



MAYIBUYE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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Mobile Units for escalation of armed struggle

INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE CHRIS HANI, ARMY COMMISSAR AND DEPUTY COMMANDER OF MK

Q: In the *ANC Call to the Nation*, a specific call was made to the people to organise themselves into small mobile units. What created the need for such units and what should be their tasks?

A: We are living through a period where there are very, very sharp contradictions between one hand; the oppressed and the exploited and the ruling class.

Over the past year we have

seen a typical reaction of the ruling class to the mass struggle of the people, to the demands of the people for a new South Africa, for freedom and social justice. This reaction can be summed up as fol-

to deal with what he called troubled areas. And according to his definition of these so-called troubled areas these were the areas where the militancy of the people was most pronounced. Areas or zones of the state of emergency were 36 but this was just to bluff the world and the guillible South African white population. The police and the army who are occupying the townships in our country, behave no different outside the areas of the state of emergency in terms of atrocities they are committing against the people.

MOBILE UNITS

In the light of this violence, the ANC has had to make a definite and precise call to our people. That call generally is around the escalation of the armed struggle. The people faced with this escalating violence on the part of the enemy, have got to organise themselves to step up the revolutionary violence. In other words, it has become incumbent in our situation to tell the people that revolutionary violence is the key answer to the reactionary violence of the enemy. Now specifically, we are raising the question of mobile units. We are attaching a lot of importance to the concept of mobile units in our situation. We know our people are disadvantaged. They are not rather to be compared with the massive sophisticated arms Botha and his army are having. Our peo-

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Youth attacks army patrol in Retreat township. Such actions are on the increase, making certain areas dangerous to patrol by the police and army.

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lows: it is a reaction of an increasingly sharp violence of the enemy. It is a reaction in the form of the state of emergency where the most ruthless methods of suppressing the people are employed.

We are told when Botha declared the state of emergency as a short term measure

EDITORIAL

BOTHA'S MANOEUVRES - STILL-BORN

THE WHITE minority regime has lost important ground that it will never recover again. Its ignoble apartheid policies are in complete shambles. Its strategy for the maintenance of the apartheid system can no longer work. Ahead, on the horizon, looms the birth of a new political and social order.

Botha has tried his level best to reshape his strategy for apartheid rule. His main instruments of repression have been unleashed wantonly on the people — all black areas are patrolled by the fascist police and army. But to the oppressors' chagrin, the people's fear has vanished. It has been replaced by a determination to face the regime's police and army using any weapon they can lay their hands on.

The racists have had to acknowledge that the bantustan system offers no solution; that the urban councils are virtually destroyed in large parts of the country; that the tri-cameral Parliament is still-born. Even to the most optimistic strategists of the regime it is clear that the present predicament of the regime is a result of our struggles which have intensified in the last months.

The racist colonial rulers have become desperate. In their desperation they are looking for even more desperate solutions. Day after day, congress after congress, Botha makes calls to black collaborators to come to his rescue by accepting a meaningless power-sharing. He has his choice of collaborators in the Buthelezis, Kgamaes, Kunenes, etc., but even he knows that these are discredited in the eyes of the people. He needs leaders who can sacrifice the ideals of the people in order to give credibility to his chosen puppets. But even these cannot solve his problems entirely as they too would have ceased to be people's leaders by sacrificing the non-racial

and democratic ideals of the people.

The latest promise in Port Elizabeth that Africans may be allowed into the President's Council is but another attempt to forestall the inevitable down-fall of the white minority regime. It results directly from the intensified struggle of the oppressed and democratic majority. Our offensive of the last twelve months has shown that we have the power to paralyse the apartheid system, that we can make the country ungovernable.

Everywhere in the world where dictatorial regimes have tried at the last moment to instal their own puppets, their fate has been the same — defeat by the popular offensive! Nearer home, we have the example of the Smith regime which tried to stave off its defeat by installing Muzorewa and Sithole. The continued and heightened offensive of the Zimbabwean people defeated them.

The task that faces every patriot at this crucial time is to be part of the offensive of the people. It is particularly important for those in the leadership of the various civic, youth, women, trade union, religious and other organisations, to come together as they have done against the tri-cameral Parliament to reject any of Botha's desperate overtures. At the same time we must continue our offensive against those puppets who think they can sell us out with impunity. Our determined effort must render all Botha's manoeuvrings still-born.

MAKE APARTHEID UNWORKABLE!
MAKE THE COUNTRY
UNGOVERNABLE!
Forward to People's Power!
Long Live the ANC — the
Vanguard of Our
Revolution!

BLACK SOLDIER, POLICEMAN!

Now is
 The Time to Choose!
STOP KILLING YOUR OWN PEOPLE!

Brother soldier, policeman!

* The people of South Africa are on the march to freedom. Botha and his clique admit they are in crisis.

* The people and their army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are delivering telling blows for the destruction of apartheid, for peoples democracy.

* The world is united in its condemnation of apartheid. Even Botha's friends can no more stand in the open in his defence.

The fate of the oppressors is sealed
 This is your Time
 to Choose!

Brother soldier, policeman!

* You are being used to keep in power the owners of factories, mines, banks and farms who live by sucking the blood of your people. They have put you in uniform because they are few and we are many.

* Those who hire you live in comfort and enjoy many privileges. Your lot are the bantustans and landlessness, ghettos and passes, Group Areas and dummy parliaments, compounds and hostels.

* Within the army and police you are subjected to harsh treatment. Your living conditions are far below those of your white masters. Your wages are low and your food unbearable. Yours is to carry out the hardest and most dangerous tasks, to serve as a shield for the racists.

* The 'law and order' you are called upon to defend is the law of suffering and pain for your kith and kin, the order of unending slavery for the black people.

You have a role to play in bringing an end to the unjust system
 Now is your Time
 to Choose!

Brother soldier, policeman!

* You have been told that you are defending the people. *But* are you not drowning your children, brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, relatives and fellow blacks in blood?

* You have been told you are defending your family. *But* are you not living in shame, rejected and isolated by your own people? Haven't many of your colleagues and families perished at the hands of the oppressed people?

* You have been told the racists are superior and invincible. *But* is the regime not starting to crumble; has it not failed to protect you? The racists care less about you because they see you as kaffirs, coolies and hotnots at their beck and call, cannon-fodder to be sacrificed in the townships and in Namibia.

You can liberate yourself from his shameful life and
 become part of the people once more.
 Choose now before It's
 Too Late!

Brother soldier, policeman!

* You can and must *join the fight* for freedom:

• refuse to shoot your own people; point your guns at the enemies of freedom.

• join the mass and armed actions of the people.

* You can and must *strike a blow for freedom* wherever you are:

• give them information about enemy plans and actions.

• take action against the officers and commanders, sabotage equipment and logistics, disrupt transport, communications and energy.

* You can and must *become part of the organised* fighting contingent:

• organise your friends into small units to carry out these and other actions.

• form small circles to discuss the politics of liberation and spread the voice of freedom.

• the ANC and MK are among the people; organise those around you and come in large numbers into the ranks of the people's movement.

Start now!! Take a Small Step Forward!! Pass this Leaflet On!!

JOIN THE PEOPLE! STRIKE A BLOW FOR FREEDOM!

Botha's men unmasked

FOR YEARS, events in our country have been gradually forcing Chief Buthelezi and some of his top lieutenants to bare themselves to the people, to expose themselves to be nothing else but tools of the apartheid regime which it can use at any convenient moment. In the course of events, they have even begun to compete with the regime to try and prove to it how loyal they are.

We have always known that Chief Buthelezi and his fellow-butchers in the Central Committee of Inkatha are counter-revolutionaries, but there was a time when we believed that they could still be redeemed. However, even then, they would opportunistically misuse any contact with the African National Congress to try and earn for themselves some respectability among the people. When their tactic was being exposed to the people they began claiming that the ANC was going to physically attack them. They were trying to set the ANC against the people but the people were not deceived. The only people who were impressed were the racist rulers for whom any doubt as to the allegiance of Buthelezi and his aides was removed.

Once these puppets had been exposed, their tribalism and pathetic faith in the bantustan system were out in the open. With characteristic disdain for the intelligence of the people they began to force a lot of people into the so-called Zulu cultural liberation movement which has been transformed into their armed-wing against the people.

They can no longer hide their hideous faces from the people. Their hands are dripping with the blood of Anti-SAIC campaigners in 1979, of school children in 1981, of workers in Richards Bay, of students of Ongoye, of Victoria Mxenge and mourners from her memorial service.

FALSE FIGURES

Presently, Chief Buthelezi and one of his central committee members, Winnington Sabela, have vowed to destroy the UDF in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Houses of leaders and activists of this democratic organisation have been attacked by impis of Inkatha backed by the SAP and SADF. No amount of bombastic and slanderous words against the

ANC can convince the people that he is working for the liberation of the black people. As his master — Botha — said a few weeks ago; he has crossed his Rubicon.

Never have we heard of an attack by these impis on the colonial regime. Instead, Buthelezi continually tries to convince the people that the South African regime is too strong to be defeated through armed or mass struggle. He calls on the people to struggle but to wait for him to negotiate for them. Who is he who can accomplish what the people cannot? Using his royal background and Inkatha impis, he is trying to halt the advance of the people. And of course, the mass media of the regime calls him the leader of six million Zulus. They call his Inkatha the biggest black organisation. This is deliberate. He is being projected by those he serves.

POWER HUNGRY

In him and his aides, many counter-revolutionary forces have seen the power-hungry opportunists they can use. They all flirt with them. They all have one thing in common — they are opposed to any meaningful action to bring into being a united, de-

mocratic and non-racial South Africa. They refuse to initiate or participate in any mass action. They are opposed to the international isolation of apartheid South Africa. They are virulently opposed to armed struggle and are happy to justify the apartheid violence whenever it is unleashed on the people.

For some years now, Ronald Reagan and Chester Crocker, have cultivated Buthelezi and Inkatha as the possible alternative to the ANC and the Freedom Charter. They have taught him a song whose words have no meaning for us but plenty for him and his cohorts. That is the song of 'free enterprise'. They try to pose this 'free enterprise' against the genuine demands of the people contained in the Freedom Charter. But their 'free enterprise' means but one thing — that the poverty of the people will continue because the wealth of the country and the land will still remain in the hands of the present property owners.

ALLIANCE

There will be a share for those installed in power and increased poverty for the masses. There is nothing the proponents of this idea fear more than the ANC and the Freedom Charter because they stand for genuine abolition of poverty and oppression of the people. Thus, for Reagan, the enemy of free-

dom all over the world, Chief Buthelezi and his organisation are his kind of people.

Recently, he has started hobnobbing very closely with Dr Van Zyl Slabbert of the Progressive Federal Party. Together they have trotted out the idea of a Convention Alliance. It is a matter of record that none of those that the people consider as genuine leaders are part of this Alliance. The purpose of all this manoeuvring is patently clear. It is to stop the struggle and create the possibility for Botha, Buthelezi and Slabbert — backed by the Reagan Administration — to impose a reformist 'solution' on us and leave the apartheid system intact.

BOTHA'S MAN

The state run SABC has been recently busy portraying Chief Buthelezi as its most important man in the constitutional manoeuvrings that Botha is engaged in. Clearly, since August 15 when Botha made his statement in the Natal National Party Congress he has been trying to prepare his party for Buthelezi's next role.

Like all reactionary elements who will sell and murder their people for self interests, the future of Chief Buthelezi and other Inkatha leaders is bleak. The popular resistance to Inkatha impis and the open support for the African National Congress continue to grow.

For all those who are forced by tradition and fear to join Inkatha, now is the time to stand up and join the people. When Buthelezi spoke on behalf of Botha against the ANC on September 29, he howled loudly that the ANC was calling on his supporters to leave him. There was fear in his voice. The fear was justified because without the inflated Inkatha membership he is nothing.

Let us again renew our effort to isolate the reactionary Inkatha leadership from the masses of our people. There must be no cover to hide their hideous faces. Let them sink with the apartheid ship they have boarded.



Florence Mophosho - Obituary

KEMOABILE MOPHOSHO, Sis or Aunt Flo, to the older or younger generation of the African National Congress respectively, was born in Alexandra Township in 1921. Her parents — John and Esther — had two other children. Comrade Florence schooled at the Holy Cross Mission in "township" from standard one to six. Her mother trained as a teacher but had to work as a domestic because of the racist colonial system, while her father was an invalid.

Comrade Florence left school at standard six due to poverty. She then worked as a nurse aid at the General Hospital in Johannesburg. Later she worked as a domestic and still later as a factory hand. In her spare time she liked to play tennis and was a talented singer.

SHE DEDICATED HER LIFE TO POLITICS

Once drawn into the political arena, she dedicated her whole life to it. She was a close friend to Helen Joseph and other stalwarts in the South African Federation of Women (Fedsaw) and the ANC Women's League. Comrade Flo was in the Transvaal Executive of the SAFW in 1952. She had joined the ANC during the Defiance Campaign and was a regular participant in all future campaigns and in the distribution of the movement's information. In 1955 she was not only amongst the organisers for the Congress of the People, but was also a delegate. In 1956 she was amongst 20,000 women who marched to the Union Buildings to confront the then racist Prime Minister, Strydom.

AN ORGANISER

She continued to be active in the ANC and women's struggle until she left the country in 1964. She was a full-time organiser in various campaigns including the anti-pass campaign, the Alexandra bus boycott and the potato boycott. She was also responsible for organising domestic workers and the people in general in the rural areas around Lichtenburg.

She was arrested several times and went underground during the 1960 state of emergency. Outside the country, after 1964, Comrade Flo was the first ANC representative to the Women's International Democratic Federation — WIDF. She excelled

in her work here and firmly established the place and role of the South African women in international women's democratic movement. Later, she was appointed head of the ANC Women's Section. When the journal of the women's section — Voice of Women — was started, she was its most tireless worker and contributor.

In 1981, due to ill-health, she relinquished her position as Head of the ANC Women's Section but continued as a member of the NEC, the highest body of the ANC in between conferences.

She had been elected into this body in 1975 and was re-elected in 1985 at the 2nd Consultative Conference of the ANC. She passed away on the 9th August 1985 — the 29th Anniversary of the South African Women's Day — a day which symbolises the work to which she dedicated her life. She is survived by her daughter, Maggie.

MALIBONGWE IGAME LA-MAKHOSIKAZI!

TSAMAYA SENTLE MME FLO!

IT IS appropriate that we should recall what she said to the 2nd National Consultative Conference, because it was a message not just to the Conference, but to our movement as a whole. A message to our people. She wrote:

"Dear comrades, I wish to register my sincere, fraternal greetings to our historic conference taking place at the most crucial time of our bitter struggle, when forces of terror have gone out to destroy us physically after they have failed to do so morally since 1912. Our struggle has now reached its highest peak where it is now a force recognised by friend and foe. It has had its ups and downs like the struggle of its nature faced by internal and external imperialist forces. Hence, today it has reached a peak where the enemy cannot ignore us as a force. The barbaric massacre which is not an unusual occurrence should not shake us, but it should make us more determined for further onslaught where the enemy will feel it more. In this barbaric massacre innocent Botswana citizens and rightful refugees entitled to that status were brutally massacred under the pretext that they were ANC."

"I take this opportunity of saluting all martyrs. Their blood will be avenged as Umkhonto we Sizwe lives in the midst of our people. We must be proud as this conference is taking place when fascism has unleashed its terror on our people. We must be proud of the challenge. This demonstrates the nature of the conference we are holding."

"We should pave our way forward for the seizure of state power. I can assure you comrades that this seizure of power we shall achieve sooner than realised"

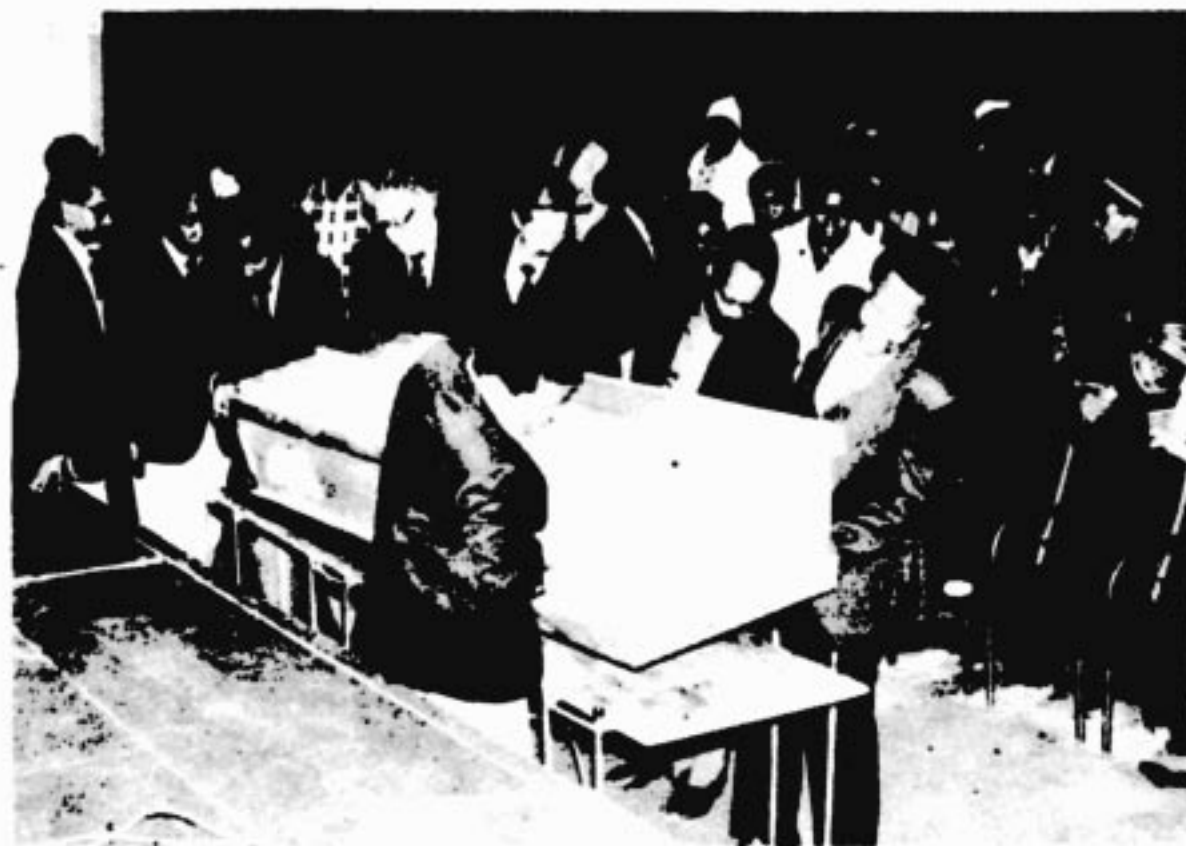
She ends up, *"We owe our gratitude to President Kaunda whom we have burdened with the conference. True to his ideals of One Southern Africa, One Nation!"*

"My regrets for my inability to be with you in attending conference due to my minor illness."

"Once again I wish our conference every success in paving the way forward"

FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!

ABOVE IS the letter written to the ANC 2nd National Consultative Conference by Comrade Florence Mophosho who could not attend because of ill health. Despite her absence, she was elected by conference to the NEC of the African National Congress.



Members of the NEC carry Cde Mophosho's coffin. In the background MK combatants carry Cde Joseph "Sparks" Pooe's coffin.

MOBILE UNITS Continued

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ple are not armed. But we are saying to our people, use every weapon that you can lay your hands on. From a stone to a molotov cocktail. From a stone to a grenade, sub-machine gun and anything you can lay your hands on. Use everything that is available to fight back, to inflict casualties on the enemy. We must begin to pay a lot of attention to the way we are organised in dealing with the enemy. The fundamental issue now is one of tactics — tactics of war. Being weak compared to the enemy, we must always ensure that when we strike at the enemy, we have got good chances of inflicting a big blow and getting away. We must understand the tactics of sneak and surprise attacks. Secondly, when we speak of mobile units, we speak of units which can move from one flash point to another, to attack the enemy whenever it moves against the people. These mobile units should be seen as a protecting shield to those thousands of people who are showing very deep heroism and are making sacrifices.

These mobile units should be preferably built from our young people — the youth of our country — our youth in schools, universities, factories, farms and mines. They must make the fullest use of their physical capabilities to run, hide, trap and strike at the enemy when it is not expecting an attack, these are some of the things our people must begin to master — especially the youth.

The people must be careful about presenting themselves as targets to the enemy. The people are very angry, they are in an emotional state of mind, and that anger is understandable within the light of murders the enemy is committing. There is justification for this anger, but it should not substitute cool and calculated planning.

Q Are these units different from MK or are they to be looked upon as part and parcel of MK?

A: No, there is no dividing wall between the units and MK. These units are a reaction

to our call, that we must expand the People's Army. It should grow within our country. It should be trained by us. For instance, it is the duty of the units, wherever possible, to look for MK because MK is also looking for those units. Some of these units have been set up consciously by MK, by our organisation — the ANC. These units must expand and enrich MK.

Those are paramilitary units. In a free country, there would be a regular army and paramilitary units of the people. Among the tasks of the regular army is the training of the militia paramilitary units, who are going to ensure that the gains of the revolution and independence are protected. In our situation we are saying not everybody will get hold of a sophisticated weapon. Not everybody will get a chance to go to train outside. Not everybody will be within the



Matthew Goniwe, people's leader who was murdered with three other leaders. The mobile units must not only attack the enemy, but defend them against the regime's squads.

MK units, but we are saying in addition to what MK is doing, the people must form these paramilitary units. They must use as a basis, guidelines of MK. Some of them may ultimately graduate to become commanders and commissars and members of MK having graduated in action and having gained experience in the cause of daily confrontations with the enemy.

Q: Are there any of such units that have been created already. If so what methods are they using to organise, and attack the enemy?

A: MK, following the instructions of the ANC, has gone into the country and has set up units. For instance, MK has been instrumental in building and consolidating grenade squads, and the basic purpose in setting up these grenade squads has been to harass the enemy. To harass the army of occupation in our townships. To deal with the leading collaborators in our community, like the community councillors, notorious members of the police and the special branch. We have created a number of these units: in the Rand,

Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Border and Natal. These units have been in action now for a number of months, attacking the enemy. We now have a definite programme of enlarging these units, of improving the capacity and skill of these units. This is an ongoing programme of enlarging these in addition to the sophisticated and qualitative attacks by MK in our townships and the rural areas.

WHITE AREAS

We want to emphasize once more the importance of extending the war into the white areas. We think that this position has become crucial. For a number of reasons. So far, the theatre of war in our country is in the townships where our people stay. Our townships are presently occupied by the SADF, the security police and all sorts of military units or the security police of the enemy. We have seen the sadism, the murders and the viciousness of the SADF and its upshoots in our townships. Everyday, if you open the radio or read South African newspapers, you come across tales of cruelty of murder of the young and the old. You come through horrifying stories of the rape of our women, of the beating up of school kids, of a situation where the residents of our townships can't be sure whether they will see the next day. It's a situation of complete ruthlessness, of acts of atrocities against the blacks in our country. Now, in the face of that situation, it is important that the whites should realise that our country is in a state of civil war, because nothing is taking place where they stay. Their suburbs are still pictures of peace of stability and the usual rhythm of life continues. They don't hear of explosions. They don't hear of tales of notorious member of the racist administration being dealt with ... precisely because the whites are enjoying conditions of stability. Their lives are not disturbed. It has become crucial for our struggle to extend the war into white areas.

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Prosperity for a few

TALKS ABOUT sanctions against South Africa is a spectre that sends a chill down the spine of the regime and its apologists. This has in fact sent the envoys of apartheid reeling around the world shouting about prospects of 'reform' while the country is in flames and repression is mounting.

The angels of death, Botha and his generals, are tossing and twirling like restive beasts invaded by lice. They declare to the world that a healthy racist economy is an essential ingredient for change. They defy memories of yesterday. The memories of the boom of the 60's and 70's when their predecessors felt so comfortable they took a vow never to end apartheid. They went on to lavish millions of rands on the failing bantustans and other apartheid structures, to the detriment of the oppressed. They were floating in a fantasy which they thought would last forever.

During the boom period of the apartheid economy, blacks were the very last in the line of enjoying the fruits of that boom. Poverty-related diseases like kwashiorkor; removals which affected more than 4 million people and extreme repression were the lot of the oppressed and exploited masses. They harshly enforced discriminatory laws polarising blacks and whites. They strengthened the Bantu Education system, incapacitated democratic trade unionism, stifled political opposition and culminated in the bloody Massacre of Soweto - June 16 - and its aftermath amongst others.

DIVIDENDS

What of the racist army which is no army but an 'efficient killing machine' whose fangs were sharpened into a poisonous snake? The growth of this army which not only daily is invading, killing, maiming or abusing us in the township, but is prepared to attack other African countries, in a way similar to Hitler's in Europe, is a direct dividend of the boom.

Who in actuality and deed gained from foreign investments in racist South Africa? The mining magnates,

those of their ilk and the oppressive state. They all went laughing to the bank when black families were torn apart by influx control and poverty.

The plight of blacks in the mines and other industries increased as the racist army stood at the ready to break away strikes. It was during this period of the boom that white opposition from either the left or the right was taboo. What the racists were putting up was an image of a monolithic racist front against the oppressed. But times have changed, differences on methods of rule are sprouting up in the white community like sudden cracks on the mast of a deep-sea cruiser. The peril of economic isolation of racist South Africa has become too real to ignore. Hence battle lines are surfacing between those who want to die with apartheid and those who wish to save themselves.

For us, the realisation down these years has been clear and simple. A healthy racist economy cannot but bring another Sharpeville, Soweto, Langa, etc., the shameful blood-spilling of the oppressed. Therefore, the bitter lesson of history is that the future of the oppressed lies in the people's control of the economy.

FALSE FRIENDS

Reagan, Thatcher and other likeminded imperialists' spokespersons defend the racists against sanctions. They say it will bring an economic downfall which can only hurt blacks.

All those who claim to speak for us now were our enemies yesterday when there was an economic boom. What will prevent them scurrying back to the regime's side if the economy picks up?

From the people's perspective, sanctions, if imposed, would immeasurably shorten the life-span of the apartheid system and reduce the loss of life that must necessarily accompany the struggle against it. Sanctions would in no way harm the majority of our people more than the existence of the fascist system. The notion that blacks would suffer more if sanctions were imposed, as Pre-

sident Oliver Tambo has said recently: "... is used by those who are in fact likely to suffer more. That is, those who are getting the best out of the status quo, out of the system - they will suffer".

We the oppressed and democratic forces have our role to play to speed up the process of sanctions against the apartheid rulers. We have seen that whenever the regime was experiencing rapid economic growth, the spoils from this were used to intensify our oppression. Our united offensive and co-ordination with international solidarity to isolate racist South Africa will weaken the economy and might of the apartheid state.

What type of actions can we take further to isolate the racists? The following are some of the actions:

- * to write letters in masse to managers of such companies and urge them to withdraw their companies from South Africa:

- * involve means and methods to make impossible the functioning of foreign companies in our country.

- * step up our efforts to make the country ungovernable and the system unworkable.

Foreign supporters of the enemy must be made to fear to tread in the battlefield that our country is.

SANCTIONS



NOW!

War must extend to all areas

WITH CONSISTENT invariability, the Pretoria regime displays its intransigence whenever it is under mounting pressure to change its satanic apartheid policies. It buries its head in the sand like an ostrich, trying to wish away the crisis that its policies are in.

The majority of the white South Africans choose to follow its example because they do not want to accept the reality that the days of their abundant economic and social privileges are coming to an end. They choose to live in a world of make believe where the anger and war in the black townships cannot be imagined spilling over into their 'safe' domains. They find it all too easy to lap up what the Botha regime feeds them on their television screens, namely, that "the war is amongst the moderate and revolutionary blacks" in the townships.

What comes to them on their TV screens is the brutality of the police and army, who are doing everything to crush the popular revolt or, at best, trying to confine it to the black areas. Outwardly, this is viewed as the necessary assurance that the white privileged conditions of living will continue, and therefore, that there is no need to join the forces fighting to destroy the apartheid system and replacing it with a non-racial and democratic people's government. Inwardly, none is unaware of the regime's feverish search for new ways of apartheid rule and the economic crisis gripping the country. The drawing card is the privileged comforts.

DEMOCRATS

Opposed to this group is a tiny, but steadily growing group of white democrats and patriots, whose love for South Africa and all its people has made it able to transcend the lure of temporary privileges accorded to the whites at the expense of the black oppressed. Rather, it has found common cause with the oppressed and exploited majority. This group today draws a lot of its components from the activists of the legal days of the Congress Alliance, students, academics, professionals and religious people. There is an urgent need to expand the social composition of this group to include a

growing number of white workers.

For as long as the self-induced trance of the white racists continues, the regime will be strengthened in its intransigence. The callous Botha regime will not balk at dragging along its supporters to the hell-fire that awaits it. They are, after all, mere tools to be used to achieve the evil designs of the Nationalist Party and its splinter groups.

There is a need to shatter the dream world of all these whites who cling to their comforts at the expense of the black majority.

WHITE DOORSTEP

To completely shatter this this fantasy-filled world means that we must begin to bring the war to the doorstep of white South Africa. The heads of the ostriches have to be forcibly dragged out of the sand to face the reality around them. They will have to see the fire in our country and know that even though the flames are still only visible in the black areas, they will soon also be consumed by them. The fascist rulers cannot extinguish the flames of change held high by the people.

Only when we have spread the war to the white areas will the white racists begin to realise that Botha and his murderous generals have not resorted to martial law and full-scale repression without the full realisation that their privileged white kingdom has no future at all. It will only then become clear that these are the regime's desperate attempts to hang on to a shattered dream of yesterday.

What is entailed in our task to take the war into the white areas? The primary factor is the speedy growth of the democratic and patriotic forces within the white population. The responsibility for this growth lies largely with those who already find themselves within the broad democratic movement. This group that has already rejected the blood-stained comforts dished out by the white minority regime has to initiate action

in the white areas together with the rest of the democratic movement. This action must aim to challenge the apartheid system and demonstrate its utter bankruptcy.

The growth of the actions of the democratic forces must urgently work towards involving all those white forces are becoming disillusioned with the apartheid colonial regime. In this way we will be neutralising a lot of Botha's potential supporters and demonstrating to others that their future lies with the oppressed and democratic majority.

NOW NOT LATER

The events in some white Cape Town suburbs, where black youth brought the reality of the black ghettos to the white mansions, showed the inclination of a lot of racists. They went for their guns and bought even more. But as the storm breaks, the choice no longer will be either to be with the people or not, because events will determine the fate of those who would have left it too late to desert the fascists. *Now* is the time to choose and *not later*.

The Botha regime has already shown that it sees little difference between its white and black opponents. As long as they are a real challenge, it can murder, maim or jail either. It has already shown itself when it sent its police to surround a white school where students were displaying their solidarity with their black brothers and sisters. It is clear that even the choice to reject the proffered privileges cannot be made freely without threats. Whoever accepts them accepts them willingly, more so when they are stained with the blood and sweat of the exploited masses of our people.

This brings us to the white workers. This sector has always lorded it over the black workers. Not only has it witnessed the brutal exploitation of the black workers but it has been in the forefront to try and squeeze the most for itself out of this brutal exploitation.

The growth of the democratic trade union movement and the rapid politicisation of the black workers in the past seven years has begun to dig

the grave of white worker privilege. But it is only with more strikes and industrial sabotage that many of the white workers will be forced to realise where their future lies. The Johannesburg municipal strike in 1980, the mine-workers' strikes in 1984-85, the Transvaal stayaway, and others, have gone a long way to show what the future holds for those who continue to consort with apartheid.

The industrial commandoes who protect the factory owners' property and stand ready to brutally crush our strikes can only be defeated by strengthening our organisations in the factories, mines and farms; by forming underground units and combat groups in the places of work and taking such actions as sabotage and disruption of the enemy's oil, energy, transport, communications and other vital systems.

There is a small section of white workers who have always believed in militant democratic trade unionism. Over the years there has been some growth in these ranks but not enough. The action taken by the white Boilermakers Society to find common struggle with black workers was one of the most commendable actions by the white democratic trade union movement to take actions calculated to ensure that the future course of events in South Africa sees the workers movement as a major component of the forces facing the apartheid oppressors.

Action must be visible in the white areas. And the only ones who can make it visible are the full-scale fighters for freedom — black and white. The battle-lines are drawn! And, as one leaflet distributed in South Africa recently by the ANC states: "*The issue today is not whether or no: freedom for the people will come. The question is on which side you should be — whether to perish with apartheid or to live with the forces for democracy and peace.*"

In the next issue of Mayibuye we will look at the issue of taking the war to the white areas from the perspective of people's war and hitting the heart of the enemy.

Mobile Units - from pg.5

Q Is there a possibility of these mobile units growing to such strength that the idea of *no go areas* for isolated individuals or pockets of the enemy's police or armed personnel becomes a reality both in the townships and white suburbs?

A: Already without exaggeration, some areas are *no go areas* in our country. But I want to explain our concept of *no go areas*. When we speak of *no go areas* we mean areas where the enemy can't go without being escorted by the army, the security police, the police. The enemy knows that as soon as the army, the tanks, the Caspirs are removed, it has no authority in those areas. The authority is in the hands of the people. Now, these mobile units' basic tasks are to ensure that the organs we have referred to in the past, the organs of people's power, are there. But of course the enemy is occupying the townships to ensure that these organs of people's power are not effective in running the lives of the people in the townships. We want to bog down these troops so that there is no situation where the enemy can move in without being heavily armed or without deploying its forces. It is part of our strategy of attacking the enemy in as many places as possible.

RURAL AREAS

That is why, for instance, we are attaching a lot of fundamental importance to the question of extending the armed struggle and political struggle to the rural areas, so that the enemy should be overstretched. Our people must understand that it is important to overstretch the enemy. Hence, the people in the urban areas who have acquired a lot of political consciousness in the cause of the political and military struggle over the past few years, must understand the importance of extending the struggle into the rural areas. A lot of them have got rural backgrounds. They must use that advantage now to go and set up similar units in the rural areas. To harass the administration of the rural areas, to render the rural areas ungovernable in the same way as they have clearly made

many urban areas ungovernable.

Q: What should be the role of the ANC underground, especially, the political, in this process

A: The ANC underground is the most important element in our struggle. The ANC is the vanguard of the liberation movement in our country. It is like a heart in the human organism. The heart is an important organ in a human body because it pumps life to the different parts of the body. That is why if the heart collapses then life ceases. It keeps the human organism alive and active by ensuring that there is proper distribution of whatever the human body needs. The ANC then occupies that position in our struggle. It has got to ensure that the people understand the strategy and tactics of our revolution. It has to be the first on the ball — to use the cliché. It has to deepen any form of struggle and qualitatively change that form of struggle. It has to guide the churches; it has to guide the armed struggle. It has to tell our people, for instance, what tactics to employ from time to time. It has to process the right recruits for MK and for the mobile units as well. We know that Coetzee and the other generals, the security forces services and the police, have got on their agenda an important item of infiltrating people's organisation as much as possible.

So, the ANC must ensure that it imparts all the revolutionary ideas and theories in terms of building not only itself, but ensuring that the mass movement develops along the right lines and is not hijacked by opportunists. It has to prevent a situation where unprincipled positions are taken in the course of our struggle and ensure that our people are not diverted from the revolutionary path of struggle, that the programme of the revolution is not diluted in terms of short-term gains of opportunists. We must be aware that opportunists are at work. Botha is looking for allies to talk to, 'moderates', which are going to ensure that the ruling class — Botha and others — remain in power and we are given cos-

metic changes which do nothing, which do not affect the basic position of the white minority which still clings to power. In other words, the monitoring of the situation, the giving of clear guidelines to our people, becomes the important task of the ANC underground.

It is important for us to divide our forces, the forces of the struggle. Whilst it is pressing to strengthen the mass movement, we should not strengthen the mass movement at the expense of the underground, because the two are complementary. A weak ANC underground will contribute to a weak mass movement. You can't have a strong mass movement and a weak ANC underground. Both of them are important. And,

in our case, the ANC has got to be strong to ensure that they are powerful and clearly understand the position they have to take from time to time. This should be so especially at this crucial period, when the enemy is deeply worried about the fact that its positions are being weakened, that inside the country, politically speaking, it is rejected by our people. Our people are engaged in consumer boycotts, the youth of our country is engaging - the armed forces, and also, internationally, the movement for sanctions and disinvestment is gaining a momentum not witnessed before. Therefore, we need a strong ANC to strategise and to put before the people the correct tactics from time to time.

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

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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	
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Shortwave 31mb, 9750 KHz	6.15 a.m. Tues, Thurs, Sat

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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!!!