

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

MAYIBUYE



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YEAR OF THE SPEAR

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ALEXANDRA

REJECT KOORNHOF'S SCHEME TO DISARM & CONFUSE US!

Earlier this year the people of Alex danced in the streets, hailing their victory after a long struggle against forced removal and the conversion of the township into a labour prison of single-sex hostels. But the events of the past months have raised doubts in most people's minds: what have we, after all, won in Alexandra?

Koornhof's dramatic announcement that Alex would be saved as a township of family housing at first sight appeared to many as a complete triumph. But, as usual, the conditions laid down by the regime reveal the hollowness of Koornhof's promises. Like in Crossroads, the main demand of the community has not been met - the demand for the right of all residents of Alex to continue living there. For a start as many as half of the people may be denied this right because they have no permits to live in the township. Again, like in Crossroads, Koornhof and his cronies are trying other methods to break down the people's united stand, since the bulldozers and police raids have failed to achieve this. The racists are trying to divide the people by offering some the opportunity to stay, but reserving the right to decide who shall go. In this way the oppressors hope to disarm and confuse the people of Alex into agreeing to this scheme. With their united resistance broken, the enemy will be able to achieve its goal by deceit instead of force - the removal of most of the residents to the Bantustans or to the "Coloured Group Areas."

The partial victory in the fight to save Alex, which was led by Rev. Sam Buti and his followers, resulted in the people showing their overwhelming support for his "Save Alexandra Party" in the recent elections to the Liaison Committee. But the Liaison Committee should beware that it does not betray the trust of the people who elected it. One mistake the Committee is making is its participation in a survey of residents on the basis of which the apartheid regime will decide who can stay in Alexandra. Because of the respect Rev. Buti and his party have won in the community, their involvement in this survey gives this whole scheme a credibility it does not deserve. In fact, the Committee is being forced to do the racists' dirty work - administering apartheid by assisting in the removal of people from their rightful homes. This was, of course, never the intention of Rev. Buti nor of the people who voted for his party. We are confident that the Reverend will withdraw his support for the regime's scheme, just as he courageously withdrew from Koornhof's Regional Advisory Committee when he realised it was just another trick to involve black people in administering oppression, not getting rid of it. We call on Rev. Buti and his party to lead the people of Alex in a renewed campaign for the right of every resident to stay.

99-YEAR LEASEHOLD

Another mistake the Liaison Committee has made is to agree that the regime can do away with freehold title in the township, in favour of the 99 year leasehold programme. We all know that one of the reasons for the enemy's longstanding campaign to destroy Alex is precisely because it is one of the last parts of our country where black people are still entitled to freehold rights. The white minority regime wants to do away with this right for two reasons. Firstly, on "principle" no black person can be tolerated to own property in so-called white South Africa - that is why the regime chose to introduce the 99-year leasehold scheme instead of granting home ownership rights to black people. Secondly, areas like Alex where freehold title exists are more difficult for the oppressor to control. It is much easier to organise resistance in a township where one does not have to seek the permission of the white city council to hire a hall for the meeting, for example.

In any event, the 99-year leasehold is no solution to the housing crisis in Alexandra or anywhere else. For a start, on principle we demand the right to own property in every part of South Africa. What is more, the 99-year leasehold plan has so many defects that it cannot possibly satisfy the housing needs of the masses, only of a few wealthy blacks. Who can afford to take out a leasehold when just to register under the scheme costs about R2 240 - including such items as R300 for survey of the site and R300 for the right of leasehold? The very fact that only 49 people had registered in the WRAB area a year after the scheme was



Comrade President Tambo of the ANC and President Fidel Castro of socialist Cuba. Cuba is the host country of the 6th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement. The ANC along with other participants at this important anti-imperialist forum salute the people and government of Cuba - a mighty force against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

launched proves our point. Besides, only those privileged few who hold Section 10 - 1(a) or 10 - 1(b) rights to live in a "white" urban area qualify for this programme. And since children of those who have Section 10 rights themselves do not inherit these rights, they will not be able to inherit their parents' leasehold.

Hundreds of thousands of black South Africans are homeless, the vast majority of us do not have decent housing and fair rents. The people of Alex and every other area must demand that the regime provides such housing instead of granting empty "rights" like the 99-year leasehold. If the Alexandra Liaison Committee is to fulfil its promise to the people to fight for adequate housing it should denounce the leasehold scheme, demand the right to freehold, an end to single-sex hostels and lead the people in a struggle for proper housing & low rents.

The ALC should not fall into the trap of acting like one of the regime's Community Councils which are helping it to run mini-Bantustans in the urban areas. The people's living standards cannot be raised by isolating Alex into some sort of "autonomous" township which will somehow develop on its own. Alexandra, like Soweto is part of Johannesburg and should be part of the Johannesburg Municipality governed by a non-racial city council on the basis of one man one vote local elections. The funds available for the whole city should then be used to provide better housing and other facilities in the deprived black areas. Alone, as an isolated "autonomous" township, Alex will remain a deprived area like the so-called autonomous Indian townships of Verulam and Isipingo. And the ALC will turn out to be no better than a Bantustan regime or a Community council, administering one little corner of the apartheid state for the white masters and assisting the enemy in confusing the people into believing they have gained something.

The rights which the people of Alex demand cannot be won by collaboration with Koornhof, but by struggle. If the ALC is to lead the people in the struggle for their just demands, it cannot behave like a Community Council. The councillors should be consulting with the people, not with Koornhof. *continued on page 3*

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WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

S.A.I.C. ELECTIONS

(EXTRACTS FROM A STATEMENT BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC BROADCAST OVER RADIO FREEDOM.)

Everybody who has joined the debate about how to respond to the issue of elections to the S.A.I.C. is agreed on the strategic question that this Council was created by the apartheid regime for the purpose of further entrenching white minority domination and therefore that we are opposed to it. The overwhelming majority of the Indian people, like the rest of the black people, is similarly opposed to this separate development institution.

Therefore the issue about which we are debating is a tactical one and not one of strategy or principle. What has been missing from the debate is the voice of the people themselves. All the patriotic forces among the Indian people, all of whom are opposed to the separate development programme which includes the Indian Council, should get together to call the Indian people to mass meetings, to put before the people the question: what is to be done? Is it to be boycott of the elections to the Indian Council, or is it to be participation in the elections for the purpose of rejecting the Indian Council?

We believe that this process of active consultation of the masses of our people by those of us who are leaders and activists will not only help us resolve the debate on this tactical question correctly, but will also lay the basis for our future activities in the struggle to win genuine liberation for ourselves. Therefore let us all use our organisations and ad-hoc committees together and in unity, to gather the masses of the Indian people to pose the question: do we want candidates to stand on a platform of rejection of the Indian Council?

We would like to emphasise that always in all our work we should put in the forefront the objective of drawing the masses of people into active, conscious struggle for their own liberation. Thus the question we should pose is, in what way can we use the forthcoming elections to the Indian Council as a vehicle for drawing the masses of the people into active and conscious struggle for genuine liberation? Will we achieve it by what has been described as participation with rejection or rejectionist participation?

The meetings you will be calling to put tactical issues before the masses of the people constitute an important method of mass mobilisation. The very process of calling a meeting is itself a test of our organisational strength as well as a way of measuring the level of our contact with the people, a way of judging whether our thinking is attuned to that of the people. It is possible to have correct ideas, to be firm in one's commitment to these ideas and yet also to be unable to carry the people with you in the struggle for the realisation of these ideas. We must therefore take these ideas to the people.

If small numbers turn up for these meetings we must naturally

look for the causes for the lack of response of the people. It could be that intimidation by the enemy was too strong for our people to ignore it. It could be that the people have not yet appreciated the importance of the questions that we seek to raise with them. It could be a combination of these and other factors.

In other words, it is only through action that we test the readiness of the people to act. It is only by organising that we test our ability to organise. There is no other way of setting these tests except practical activity.

Consider also the fact, that whatever emerges as our tactical line on the question of the forthcoming elections to the Indian Council, that line has to be implemented and followed by the masses of the people themselves. Therefore when we call them to meetings

to help decide what this tactical line should be, we are at the same time preparing the people to implement such a line, and to implement it as a decision which comes from them and not one that has been imposed on them by a small group of leaders however popular these leaders are. For the purpose of calling mass meetings we should also reach out to all other institutions which group together the Indian people so that we can have access to these masses. Among these institutions we include mosques and temples, community organisations, schools, sports bodies, the trade unions and any other grouping which brings together the Indian people.

Yet another tactical question that we should consider as part of this discussion is: Do we want this council to exist or do we not? This may sound a strange question coming from us after we have said that the Indian Council has been created by the enemy to perpetuate white minority domination. From this it should follow that we therefore do not want this Council to exist, and

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the right to be free!

"As a colonised people, we assert not only our right to rebel against the coloniser, but also our right to determine for ourselves the means and methods to use to liberate ourselves and our country, as well as our right to determine what to do with our liberation. We have a vision of, and we fight for a future South Africa in which national oppression will be abolished once and for all, in which racism in whatever form it rears its ugly head will be suppressed with all the might of popular power. We fight to restore power to the hands of the people".

-Comrade President O.R. Tambo.



YEAR OF THE SPEAR

Isandhlwana remembered...

On May 22nd 1979 the great grandchildren of our glorious forefathers assembled and marched down the same slopes of the Isandhlwana mountain which, a century ago was the scene of one of our greatest victories in battle over the colonial plunderers. The people danced and sang in memory of all those who gave their lives in defence of the motherland against foreign domination. The colourful commemoration with women and men clad in traditional gear reflected the pride of every South African in our glorious past.

The battle of Isandhlwana at which King Cetshwayo's patriotic army engaged and defeated the British colonial army, is and shall always remain a symbol of popular resistance. It is one of the many battles that were fought over the length and breadth of our country by our people led by such brave patriotic leaders as Makhanda, Sekhukhuni, Nghunghunyane, Hintsa, Ramabulana and Mzilikazi. As President O. R. Tambo said when inaugurating the centenary of the Isandhlwana victory as the Year of the Spear, "Isandhlwana was the highest point in the protracted struggle. For the Spear of our people it was a moment of glory".

Fascist Koornhof's presence at the May 22nd commemorative rally reinforced the feeling among the participants that the cause for which the brave warriors gave their lives has not yet been achieved. In this regard, although one does not necessarily agree with everything that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said at the rally, any serious-minded citizen in this country will agree with the following in his speech: "It will be a tragic day for South Africa when blacks accept subservience. We will never be compatriots with whites in subservience...The Anglo-Zulu War, tragic as it was, must come to mean the same thing to us all. It must be symbolic. It will become symbolic even if it has to be reinforced by other tragedies similar to the events of 1879. That is the road we embarked on one hundred years ago. It is the road we walked today. It is along this road that our braves lie". And one could discern in the people's songs, izibongo and some speeches, the Isandhlwana spirit of no surrender and self-sacrifice.

The struggle that started as long ago as 1652 by the Khoisan led by the legendary Chief Autshumayo will ultimately end in certain victory, for the oppressed and democratic people of South Africa over white domination and economic exploitation. Our united mass action in the factories and mines, in the farms, schools and universities, and the armed struggle - in brief people's war - will deliver us from oppression to people's power. The tree planted at Isandhlwana, Thaba Bosio...starts to blossom as we intensify our offensive on all fronts - it shall one day bear fruit.

At the battle of Isandhlwana our people rose to the occasion to defend their land against the invading British troops. The British sought to achieve what they had failed to achieve through deceit, by invading Zululand. They sought to conquer this and other parts of our country through force. In skilfully resisting this invasion our people were defending justice. The colonial armies were waging an unjust war. Again Chief Buthelezi said at the rally, "The people of these mountains, valleys and plains were expected to accept subjugation. They were expected to surrender manhood to behave like animals which could be tamed, harnessed and drafted into teams pulling the load of the white man's luxury. Our objections to these expectations from colonial forces were so deep as to make us die here. The war of 1879, waged against us is a monument in the minds of many to ideals which people cherished beyond limits of death".

Up to this day, our resistance through people's war remains just. To those who tried to defend the ugly fortresses of injustice as in Angola, Mozambique, Vietnam, the victories in these countries have already shown the futility of their endeavours. The struggle in our country might be protracted. So protracted that at times those who still enjoy the fruits of this temporary conquest can even say, "The country between Isandhlwana and Rorke's Drift...can be kept forever as a reminder of the futility of war...", as Koornhof said at the rally on the 22nd of May. Koornhof impressed nobody. He merely added insult to injury.

FORWARD WITH THE SPEAR!

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S. AFRICA'S WOMAN OF THE YEAR

The African National Congress has named Mrs Martha Mahlangu SOUTH AFRICA'S WOMAN OF THE YEAR, in honour of her courage and determination during the detention, trial and execution of her son, Solomon - an immortal hero of our struggle.

For months on end, when Solly was awaiting his execution, and even after his death the fascists subjected her to various forms of pressure, but Mrs Mahlangu stood by her son with pride that he had accepted the death sentence like a soldier. She consistently dismissed enemy propaganda that Solly was 'scared' of death, retorting at one time: "I see the report as mere propaganda designed to instill fear into those youth who may follow in his footsteps".

In this Year of the Spear, 100 years after Isandhlwana, it is fitting that Mrs Mahlangu is WOMAN OF THE YEAR. Her granite will reminds us of the great mothers of the past centuries of resistance who not only gave birth and reared dedicated patriots, but who also stood their ground - ululating and cheering the cause of resistance even if their own sons had died in battle.

TO MOTHERS OF MILLIONS OF YOUNG PATRIOTS WHO HAVE PLEDGED TO AVENGE SOLOMON'S DEATH BY DESTROYING THE CRIMINAL SYSTEM THAT MURDERED HIM, MRS MAHLANGU IS A SYMBOL OF STRENGTH AND DIGNITY WHICH INSPIRES ALL FREEDOM-LOVING SOUTH AFRICANS AND REINFORCES OUR CONFIDENCE THAT WE SHALL EMERGE VICTORIOUS.

AMANDLA! POWER!



alexandra *continued from page 1*

Before taking such drastic steps as agreeing to ending of freehold title, the Council should call mass meetings to obtain the mandate from the community for its actions. This is the way the Boycott Committee operated during the 1957 bus boycott against one penny fare increases. When the white press tried to break the unity of Alex by publishing lies about the boycott crumbling, the community sought the truth from their leaders at mass meetings. In consultation with the residents, the Boycott Committee was able to lead Alex to victory against the fare increases.

This is the contact we need between the people and ALC if it hopes to represent their views and interests. If we are to win more victories like those of the bus boycotts of 1944 and 1957, we must not abandon Alex's legacy of struggle which has made it feature prominently in our history of resistance.

WE DEMAND:

- * THE RIGHT FOR ALL TO STAY IN ALEX
- * ADEQUATE HOUSING AT LOW RENT
- * AWAY WITH SINGLE-SEX HOSTELS
- * AN END TO POLICE RAIDS FOR PERMITS
- * THE RIGHT TO VOTE FOR A NON-RACIAL CITY COUNCIL OF JOHANNESBURG TO ADMINISTER BOTH BLACK AND WHITE AREAS AND TO UPLIFT THE DEPRIVED BLACK AREAS.

SAIC elections... *continued from page 2*

exist in the sense of having members who meet as this council and take decisions as the South African Indian Council.

The argument for boycott of the Indian Council elections therefore would appear to be the only tactical option open to us, because it simply means that no members will be elected. Without members the Council will therefore be unable to function.

But at the same time, while we debate these questions we must bear it in mind that the apartheid regime is more than determined that this Council will and must exist. The regime will therefore do everything in its power to ensure that the Indian Council does in fact have members and hence that it does exist and function in the way that the racists intend it to function.

Let us consider the example of the so-called Soweto Community Council. As we all know this council was elected by a handful of people. In certain cases some of the members of this Soweto Collaborators' Council were elected by as few as 87 people. The mass boycott of the elections to this council by the people of Soweto was a great victory for our struggle as a whole.

But our enemy is not democratic but fascist. To him it did not matter that at best only 6% of the population of Soweto entitled to vote did in fact vote. For him this constituted sufficient of a mandate from us to go ahead and set up his collaborators' council. That is the reality we are faced by with regard to the Indian Council as well.

Our objective is to ensure that the Indian Council does not come into being and therefore that it does not function. Our aim, if we adopt the tactic of boycott, is to ensure that none of the 41 seats are in fact filled. Obviously we can do nothing about the proposed 5 nominated seats. To ensure that the 41 elected seats are not filled we must ensure that nobody turns out to vote for any person who puts himself or herself forward as a candidate member of the Indian Council.

We must have a situation in which we get 90% of the Indian electorate to boycott the elections. This is perfectly possible, given the rejection of the Indian Council by the overwhelming majority of the Indian people. Such a response would constitute a victory for the forces that fight for a united, democratic South Africa. Yet the enemy would use the 10% that did participate in the elections as sufficient mandate for it to go ahead and establish the

Indian Council. What this means practically, is that if we opt for the boycott tactic and are seriously pursuing the objective of ensuring that the Indian Council does not in fact exist, we must ensure that the boycott is complete.

If we go back to the elections for the Soweto Collaborators' Council, we will remember that the apartheid regime was compelled to postpone these elections until such time as it thought it had succeeded in suppressing the uprising that began on June 16th 1976. The enemy knew that if it held these elections during the height of the uprising, then the boycott would have been complete and the schemes of the enemy would have collapsed utterly. In fact, as you will remember the intensity of the confrontation between the people and the racist regime compelled the members of the so-called Urban Bantu Councils to resign from these Councils. Therefore in such a situation, quite clearly no elections to the so-called Community Councils could have been held. The point we are making here is that the use of the tactic of boycott in our pursuit of the objective of ensuring that the Indian Council does not exist, means that we must ensure that the boycott of the elections is total. This will not happen on its own, but must be worked for through the mobilisation of the masses of the people and ensuring that they are committed in their entirety to boycott the elections.

As you know, the other tactical line that is being discussed is that we must participate in the elections for the purposes of rejecting the Indian Council. Practically this means that the patriotic forces that reject the Indian Council and the separate development programme as a whole, the forces that engage in struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, must in fact put up candidates to contest all the 41 elected council seats.

Once elected, these patriots would then not take their seats in the Council. The Council would then be unable to function as 41 out of the 46 members would refuse to operate this apartheid institution. In this way we would thus achieve our objective of ensuring that the Indian Council does not in fact exist by virtue of the fact that it will be unable to meet and discharge the functions for which the enemy intended it.

COLLAPSE OF THE NRC

So far this tactic has not been used effectively in the country. The current positions of the Labour Party not to participate in the CRC come closest to a correct practical application of this tactic. Older generations among our people will remember that it was the use of this tactic which resulted in the collapse and the disappearance of the old Native Representative Council, the NRC which the enemy used in the 40's as a way of ensuring that we did not struggle for our genuine liberation but kept looking to the NRC to persuade the white minority regime to grant us our rights. Once elected into the last NRC, our leaders resigned from it and left the enemy with no alternative but to abolish the institution as a whole.

The adoption of this tactic, which has been called "rejectionist participation", is of course fraught with certain dangers. The most important of these is that some people might, once elected on this rejectionist participation platform, in fact continue to serve in the Indian Council, thus making it a reality despite prior pledges not to follow this line.

Dear compatriots, to recapitulate, it would seem to us that the choice before us is either - boycott or boycott candidates. Outright boycott demands that we ourselves should be certain of total boycott. The question we must therefore ask ourselves is - are we capable of achieving a boycott? The adoption of the tactic of boycott candidates requires that we must ensure that we in fact choose representatives whose political calibre is such that they will in fact serve the interests of the people, whatever the cost, and that we have the organisational machinery to guarantee that these representatives in fact bow down to the will of the people.

NEC COMMENTS:

UNITY OF PATRIOTIC FORCES

EXTRACTS FROM A STATEMENT BY COMRADE ALFRED NZO, SECRETARY GENERAL, FOR THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC ON SOME QUESTIONS OF THE UNITY OF THE PATRIOTIC FORCES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The embattled people of South Africa are being confronted by efforts which, however well-intentioned, objectively aim to divide the revolutionary forces of our country and to mislead some of our people.

In the recent past, attempts have been made to form new organisations outside South Africa, detached from the masses of our people and from the realities of practical struggle that continues to rage behind the fortifications of fascist South Africa. These organisations have, in the main, sought to attract the youth which left South Africa after the heroic uprising that began in Soweto on June 16th, 1976, claiming to be a continuation in one form or another, of the black organisations to which our statement of 1973 referred (Sechaba, June 1973.)

As early as 1973 the ANC characterised the "black consciousness" organisations as belonging among the genuine forces of revolution in our country by virtue of their activities and the democratic, anti-racist positions they espoused, positions which the ANC itself had fought for already 60 years by then.

Certain practical conclusions and initiatives had to follow from this political assessment. One of these was that the ANC had to establish formal contact with these organisations in the first instance through their representatives based outside the country. Regrettably, we found these representatives unresponsive to our efforts to forge a common approach and to build up common action in the struggle against the apartheid regime. For a whole year we pursued our efforts to persuade these external representatives to see reason, to no avail.

Yet the imperatives of our struggle demanded that the ANC and these organisations should in fact establish the links we sought. Consequently the National Executive Committee of the ANC decided to establish direct links with these organisations inside the country. This was done. As we expected, we found that these organisations themselves desired to establish relations of the kind the ANC sought. What we did not expect was that their external representatives would have involved themselves in a campaign of lies, calumny and distortion against the ANC when reporting to their organisations inside the country, aimed at defeating the unification of the fighting forces of our country and people. And yet this is exactly what these representatives had been doing for a full year.

ATTEMPTS TO FORM NEW ORGANISATIONS.

We find today that some of these representatives are deeply involved in the attempts to set up the new organisations to which we have referred. These individuals continue to pose as genuine revolutionaries, when their own personal histories shout out very loudly that these are outstanding examples of careerists who are motivated by personal interest that every revolution throws up.

There are other patriots who were members of both these "black consciousness" organisations and the ANC, who continue to contribute their share to the intensification of our struggle both inside and outside South Africa. These members of the ANC worked within the "black consciousness" organisations in the directions of the ANC...

It is a fact admitted by even the worst of our enemies that the overwhelming majority of the young people who left South Africa after June 16th, 1976, including members of the "black consciousness" organisations, found their way into the ANC. To us this was not surprising. As a result of the revolutionary prestige that ANC activists had won within these organisations through their commitment to struggle and their honesty, the youth turned to them for guidance when confronted with the question in 1976 and 1977 - what next?

As we indicated in our Statement of 1973, already at that time the people were seeking to break through the limits which legal struggle necessarily imposes. To break through those limits meant in part to continue the struggle underground; in part it meant the taking up of arms.

The first patriots from the "black consciousness" organisations to reach out to the ANC as part of this process of breaking through the limits of legal struggle, entered the ANC soon after the SASO-led strike of 1972. They came to the ANC on their own, convinced that since they sought to continue the struggle as underground operatives and as armed combatants, the ANC provided the logical base for them to fulfil these objectives. The ANC received them as patriots, regardless of the fact that on certain issues they did not see eye to eye with us.

The murderous police offensive that began on June 16th, 1976, also compelled the masses of our people to break through the limits which legal struggle necessarily imposes. Once more the youth of our country came to the ANC convinced that since they sought to continue the struggle as underground operatives and as armed combatants, the ANC provided the logical base for them

to fulfil these objectives. Once again the ANC received these people as patriots, regardless of the fact that on certain issues some of them did not see eye to eye with us...

All attempts to detach this generation from other generations of our fighting people and hence weaken the revolutionary movement as a whole have failed. The same fate befell the schemes devised to detach the generation that set up the first "black consciousness" organisations in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Efforts that are being made now to give organisational expression to the idea of the youth as an independent social force are doomed to fail. They will fail because the very youth at whom these efforts are directed are patriots who are motivated by a desire to continue the struggle.

In time this patriotic youth will find out the falsehoods that they have been fed concerning their own people's organisation, the ANC, and will inevitably come over to join their compatriots and their peers to intensify the offensive against the fascist apartheid regime. As before, the doors of the ANC are open to receive every South African who is a patriot and is willing to commit his or her life to the liberation of our suffering people.

TRUE PSYCHOLOGICAL EMANCIPATION

In our statement of 1973 we warned that the assertion of the revolutionary identity of the black oppressed peoples is not an end in itself. We said then that it is in struggle, in the actual physical confrontation with the enemy, it is through action that the people acquire true psychological emancipation. The uprising that began in Soweto in 1976 amply demonstrated the correctness of that thesis.

The fact of the matter is that today the masses of our people are demanding action. Anybody who has even the weakest of links with these masses knows this to be so. In the mass rallies that took place throughout our country in observance of the 3rd anniversary of the Soweto uprising, this message came through clearly and sharply.

Action is therefore what is required of any South African who calls herself or himself a patriot. The members of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe are involved in this action. Even the enemy has felt obliged to admit this fact publicly. Yet at this moment when dedicated cadres of our movement, both young and old, are responding to the demand of our people for action, some individuals outside our country are issuing calls to demobilise these cadres in the name of "black consciousness movement".

These individuals are busy convening conferences not to plan or to execute action against fascist tyranny in our country. Rather they are calling conferences ostensibly to consider what should happen to members of the "black consciousness movement" outside South Africa, a question which was settled inside and outside South Africa a long time ago. The conclusion therefore becomes inescapable - that what these individuals seek to achieve is the avoidance of action against the apartheid regime while continuing to pose as people who are interested in the liberation struggle.

The vast majority of the "black consciousness" organisations knew as we did that such consciousness is not an end in itself, but was a vital force to organise the people into revolutionary action. It remains for the minority who did not understand this to strive to do so; certainly the attempt to pull back the majority to the retrogressive positions of the minority is bound to fail...

This statement is a deliberate effort to rescue those of our compatriots who are unwittingly drifting out of the mainstream of revolutionary struggle into peripheral organisations in which they will end up by engaging in self-destructive fratricidal fights, as has happened with such peripheral organisations before...

UNITY FOR THE SEIZURE OF POWER

Speaking in the name of the thousands upon thousands of young people who demonstrated in South Africa against the criminal execution of Solomon Mahlangu, member of the ANC and combatant of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and who identify themselves with the cause for which he stood; speaking in the name of the thousands of young people, members of the ANC in all its sections, and members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, former members of the now-banned "black consciousness" organisations inside and outside South Africa; speaking in the name of our whole membership at home and abroad, in and out of jail, both young and old, our National Executive Committee pledges that the African National Congress will remain true to its character as the vanguard of our national liberation revolution, united within itself politically and organisationally, drawing into its ranks all the patriotic forces of our country, uniting all our people into mass political and military action for the seizure of power by the people themselves and the reconstruction of South Africa as a democratic anti-imperialist, anti-racist and peace-loving African country.

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Interview with Comrade SAM NUJOMA

AUGUST 26 IS NAMIBIA DAY - THE DAY ON WHICH THE ARMED STRUGGLE WAS LAUNCHED THIRTEEN YEARS AGO IN NAMIBIA, IN HONOUR OF THIS GREAT DAY, AND IN RECOGNITION OF THE BONDS OF COMMON STRUGGLE BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE LED BY SWAPO, "MAYIBUYE" BRINGS YOU SOME EXTRACTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE SAM NUJOMA, PRESIDENT OF SWAPO ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCIST OCCUPATION.

Q. Comrade President, the British government announced the appointment on July 25th, of what was called a senior diplomat to negotiate on the question of Namibia... Sir James Murray was reported to be going to meet the racist Prime Minister Piet Botha very soon. What is the attitude of SWAPO to this new initiative?

A. As far as SWAPO is concerned, and indeed the struggling Namibian people, there is no more question of talks or negotiations or re-opening of talks with regard to Namibia's decolonisation from South Africa's fascist oppression and occupation. What is left now really, is the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 of September 1978 where the resolution speaks for itself. First it says there should be a ceasefire, and SWAPO is ready to sign a ceasefire with racist South Africa, and also SWAPO is fully prepared to fight the elections, and there is no doubt that SWAPO will sweep all the seats. We are aware of the fact that there is no single Namibian who would vote for the continued oppression and exploitation of the Boer fascist regime in Namibia. All Namibians want to be free, and therefore they will vote for SWAPO which is fighting for the freedom and independence of Namibia.

Q. While on the one hand racists have organised a clear UDI in Namibia, they however stop short of saying so themselves. They say in fact this is not so. Why are the racists acting like this?

A. There are plots being carried out by the imperialists and their clients in South Africa. All this process of bogus elections in December in defiance of the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council are aimed at imposing a neo-colonial solution in Namibia. But due to the vigilance and political consciousness of the Namibian people, they have intensified the armed struggle through their vanguard, SWAPO, and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, the military wing of SWAPO, thus making it difficult for the enemy to impose a puppet regime on the Namibian people. We are therefore determined to intensify the resistance to imperialist plots and conspiracies against Namibia and its people. We have frustrated the enemy's diabolical plots and the schemes of Bantustans similar to those in the Transkei and Bophuthatswana in South Africa itself. The enemy intended to create a Bantustan in northern Namibia, to be followed by the so-called Ovambo Bantustan, Caprivi Bantustan, Herero Bantustan, Nama Bantustan etc. etc.

Q. Right now an attempt is being made to say that apartheid is being removed in Namibia through various decrees, laws and proclamations by both Steyn and the puppets in the so-called Constituent Assembly. What is the reality of the situation in Namibia?

A. As a matter of fact SWAPO and the people of Namibia do not seek reforms in the colonial repressive system of repression. We seek to completely liquidate the illegal occupationist forces of the Pretoria fascist regime. We do not accept any reforms in the repressive laws. We seek to completely remove them, and to substitute this colonial institution with a people's government, a government that will serve the interests of all Namibian people, whatever their colour or race or place of origin.

Q. The racists still continue crossing the Namibia-Angola border claiming that they are attacking SWAPO bases. Are they really attacking SWAPO? Could you give us details of their activities when they cross the border?

A. SWAPO of Namibia vehemently condemns the aggression carried out by the Pretoria racist regime's troops, using Namibia as a springboard to carry our military attacks against the people of Zimbabwe and Angola, as well as using the eastern part of our country as a means of aggression against the Republic of Zambia. The racists carry out aggression using armoured cars, tanks, helicopters, Mirage jet fighters, Buccaneer British-manufactured jet bombers against the population of Angola, which has resulted in the deaths of many Angolan women, children, and elderly persons. Of course SWAPO fighters are carrying out the war of liberation within the Namibian territory. We have only civilians in the People's Republic of Angola, who are offered political asylum by Comrade President Neto of the MPLA, the workers' party, and all the people of the Republic of Angola. But we do not have soldiers based in this country. People's Liberation Army of Namibia combatants are fighting inside Namibia. The Boers know this. They have failed totally to suppress the resistance of the people to genuine freedom and independence. The war will continue until the last fascist enemy troops leave Namibia.

Q. The top brass of the South African racist army has been making statements lavishly published in our country saying there is a decline in SWAPO activities in Namibia. Nevertheless, they have deemed it fit to pass several laws, decrees and proclamations which amount to making more or less three quarters of Namibia including areas around Windhoek itself, risk areas or operational areas as they say. What makes them act in this contradictory manner?

A. Well, if the activities of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO have declined, why then declare martial law?

Why then declare a state of emergency? Why then arrest leaders, members and supporters of SWAPO? Why then create concentration camps where hundreds of Namibians are kept? But militarily the resistance against the enemy is being intensified. That is clear. We know that the enemy soldiers are demoralised, particularly the infantry. That is why the enemy has resorted to the use of jet fighters. But the minority white settlers on the farms are also demoralised and have lost confidence in the racist colonial regime stationed in Namibia. They are leaving the country in big numbers. Du Plessis, the leader of the Nationalist Party, also Aktur in Namibia, has time and again himself said that the whites are losing confidence in the regime. There is division amongst the white minority settlers. They are threatening each other every day. So we are carrying out the war of liberation confident that the day is not far when we will score the final victory over the colonial and racist illegal administration in Namibia.



Namibian mineworkers on strike. Comrade Nujoma (insert): "We seek to substitute this colonial institution with a people's government".

Q. Comrade President, several weeks ago SWAPO announced the capture of many racist agents caught with poison, pistols and assault rifles. Can you comment on this development, namely the breaking of the Geneva Convention outlawing biological and chemical warfare, by the racists?

A. As a matter of fact this is not the first time that the racist regime has used biological warfare. On 4 May, 1978, when the fascist troops attacked our civilian population in Cassinga in the People's Republic of Angola, the first bombs that landed contained poison gas which affected the women, children and even elderly people. There has been the barbaric usage of this biological warfare including chemicals and poisons against Namibian civilians, inside as well as outside. The racists are openly talking in the streets of Windhoek that they plan to liquidate, in fact to exterminate the Namibian population, by means of shooting on sight any person suspected of being a so-called terrorist, with a view to reducing the Namibian population, so that when the time comes for the elections to take place, the numbers of Africans have been considerably reduced by means of extermination, so that then there will be equal numbers between the minority white settlers and the African population.

Q. In conclusion, Comrade President, what is your message to the people of South Africa and Namibia, who are struggling against the same racist, colonial regime?

A. To comrades of the African National Congress of South Africa, the combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, I call upon you to keep united, because unity of action and purpose is a sharp weapon against the enemy. The enemy is demoralised. Let us forge ahead with the struggle, Let us fight from mountain to mountain, from valley to valley, from the Kalahari Desert to the Namib Desert in order to ensure the liquidation of the fascist South African illegal administration in our countries, and to achieve genuine freedom and independence, both in South Africa and Namibia.

THIVHELANI THENGISO YA MPHEPHU

Nga la fumiraru la nwedzi wa Khubvumedzi rine ro kandedzwaho fano Afrika Tshipembe ri do hweva hafu muhwalu wa bantustani yo newaho vhudilangi-khole - bantustani ya Venda. Vhahashu, dwadze la kandedzozo li khou rambalala na shango lashu lothe, lo di-imisela u fhedza nga u padukanya shango lashu Afrika Tshipembe rine vharema ri sale na 'mashangohaya' one tshifhinga tshothe a do dzula e na muhala wo farwaho nga mavhuru naho hu nga pfi mabantustani enea o vhofoholowa hani!

Ro di-vhonela na rine uri vhudilangi ha mabantustani vhu amba fhedzi uri zwiboi zwa mavhuru zwi khwathisa kandedzozo heneffa mivhunduni yashu zwi tshi khou shumela vhovhasa vhazwo. Ngei Transkei na Bophuthatswana matshilele a vhatu a khou ya nga u wa. U fana na matungoni othe a Afrika Tshipembe mitengo yo gonya, mishumo a i ho, u hirwa ha dzikhontiraki hu kho anda, mipuluso a i fheli - a ri tsha amba mithelo yo andaho lu shavhisabo u itela uri Mangope na Matanzima vha dzule mapfurani nga tshelede yashu. Vhane vha sa dzhie madcepasi a vhudzulapo vha thambuloni. Vhatu vha valelwa dzidzhele, vha a huvhadzwa henengei...vhanwe vhavho vha vuhahelwa henengei u fana na zwine zwa itea Afrika Tshipembe lothe. Vhane vha dzula dzidoroboni ari di! - vha dzula vhe nyofho-ni; muthu a sa divhi na uri u do pfutsekiswa lini nduni yawe a latelwe henengei mananga hune ha sa vhe na mishumo na vhudzulo.

Ndi kale ro no di vhona uri Mphephu u funa u kombetshedza nga khani vhudilangi-khole hawe ntha ha mahada ashu, u fana na zwe khonani dzawe Matanzima na Mangope vha ita. Maduvha a si gathi o fhiraho Mphephu o vula pholisiteshi tharu. A ri hangwi hafu na dzhele khulu ntswa ine a khou i fhata, ine ya vhidza zwigidi zwa madana matanu a dzirandda. Mphephu o ri thoma - o vusa ndwa! Musi zwalo ralo hafu, muvhuso wa Botha u khou lugisela vhudilangi-khole ha bantustani ya Venda nga u andisa maswole a mavhuru heneffa devhula. Maswole enea a khou fhata dzigamba khulu, midavhi ya mabufho a bulayo, na magondo dzithavhani. Ndi ngani vhavhulahi vhenevha vha tshi... ya nga u anda arali huuri Mphephu na vhovhasa vhave vha a di-kholwa musu vha tshi ri rine ri a vhu funa vhudilangi-khole ha bantustani ya Venda.

POLITIKI YA PHWADUKANYO

Ri a hambula uri mavhuru vho da na politiki yavho ya phandukanyo nga zwituku nga zwituku ro lavhelesa. Vho thoma nga ofisi ngei Gambani ye vha i vhidza uri ndi Vha-be Regional Authority, vha wana zwiboi-nyana zavho uri zwi vha shumele heneffa. Ndi nga tshenetshi tshifhinga he mavhuru a Pitori a thoma u ri khoda nga mirafho nga mirafho. Vha tshi ri nga ngeno Vhavenda vha thanya u u fhira vhonny nga afha; vha tshi toda uri ri vhe na vivho - ri di-vhone sa murafho, ri di-rwe na dzikhana ri ri luambo lwashu ndi lwa manaka-naka u fhira dzinwe nyambo dza vharema Afrika Tshipembe. Vho vha vha tshi itela uri ri hangwe zwa uri ri vhatshi rine vharema rothe Afrika Tshipembe; ri hangwe uri nyambo dzashu vharema rothe dzi fanela u svela phanda dzothe - hai uri luambo lufhio lu fhira lufhio. Ri a hambula hafu vhahashu uri pfano vhuakati hashu yo vha i ya manaka-naka ha'ni vhatu vha tshi malelana naho vha sa ambi luambo luthihi; nahone ro vha ri tshi gudisana nyambo dzashu.

A ri nga do hang a hafu uri nga tshifhinga tshenetshila muvhuso wa mavhuru wo mbc di da na mikano i siho. Ha pfi vhanwe vha pfuluwe. Mukano wa hone vha u vhidza uri ndi wa masonge-songe, u tshi bva Riverplaats, u tsele ngei Mbokota, Mashamba, Masia, Kuru- leni, Pfukane, Shirindi na Piet Boo. Ri a hambula hafu uri wonou mukano wo itwa masonge-songe nga khole uri u ri tanganye dzithoho ri lwe nga tshashu. Ngangoho ya thoma-ha tsumbudzanc - ra farana nga mikulo ri tshi lwela zwipida-nyana zwa shango. Nga ngeno mavhuru a tshi sea a bvisa na mitodzi ngei Pitori a tshi pembelela uri Vhavenda, Vhatshangana na Vhapedi ri khou lwa nga tshashu. Ndi nga tshenetshi tshifhinga he mavhuru vhone vhalutanyi vha swika vha tshi di-ita vhafuna-mulalo!

A zwo ago fnelela heneffa. Mavhuru o svela phanda-ha na phandu- kanyo, a shandukisa dzina la Vhembe a ri ndi Thoho - ya - Ngu Regional Authority. Vho thoma u ri itela phosho dzindeveni vha tshi ri Mphephu ndi murangaphanda washu ngauri a vha khosi. Mavhu-

ru ri a divha rothe uri arali khosi i tshi lwisa kandedzozo, i tshi ima na vhatu, vha a i pandela. Zwenezwi zwi ri hambudza uri, nga zwa vhakale, arali khosi i tshi lwa na vhatu vhayo, vha a i tusa hu dzheniswe khosi ntswa nga vhomakhadzi. Mphephu ha shumeli rine, u shumela vhovhasa vhave vhone vhakandedzi vha Pitori.

Mahola mavhuru o edzisa nga ndila dzothe u nea Mphephu khuliso vha tamba rine uri ri mu kethe khethoni ya bantustani. Matsina vho vha vho rwe fhasi. A ro ngo mu ketha ngauri ri a divha rothe zavhudi-vhudi uri Mphephu a si murangaphanda washu. O kundwa khethoni ngauri rothe a ri mu funi. Ro vha ri tshi nga ketha hani tshiboi tshenetshi tsha mavhuru tsho di-imiselaho u ri dzhi- ela vhudzulapo hashu ha Afrika Tshipembe? Ro vha ri tshi nga mu ketha hani Mphephu a ne a funa vhudilangi-khole vhone ha do ri sia ri dziphuli dza khontiraka; vhudilangi-khole vhone ha sia mivhundu yo novaho u fana na Nyungilandi na hunwe, i zwandani zwa mavhuru. Mphephu o kundwa khethoni ngauri u khou lwa na ripe vharema rothe ndilani yashu ya u lwela mbofholowo yo fhelelaho.

Matsina hafu khethoni dzenedzi ro ketha vhatu vhe vha vha vha sa lwi na Mphephu vha gura heneffa. Hai! Ro ketha vhatu vhe vha vha vha tshi ri a vha funi vhudilangi-khole na kathihi. Ro vha ketha vhenevha vhatu ngauri ro vha ro di-imisela u svela phanda navho ndwani ya mbofholowo. Nga manwe maipfi, ro vha ri sa vha kethi ngauri vha mwenwela na rine kana uri vho swika-fhi nga pfunzo. Vhatu vhe ra vha ketha ro vha ketha ngauri ro vha ri tshi funa uri vha bevele phanda na u lwa na Mphephu ndilani yawe ya vhudilangi-khole. Ro vha ketha ngauri ro vha ri tshi toda uri vha lwele ndivho dza vhatu vhothe vha Afrika Tshipembe vho kandedzwaho.

Vhahashu u tshila ndi u vhona. Namusi u nga ri lo ima nga mile- nze! Vhanwe vha vhenevha vhatu vhe ra tendelana nevho vho no di ri lata. U nga ri u valelwa ha vhanwe vhanedzani na Mphephu (nga murahu ha musu VIP yo mu kunda khethoni), ho dzhenisa vhanwe vhavho phepho. Vhanwe vhavho vho tsetsa - a vha tsha hanedzana na thengiso ya Mphephu ya Vhudilangi-khole. Naa vho vha vha tshi hambula uri musu vha tshi hanedzana na Mphephu mavhuru o vha a tshi do vha litsha mapfurani naa? Murangaphanda wa lushaka Afrika Tshipembe lothe, comrade Nelson Mandela o li vhea nga vhudalo musu a tshi ri: Ndila ya u ya mbofholowoni i a konda. Rothe ri faneia u vudzisa nahone ndi pfanelo yashu uri ri taluts- hedzwe uri ndi ngauri vhatu vhenevha vhe ra vha ketha vha tshi khou di-itisa malalamavhi. Hone a zwi khou amba uri ri dzule nga zwanda ri imele phindulo lini. Ri songo themba muthu nge a ita zwivhuya mahola ri ri u kha di do ita zwivhuya na padwaha kana na nga hu sa fheli. Arali ipfi lo vha li tshi ri HAI mahola ndi nga'ni nanwaha li tshi ri IINA? - huuri ndwa ya u lwisa vhudilangi-khole i fanela u vha ntha na'waha u fhira na kale?

KHA RI VHUMBANE ZWIITONI

Musi ri tshi khou toda thalutshedzo na uri VIP i vhuete tshii- moni tshayo tsha mathomo ro rali, ri songo di-fhedzela tshifhinga nga u dzulela u pikisana nga maipfi. Ri a divha zavhudi-vhudi uri apartheid na tshikimu tshayo tsha mabantustani a ri funi na u i vhona. A ri funi na kathihi vhudilangi-khole vhone Mphephu a do vhu wana nga la fumiraru la September nahone ri fanela u vhu lwisa u fana na mahola.

*Ri ramba vhothe heneffa bantustanini ya Venda uri ni vhone u hana hanu u fhandukanywa ha shango lashu Afrika Tshipembe. Ni songo ya u pembelela kandedzozo nga leneli divha. Hanani u shuma mishumoni yothe i elanaho na ndugiselo dza mipembelo enei. Fhiri- tanyani ndugiselo dzenedzi nga naanda anu othe.

*Ri ramba vhothe vhaswa na zwitshudeni zwa heneffa Venda uri vha vhone nga zwitoni, u hanedzana havho na mabantustani nga vuhali ho no fana na he vha vhuvisa nga 1976-77. Farani no khwathisa u fana na zwitshudeni zwa Thengwe zwa zwa hana u thetshesela vhad- nda vha Mphephu.

*Ri ramba vhothe vhafunambofholowo vha re liboroni la VIP na vhothe vhanwe vha ima nalo uri vha bevele phanda vho khwathisa na tshii mo tsha kale na kale tsha u lwisa vhudilangi-khole. Nahone vha bevele p'anda na u lugisela vhatu vhothe uri vha ime vho halifha - hatsi vhu songo mela - ri tshi lwisa Mphephu na genge yawe.

*Mitangano yothe Afrika Tshipembe yo imelaho ndivho dza vhatu i fanela u vhutshanya vhatu vhothe uri vha sumbedze zwitoni u haned- dzana havho na vhudilangi-khole ha Venda Afrika Tshipembe lothe!

THOMANI ZWINO! HATSI VHU SONGO MELA! THIVHELANI MPHEPHU NA GENGE YAWA TSHIFHINGA TSHI TSHI KHA DI VHA HONE!

Mayibuye No 8 page 6,
August, Year of the Spear

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