to the irresistible tide of liberation is resort to greater and more brutal force. They have put paid to all efforts by this regime to present itself as reformist and have shown that like all its predecessors, it is committed to the maintenance of white minority domination by force of arms.

The struggle to make apartheid unworkable and South Africa ungovernable will intensify exactly because martial law makes apartheid rule that much more intolerable. Botha and his generals — Malan, Coetzee and others — will not succeed to make our people to acquiesce to con-

rol by an army of occupation. The reality of our situation is that the masses of our people are no longer prepared to be governed by a racist white minority that has imposed itself on them, whatever means or methods of government it chooses or is forced to adopt.

Botha's desperate actions signify the beginning of the end of the apartheid system, this situation requires of the people of South Africa that we intensify the political and military struggle more sharply than ever before, the sooner to bring to an end the bloody tyranny that holds us in subjugation. The ANC will continue to devote all its resources to the speedy realisation of this objective.

The international community has an obligation to take decisive action now, to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid regime. Failure to do so can only strengthen the resolve of this regime to murder our people at will and in untold numbers. The situation of emergency calls for emergency measures to abolish the apartheid system.

have been in the forefront of these battles.

The imposition of martial law in the areas of the Eastern Cape, the Witwatersrand and the Vaal Triangle is an effort by the regime to halt our march to freedom. It is in these areas that we fought fierce battles. The regime is losing control and thus has introduced new methods of brutal open terror to govern us. This new situation places a big challenge on all the women of our groups in our different areas. We have to speeden up this process and reach out into all parts of our country especially the rural and bantustan areas. We are learning that when we only have pockets of resistance the enemy is able to clamp down on them. But when the whole country is up in arms it will be impossible for the regime to maintain any control.

We know that the apartheid regime is committed to maintaining apartheid by force of arms. This places a challenge on us also to take up arms against the enemy. In the past we have used rudimentary home-made weapons like petrol bombs. Now is the time that we use modern weapons.

As we observe our National Women's Day let us take the call made by Comrade President O.R. Tambo, of taking the struggle to the white areas, and not confine it to the black townships. For us women, we must take the struggle into the houses where we are working as domestic servants. We must intensify the political struggle and register our presence in the struggle. We must continue to make apartheid in all its forms unworkable. Let us make even the new way of brutal force unworkable by confronting the army and police units. The time has come for all of us to intensify the struggle for a liberated, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

On this occasion we greet the heroic women and comrades in arms of SWAPO and the People's Liberation Army (PLAN). We convey our greetings to the women of El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, Nicaragua, Palestine, East Timor, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana and the People's Republic of Angola with whom we continue to suffer



in the common struggle against a racist tyranny. We thank our friends and supporters in the socialist countries, the Scandinavian countries, Western Europe and the Americas.

In the wake of renewed and more fascist repressions, the regime has assassinated Victoria Mxenge, Priscilla Janna, a lawyer by profession and defendant of those who stand opposed to racism, has been detained. Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the wife of a life-sentence serving imprisoned leader of the ANC, is also arrested and is presently being charged with Treason together with twenty two other patriots, leaders and members of the United Democratic Front. The list of women victims is endless. Send your protest message to the Pretoria administration and voice out your opposition to this fascist brutality. Send messages of solidarity to their families.

We call on all freedom-loving people of the world especially the women, to continue their militant opposition to the criminal apartheid system. We call on them to pressure their governments to impose mandatory and comprehensive all-round sanctions on the racist regime. Let the spirit of the rejection of the inhuman apartheid system of the recently held Forum 85, held in Nairobi to mark the End of the UN Decade for Women's Equality, Development and Peace prevail in our countries.

Call for the immediate release of all political prisoners and detainees.

DESTROY THE APARTHEID REGIME!

**MALIBONGWE IGAMA
LAMAKHOSIKAZI!**

Women's Day

AUGUST the 9th marks the 29th Anniversary of the historic march by 20 000 women to the Union Building in Pretoria, the racist administrative capital, under the banner of the Federation of South African Women to protest against the evil system of passes and oppressive laws. Since then, this day has been marked as South African Women's Day. In 1981 the United Nations General Assembly declared the day as the International Day of Solidarity with the struggle of the Women of South Africa and Namibia.

We mark August the 9th this year when a state of emergency has been declared in thirty six districts of South Africa. Hundreds of young and old men and women are detained, while many continue to be killed.

Among those killed is Victoria Mxenge, whose husband, Griffiths Mxenge was murdered by the racist regime four

years ago. Victoria Mxenge, a dedicated fighter for democracy and peace in our country was brutally shot by those on the pay of the regime.

The declaration of the state of emergency is a clear admission by the regime that it is losing control. In the past months we have made important advances in making apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable. We

OUR CAUSE IS THE SAME

FROM SACTU ON THE DECISION OF NUM ON MINeworkERS.

SACTU hails the decision of the National Union of Mineworkers;

- To take strike action on 25 August if the 22% wage demand is not met by the mining magnates;
- To give the apartheid colonial regime 72 hours to lift the state of emergency or else instruct its members to boycott the white businesses near the mines;
- To warn the regime that if Botha went ahead with his threat to repatriate migrant workers in the event of economic sanctions against South Africa, a general strike would be called.

In supporting the courageous stand taken by the NUM, we call on all the mine workers' unions and miners to unite in the face of the onslaught by the mining magnates and the regime, and to support your brothers who have taken such a momentous decision. Unity is strength. As miners we are all affected by poverty wages, job reservations, dangerous working conditions, dehumanising living conditions, separation from our families. We are one in our suffering — let us remain one in our struggle.

SACTU calls on all the workers, trade unions and democratic forces in our country to fully support the miners. Let us bridge the division between workers on the mines and those in the cities and towns. Let us demonstrate our slogan *An Injury to One is an Injury to All*. Let us co-ordinate our activities, as we have successfully done during the May Day celebrations. And ensure that the miners are not victimised by the mining bosses and the apartheid regime.

Our strength lies in our unity.

Dictatorship

The regime which now stands exposed as a military dictatorship ruling by force of arms, has openly admitted its inability to maintain any semblance of control over the struggling people. The declaration of a state of emergency is an attempt to crush all political and trade union activity in our country. We commend the stand taken by the NUM on this issue and recall that in December last year, a very successful boycott

was observed of shops around the mining areas in an effort to improve the services and quality of commodities sold. This boycott was marked by discipline, tight organisation and total support and is a clear indication of the determination of workers to take up issues which affect them outside the workplace. We hail the use of the boycott weapon against white owned shops, a weapon which is being used in the Eastern Cape presently. Let us organise and spread the boycott nationally.

Repatriation

The threat by racist Botha to repatriate migrant workers is yet the most cowardly utterance by a man cornered by his own evil deeds. The vast majority of these migrant workers Botha is referring to, are in fact South Africans — not only workers from Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, as Botha is pretending. Nine hundred and fifty thousand (950 000) of these workers being threatened with expulsion are South African born and bred, who have been de-

clared 'foreigners' in the land of their birth by the very bantustan policies created by the white minority regime. These are the workers from the so-called independent bantustans of Venda, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, etc., which Botha regards as 'independent states'. The truth is that the regime needs these workers and this threat of expulsion is part of Botha's destabilisation policies in the region. The regime is terrified of sanctions and will use any dirty trick to avert them. This threat is aimed at driving fear into the independent countries of Southern Africa and to give further ammunition to those in the international community who are opposed to economic sanctions against racist Pretoria.

Sacrifice

We say that in the history of mankind people have sacrificed for their freedom. We are no exception. Sanctions are one of the most effective weapons which the international community can use in support of our revolution. It is ironical that the same apartheid regime which has done everything to suppress the aspirations of black people throughout our history, should show concern over our suffering. It is said by the Botha-Malan regime that it is blacks who will suffer most in the event of sanctions, but we have always suffered at the hands of the apartheid colo-



nial regime and continue to suffer to this day. If we are to suffer, this suffering will not be in vain. Instead it will hasten our day of liberation.

We call on the entire workers and trade union movement in our country to support the miners. We call on the entire people of our country to actively support the miners.

We call on the entire workers and trade union movement in our country to support the miners. We call on the entire people of our country to actively support the miners. We call on the international community to give all material and moral support to the militant miners.

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!



Protect and defend our leaders From apartheid murder squads

RADIO FREEDOM BROADCAST ON THE CRADOCK LEADERS' MURDER.

COMPATRIOTS, we have buried our leaders (Mathew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli) at Cradock in the Eastern Cape. Today their names stand at the head of the list of heroic martyrs whom the enemy has murdered in cold blood as part of its continuing war of repression against the people. Today their names are on our lips, their memory in our hearts and minds, the spears they dropped as they fell in our hands.

With these spears pointed at the heart of the enemy who took your lives, we salute you and we shall lay you to rest without weeping. You are warriors of the people's cause, you who even in your death continued the combat for the liberation of our country.

We shall say a farewell of a war-sound of the drums of someone believing to arms, and pin your glorious names on the banners of our combat detachment. We shall lay you to rest without weeping so that we do not blind our eyes with tears.

We must keep our eyes on the enemy, aim with a steady hand and pierce the murderous hearts in nonour of your memory, in furtherence of the cause for which you have perished. We will not mourn but our actions will mock the folly of our enemy, which thought that by taking you away it will leave us demoralised with no will to fight. We will not mourn because for us you are not dead, you live on among us, urging and inspiring us to march without stopping and with no hesitation towards the goal of freedom, for which you have sacrificed your lives.

The enemy has launched a new kind of war against us, it is kidnapping and murdering our leaders and activists in secret. Its agents entice our best sons and daughters into dark corners far away from the eyes of the people and there it murders and mutilates. Even as we lay to rest our comrades in Cradock, we cannot forget those who were murdered in Tsakane, Duduza and Kwa Thema in the East Rand. Heroes of the people such as Lucky Mogodi, Saeel Mashiyane and Solomon Mashobane.

We cannot forget others whom the enemy has kidnap-

ped and whose bodies have not yet been found. These are leaders and activists such as Siphon Hashe, Champion Galela and Qaqawule Godolozzi all of Port Elizabeth. Over 10 000 people have been detained without charges. Almost 40 of our leaders are facing treason charges and are appearing in courts in Natal and the Transvaal, and now the enemy has adopted this new tactic of kidnapping and murdering our leaders and activists, using specialised assassination squads composed of mercenaries and deranged killers.

Those who have formed and commanded these murder squads have cynically extended condolences to the families of those they have murdered. P.W. Botha's deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Louis Nel, wept his crocodile tears on July 7 when he extended his condolences. He described the murder of our leaders as tragic and barbaric and made an empty promise that every attempt will be made to bring the killers to justice. Louis Nel thinks we have forgotten who he is. He thinks that we are so mentally defective that his words will persuade us to see him as a friend of those he has killed.

We charge him and his seniors; P.W. Botha, Magnus Malan, Pik Botha, Le Grange and others of murder. We accuse them of planned and premeditated assassination of our leaders. We say that their hands are dripping with the blood of our people, we reject their offer of assistance.

We challenge them to produce those who murdered Rick Turner, Griffiths Mxenge, Frikkie Conradie and the students at Ongoye. We know that they will do

nothing to produce those who carried out these murders, they will do nothing to produce the barbaric killers of Mathew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli because they sent these killers themselves, having sat in secret and selected who was to be kidnapped

and murdered by Botha's assassination squads. An unbridgeable cannon separates the truth and the apartheid regime.

Between justice and the Pretoria regime there is no meeting-point. For its support, the racist regime relies on murder, lies, deceit, hypocrisy and cynicism. It is that policy which will lead all of us to Cradock. It is the same policy that led Louis Nel to don a mask of sweetness on July 4 and to play the role of protector of the lives of those who are committed

to the abolition of the criminal system that Louis Nel is committed to defend and uphold forever.

MURDER SQUADS

In the same vein of cynical manoeuvre and deceit, Louis Nel made bold to say that Mathew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto, Sicelo Mhlawuli had died because of what he described as a struggle that is taking place between opposing radical organisations. We reject that charge. There is no power struggle among the people, the people are waging a determined struggle to wrest power from the white minority regime. The enemy of the people are those who uphold this power.

It is that enemy which had formed murder squads, to kill

CONTINUED PAGE 5



MASS FUNERALS OF PATRIOTS ARE NOW BANNED!

those who lead the masses of our people in the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. There are those who have sold their souls to the demon of racism, these are no different from the enemy but are part of it. The colour of the political cloak that these individuals wear makes no difference to the central fact that by their deeds they have placed themselves among the ranks of the enemy. The difference between them and Louis Nel is the colour of their skin, but beneath those black skins there lies the same hatred for a democratic South Africa that inspires Louis Nel and Piet Botha to plan and carry out the murder of the leaders and activists of the democratic movement of our country.

Those who have lent the name of their organisation to those acts of terror against struggling people are well-advised to cleanse themselves of the foul smell of fetid that clings to them. If they still consider themselves as part of the forces fighting for the liberation of our country, they must show by their deeds that they are not part of the enemy. They must take concrete actions to ensure that their members are seen to be involved in the struggle against the apartheid regime. They should not be seen as hauling abuse to the democratic forces of our country, least of all should these members be seen attacking physically the activists of the democratic movement of our country.

PEOPLE'S WRATH

Those who call themselves leaders have a responsibility to act now, to demonstrate in practice that Louis Nel was telling a lie, when he said their organisation and its members were responsible for the death of Mathew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto, Sicelo Mhlawule. They have a duty to ensure that in Port Elizabeth and elsewhere in the country not even one of its members acts on the side of the apartheid regime against the democratic movement. We call on those leaders to live up to their responsibilities now and as a matter of urgency, if they fail to do so, history will judge them harsh-

ly as traitors to the people's cause. We, having buried the heroic people's leaders in Cradock, once more we call the black people, who serve the enemy by manning their structures to resign their positions. We call on them to refuse to be used as a buffer to insulate the racist white minority regime, from the wrath of the people.

AGAINST MASTERS

The time has now come that those whom the enemy has armed to turn their guns against their white masters who ordered the secret executions of the heroes we have buried in Cradock. The apartheid regime has no future, those black people who serve this regime as soldiers, policemen and women, community councillors and bantustan leaders, civil servants, etc., can no longer postpone the decision to come over to the side of the people, they can no longer postpone that decision till tomorrow.

To you we say come home abandon that which is unjust and criminal, you cannot survive if you continue to stand against the people, when your deeds catch up with you, as they surely will if you persist in serving the enemy you will be buried as traitors, despised by the people and spurned even by the enemy which finds your services so useful today. If you must die, choose to be buried as a hero and not as a traitor.

Compatriots, the enemy is bent on a campaign to wipe out our entire leadership, using all means including murder. We cannot afford to lose these outstanding sons and daughters of our people. We must protect them, we must form a solid ring of steel around them, to ensure that the enemy's murder squads do not reach them. The assassination of Mathew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli and the others in the East Rand and the Eastern Cape, and the disappearance of yet others, is ample proof of the enemy's determination to behead our mass movement, to take away from us our most experienced activists. We must deny the enemy any success in this field.

PROTECT LEADERS

Protect and defend the leaders at both local and national levels, put them out of reach of the murder squads, this is the task that requires our close attention and constant vigilance. We know that the enemy has gone on this counter-offensive against our leaders because of the intensity of our struggle, because of our daring and consistent blows which has driven the enemy into deep crisis. We are steadily marching to victory, our struggle therefore requires better planning and better co-ordination. It requires that the most experienced and trusted activists that we have produced should be

among us, occupying their places among the struggling masses of our country, helping us to move closer to victory. Therefore, we cannot afford to lose them as a result of lack of vigilance on our part.

Let us protect and defend our leaders at both local and national level. Let us put them out of reach of the Pretoria's murder squads. As part of this, we must study the ways and means that the enemy uses in its campaign of murder in order to frustrate all its schemes. We must succeed to protect and defend our leaders to ensure that they continue to play their role in the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

Today, at Cradock in the Eastern Cape we shall renew our vows to fight together side by side until the kind of South Africa for which Mathew Goniwe and his colleagues laid down their lives is born. As we continue our fight, let them serve as an example of fearless fighters for our liberation. Let the standard of revolutionary commitment and discipline which they set, serve as our guide in our forward march to victory. The ANC lowers its banner in their memory. They did not die in vain, at their grave-side let us pledge to fight as never before, until power is in our hands. Our victory is in sight.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!!
MAATLA KE A RONA!!
MAYIBUYE I-AFRICA!!
IHLOMILE!!



Black mercenary being taught how to kill our people

S.A. has crossed her rubicon

ANC STATEMENT TO THE PRESS PRESENTED BY PRESIDENT
O.R. TAMBO, LUSAKA, 16 AUGUST 85.

LAST NIGHT, the people of South Africa and the rest of the world were treated to an arrogant reaffirmation by P.W. Botha that the apartheid system will continue unchanged. At a time when every thinking person in our country and abroad is saying apartheid must end now, the ruling group could not help but show itself for what it is — a clique of diehard racists, hide-bound reactionaries and blood-thirsty fascist braggarts who will heed nobody except themselves.

Systematically, Botha rejected each and every measure whose implementation could be construed by some as possibly contributing to the solution of the South African problem. He prescribed the same solutions which have produced the crisis that is now devouring the lives of our people daily.

In particular, while falsely and cynically claiming to be a democrat, he scorned the very notion of the right of all South Africans to vote for the government of their choice. He pledged to perpetuate the criminal bantustan system, further to balkanise our country and to continue the land dispossession of the African majority which is confined to a little more than 10 percent of South Africa.

With his hand over his heart, he projected himself as the great defender of so-called minorities while making an unequivocal commitment to the oppression of the overwhelming majority of our people. As part of this objective, he undertook further to refine the system of influx control, to modernise the pass laws and make them cost-effective so that more families can be broken up and more people deported to the desolation of the bantustans.

NELSON MANDELA

Botha reiterated his determination to keep Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in jail, offering to consider their release if they accept conditions which they have already rejected and will continue to reject. Rather than bow to the demands of our people and the international community to release

and talk to these genuine leaders of our people, Botha promised to negotiate with his salaried employees whom he pays to help him to administer the criminal apartheid system.

Posturing like a pathetic dictator in the mould of his predecessor and mentor whose fascist rule was brought to an end 40 years ago, P.W. Botha stood last night pretending that he can withstand and defeat all the forces at home and abroad that are engaged in struggle to end the system of white minority domination.

MORE REPRESSION

He promised our people more repression, boasting of the might of the murderous apartheid armed forces on whose behalf he spoke and whose views he reflected so faithfully. He who is responsible for the massacre of so many people throughout Southern Africa had the cheek to blame the victims of state terrorism for the violence of the apartheid system.

He has flung an insult in the face of his best friends internationally, telling them in no uncertain terms that he has no use for their advice.

Those who have tied themselves to the policy of so-called constructive engagement are now reaping the fruits of a policy which has encouraged the obduracy and arrogance of the apartheid regime.

To all those whom he seeks to hold and herd back into the white laager, he cracked his whip. Let there be no one, he held forth, who dares to think of any other way out of the South African crisis.

There is only one road ahead — the Botha road. The media too were treated to dark hints of reprisals if they do not fall completely in line with his prescriptions and his perceptions of the current situation in our country. Claiming that he does not want to prescribe solutions, his 'manifesto' nevertheless places a ban on all lines of thinking that do not conform to his own.

CONFLAGRATION

Botha has confirmed what we have said many times before — apartheid cannot be reformed. The Botha-Malan road has already brought our country to the brink of the biggest conflagration in our history. The only solution that is viable and accepted by the masses of our people centres around the Freedom Charter and the strategy of the ANC. The masses of our people are showing that there is only one item on the agenda: action. The task before the ANC and our people is clear. The Botha regime has to be destroyed as a matter of the greatest urgency.

The armed struggle must and will be stepped up. The masses of our people against whom the Botha-Malan regime has declared an all-out war must and will escalate the popular offensive to destroy the apartheid organs of government, to make the criminal racist system unworkable and to make South Africa ungovernable. We must unite as never before and defeat all provocations to divide us as we saw in Durban only a few days ago.

BLAME

Many white people will lose their lives, as the black people have been doing already. Much property will be destroyed. Botha must take the blame for these inevitable consequences. We, for our

part, would be less than human if we were to sit back and accept that we should continue to be oppressed and exploited.

Those among our own people who have pinned their hopes on Botha changing heart and conceding that there is an urgent need for change, must abandon all their illusions. They have to act against the Botha regime to realise the objectives which they have enunciated and which this regime has now rejected with utter contempt. I refer here to the business community of our country, the professionals and the intellectuals, the religious community and others. To these, we say, your own interests demand that you join in the struggle to destroy the monstrous apartheid Frankenstein.

SANCTIONS

The time has come that the western world should abandon all pretence that it has any way of influencing change in South Africa other than through the imposition of sanctions. Faced with fascism in Europe fifty years ago, all those who were interested in the defence of human dignity took arms to defeat a Nazi dictatorship. Basic human decency demands that the entire world community cut all links with the new Nazis who are so wedded to crime that they hold out the prospect of more massacres as the answer to the crisis afflicting apartheid South Africa.

The imperatives of the apartheid system compel the Pretoria regime to march on blindly to its downfall, leaving a scorched earth in its trail. We who are its victims are ready to make any and all sacrifices to achieve justice and democracy based on the principle of the one man, one vote in unitary South Africa.

South Africa has crossed her rubicon.

PRESIDENT TAMBO – From Page 1

While saluting those among our people who have responded so magnificently to our call to make our country ungovernable, we must also draw attention to the fact that not all areas of our country and not all sections among the oppressed responded with the same level of activity and determination. This has enabled the enemy to concentrate its forces on certain areas of our country. Even now, under its state of emergency, the apartheid regime has the possibility to concentrate its attack on a selected number of areas in our country.

This is a situation which we must correct. It is vital that all areas of our country should join in the general offensive to make the apartheid system unworkable and South Africa ungovernable. There is not a single black person anywhere in our country who can say that he or she lives in conditions of freedom. We are all subjected to domination by organs of government imposed on us by the apartheid regime. This is the case whether we live in the towns or the countryside.

In the past, all of us have joined together to reject apartheid rule, whatever form it took. Accordingly, we have consistently rejected the Bantustan system and the community councils. We have also overwhelmingly rejected Botha's tri-cameral parliament as well as the organs of local government visualised in the latest apartheid constitution. But, as we had foreseen, all these institutions have been imposed on us despite the fact that we do not want them. As usual, the apartheid regime has refused to act in accordance with the will of the people.

We, for our part, have no cause to submit to the dictatorship of the racists. We have said we are opposed to its apartheid institutions. These having been imposed on us against our will, we have no choice but to destroy them. This is what we have done in the Eastern Cape, on the Witwatersrand, the Vaal Triangle and the Free State. We must spread this offensive to reach all other parts of our country. In all our localities, wherever they may be, we must rise now and destroy the apartheid organs of government that are used to hold us in bondage. We make this call to all black people, African, Indian and so-called Coloureds.

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

Our people in some parts of the country are suffering under the iron heel of military dictatorship. They are facing the full might of the apartheid state because they dared to stand up to fight for our liberation. Regardless of what the martial law administrators do, the masses of our people in these areas will continue the fight for our emancipation. The time has come that the rest of the black masses of our country, all 25 million of us, should join in one determined offensive to make all of our country ungovernable. If needs be, let us force the apartheid regime to deploy its armed forces in every village and township of our country. Let us act together to make all of South Africa ungovernable.

Racist white South Africa, without doubt, applauding P.W. Botha for declaring the state of emergency. These hide-bound white supremacists see this act of desperation on the part of the apartheid regime as a demonstration of firmness and a determination to protect white privilege at all costs. They are convinced that Botha will succeed to suppress our struggle and save the apartheid system from collapse.

White South Africa will not awaken from this dream-world while our struggle is concentrated in the black areas of our country. We cannot and should not allow a situation of relative peace and tranquility to obtain in the white areas of our country while the black townships are in flames. We must take the struggle into the white areas of South Africa and there attack the apartheid regime and its forces of repression in these areas which it considers its rear.

For many years, the Pretoria regime gave its white supporters a false sense of security by deluding them into believing that the battle-front of struggle was drawn at the borders of our country. We have shattered that myth and brought the struggle to the very doorstep of the colonial oppressor. The enemy however continues to hope that it will manage to hold

our struggle to that line of battle, outside of the white towns and cities. As we buried the illusion of a confrontation taking place at the borders of our country, so must we now put paid to the notion that our struggle will remain confined to the black areas. No longer should white South Africa live with the idea that it can continue with its business as usual while our people are perishing in their hundreds, out of sight of the white families that have sent their sons into our townships, armed to the teeth and with one intention only, to kill, kill and kill.

CHALLENGE TO REVOLUTIONARIES

Our task, to take the struggle into the very midst of the enemy, presents all revolutionaries of our country with the challenge of devising the correct tactics to realise this objective. It is a challenge that all of us; workers, women and youth must meet. It however also places a special responsibility on all our white compatriots who are committed to bring about a democratic South Africa to act now to show the white population of our country that however much it might try to close its eyes to what is happening, the fact of the matter is that our country is in crisis.

White South Africa must be made to realise that Botha cannot guarantee its security. The greater the repression that he resorts to in defence of white minority rule and in the name of the whites of our country, the greater becomes the level of insecurity, white South Africa has to come over to the side of the forces fighting for a democratic and non-racial society. The alternative that Botha offers them – that of pitting themselves against the overwhelming majority of the people of our country – is nothing but a death trap. Nothing will come of it except grief for the whole of white South Africa. We offer our white compatriots the only way out of the crisis which will surely engulf them, and that, in the near future – renounce Botha and his apartheid republic: join the anti-racist forces in the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

The time has also come that those who serve in the apartheid tri-cameral parliament and claim to stand for a democratic South Africa, should abandon the illusion that this parliament can do anything to solve the problems of our country. This institution is as much a part of the structure of apartheid rule as are the racist army, police and the prison service. It is an instrument for the perpetuation of white minority rule. To hold out the hope that it can do anything to bring about a just social order is to attempt to hoax the people and to aid and abet the Pretoria regime in perpetuating its rule of terror. If there is any

CONT. P.8



PRESIDENT TAMBO – From P.7

genuine anti-racist left within Botha's parliament, now is the time for them to abandon this house of iniquity and join the masses of the people in struggle for a truly just society. Large parts of our country are under a publicly proclaimed state of emergency. Others are treated as though they are under such a state of emergency. This situation no longer allows for the playing of inconsequential games presented as an effort at reform. It demands that each one of us should choose sides: one is either on the side of genuine change or one is on the side of continued repression. There is no middle road.

Those among the black people who have persisted in refusing to stop serving the enemy are now faced with the inevitable consequences of their mercenary stubbornness. They have now been turned into an army of occupation and administrators of martial law. If in the past, they considered their duties as normal, they can no longer do so. There is nothing normal about an emergency. Neither will the actual tasks that they will carry out be normal. Their masters will demand of them the most heinous acts of brutality against their own people. On them will fall the greatest burdens in Pretoria's campaign of extreme repression. Once more we call on these black people to leave the ranks of the enemy which is using them to terrorise their own mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters and children. We call on those whom the enemy has armed to turn their guns against those who have invaded our townships and not point them at the unarmed black masses of our country who are fighting to liberate themselves.

There are some black people in our country who, claiming to be leaders and representatives of our people, have joined the clamour for the maintenance of apartheid law and order. The enemy is using these so-called law-abiding blacks to justify the intensified campaign of repression it has launched under the state of emergency that it has proclaimed. We call on these misguided individuals to direct their anger against those who have brought our country to the situation in which it is today. Only recently, Afrikaner intellectuals at the state-funded Social Sciences Research Council correctly laid the blame for the conflict in our country on the apartheid system. It is the height of servility for black people who call themselves leaders, to refuse to acknowledge this truth and instead seek to secure a livelihood for themselves by blaming the victim of terror for the injury done to him.

NO TURNING BACK

The apartheid system is in crisis. The state of emergency will not extricate the racists out of this situation. All it will do is further to deepen that crisis and increase the cost in human lives of ending white minority domination in our country. We have advanced a great deal towards the realisation of our goal of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. There can be no stopping now. There can be no turning back.

Let us therefore mobilise and march together in even greater unity towards freedom. At all times we must expect that the enemy will respond with ever greater repression. We must withstand these campaigns of terror with the same determination that we have displayed over so many months. But more, we must defeat these campaigns and raise our struggle to even higher levels.

Our watchwords must be: *Mobilisation, organisation, struggle*. All our people must be mobilised into action. All our people must be organised for action. All our people must engage in struggle. That must be our reply to the enemy's desperate counter-offensive.

In that struggle we have to step up our armed offensive. In a situation of martial law, the need for the oppressed masses to resort to people's war becomes plain for all to see. Therefore, the order of the day to all units of Umkhonto we Sizwe is that they must strengthen their links with the people. They must act together with the people to inflict the greatest possible number of casualties on armed enemy personnel. They must take the battle to the enemy and side by side with the heroic masses of our country, defeat the enemy's efforts to rule in a

new way, seize the initiative from the enemy and drive him into retreat. Thousands upon thousands of our people have been engaging the enemy in an armed confrontation, using primitive means to deliver their blows. Now is the time for them to face the enemy using modern weapons of war.

At this hour of a heightened enemy counter-offensive, progressive humanity has rallied behind us as never before. The whole world has denounced Botha's state of emergency, and pledged its support for our struggle. The international community will adopt new measures to isolate the apartheid regime which has declared war against our people.

Drawing strength from this international support, we must march with even greater confidence to victory. Botha's state of emergency is an admission of defeat. Each desperate act he adopts is a sign that we are approaching our goal. *Make apartheid uncorkable: make South Africa ungovernable: prepare conditions for the seizure of power by the people!*

**AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MAATLA KE A RONA!
IHLOMILE!**

LISTEN TO

RADIO FREEDOM
Voice of the African
National Congress and
Umkhonto We Sizwe, The
People's Army

RADIO LUSAKA 7.00 p.m. Daily
Shortwave 31mb, 9605 KHz 10.15-10.45 p.m. Wed
9.30-10.00 p.m. Thurs
10.15-10.45 p.m. Fri
Shortwave 25mb, 11880 KHz 8.00-8.45 a.m. Sun

RADIO LUANDA 7.30 p.m. Mon-Sat
Shortwave 31mb, 9535 KHz 8.30 p.m. Sun
and 25mb

RADIO MADAGASCAR 7.00-9.00 p.m. Mon-Sat
Shortwave 49mb, 6135 KHz 7.00-8.00 p.m. Sun

RADIO ETHIOPIA 9.30-10.00 p.m. Daily
Shortwave 31mb, 9595 KHz

RADIO TANZANIA 8.15 p.m. Mon, Wed, Fri.
Shortwave 31mb, 9750 KHz 6.15 a.m. Tues, Thurs, Sat

**HELP SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF THE ANC!
PASS MAYIBUYE ON.**

- GIVE IT TO YOUR FRIENDS AND FAMILY
- DROP IT IN A NEARBY POSTBOX OR YARD
- STICK IT ONTO A PUBLIC WALL OR BUS SHELTER AT NIGHT
- DISCUSS THE ISSUES RAISED WITH THE PEOPLE YOU MEET AND YOUR FRIENDS.

BE CAREFUL!!!