



# MAYIBUYE

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

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## FORWARD WITH THE ANTI-APARTHEID COALITION

The regime's banning of the Anti-apartheid Conference clearly reflects the depth of fear gripping the ruling clique. In the sense that the Conference was a forum to help chart the way out of the crisis afflicting our country, Botha's reaction was to be expected. What else can the rulers do, except to suppress all initiatives which would deprive them of the dubious opportunity to bungle things unhindered!

But if, by this action, Botha and his generals hope to have a sound sleep, this is not the time to even wish the nightmares away. Neither would such a moment ever come. Their main reason for the ban was that the conference would generate a mood of boycott against the Local Affairs elections. But the distaste of the majority of South Africans against apartheid structures has been demonstrated over and over again; in street battles and street committees, in statements resounding from churches, temples and mosques, in the clear positions taken by democratic organisations, and in the actions of Umkhonto we Siswe. If anything, the Anti-apartheid Conference would have simply confirmed this popular feeling.

The conference was not a bolt from an otherwise clear, blue sky. A participant in the pre-Conference discussions captures this quite lucidly: "The process of negotiation and discussion was more important than the Conference itself. The Conference would have been the cherry on top of the cake"

Prior to September 24th, consultations had taken place among the widest range of anti-apartheid forces ever. By the time of Conference, these forces had thrashed out the minimum platform and broad guidelines for a programme of action against apartheid. In other words, the 600 delegates

were to finalise what had already been broadly agreed upon.

This is just in itself a major achievement, thanks to the pioneering role of the democratic movement. Even after the banning, consultations continued among those who had assembled at the venue - such as the civics, COSATU, Inyadza and the NMD. This process cannot be reversed.

Yet, in retrospect, there are a number of questions that should continue to engage our minds, the better to consolidate our successes.

The call for an Anti-Apartheid Conference was first made by the UDF in 1987. However, it took more than a year and reiteration by COSATU to start the preparatory process in earnest. As a

result and given the deadline we had set ourselves - consultations among prospective participants spanned a relatively brief period, and discussion within these structures was not extensive enough.

All prospective allies should have been more active in the preparations. The participants needed not only to feel that they are part of this initiative, but also to take active part in shaping its content and form. Indeed, the fact that the overwhelming majority of the invitees accepted the substance of the proposals made by the initiators shows that the mass democratic movement occupies the central position among the broad anti-apartheid forces, and is recognised by them as such. It should further win their confidence not only by correctly representing their views and aspirations, but also by involving them in the conception and leadership of all joint initiatives.

This flaw cannot be used to question the overall effort to unite anti-apartheid forces. But to test whether those who



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# EDITORIAL

Dear Reader,

Imagine a spot where soldiers and police outnumber civilians by more than thirty to one; a spot viewed with suspicion and distaste by the majority of the people. Guess what such a place could be. And you will certainly be wrong because this is no military or police establishment. It is a polling station in South Africa's strange Local Affairs elections. For twelve odd days prior to October 26th, the regime and its puppets have been using all tricks in the book to lure people to take part in the so-called Prior Vote.

No special reason was required for one to cast his/her Special Vote between October 10th and 22nd. No one, except those who have prepared the voters' roll was allowed to examine the registration papers. Many had been registered without their knowledge - from housing waiting lists, hostel bed allocations and so on. Many rose from the dead to cast their votes.

By staggering the voting dates, the regime hoped to find some "sneak voters" - imaginary past masters in stealth who would defy the popular will. Through this protracted exercise which is difficult to monitor, Botha and his generals created the platform to inflate the turnout figures. By the 22nd, all sorts of percentages had been concocted.

But what is the reality?

It has become clear that even this hat-trick turned out to be a gigantic flop. In most areas, the number of black people who turned up on each day can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Even the main target of the warped racists' intimidation - the aged and the infirm - refused to cower to state coercion. In areas such as Walmer, Langelihle and Kwanobuhle in the Eastern Cape and in Sobantu, Klaarwater, Lamontville and Chesterville in Natal, there was to be no voting at all because the regime was not able to find candidates or because those who were standing had not found fellow puppets to shadow-box with.

This does not come as a surprise to the people and their organisations. It should not surprise the regime or its supporters. The sham elections and the constitution on which they are based are rejected by the overwhelming majority of the people. The call for a boycott from the churches, mosques and temples was heeded because it reflected the position and feelings of the people. The organisational effort of the democratic movement - both underground and above board - is bearing fruit because the people do not want toy telephones. The intensified campaign of Umkhonto we Sizwe is made possible by the support and involvement of the broad masses because it gives a cutting edge to the popular mass struggles for people's power. The international community has taken a firm stand against these elections because they are a perpetuation of a crime against humanity. All the four pillars, in combination, have added together to make the boycott victory a foregone conclusion.

But the campaign against the Local Affairs elections is more than just about the issue of boycott. It is a platform to engage in mass revolt to render apartheid unworkable, to destroy these and other racist structures and in their place create organs of people's power. The massive boycott and protest actions around October 26th should develop into systematic mass actions on all fronts of struggle. Amongst the most urgent tasks is that of setting the envisaged anti-apartheid coalition on an operational footing to ensure all-round united mass action. Let us turn Botha's defeat into a rout.

**FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!**

## HELP SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF THE ANC PASS MAYIBUYE ON

- Give it to your friends and family;
- Drop it in a nearby postbox or yard;
- Stick it onto a public wall or bus shelter at night; and
- Discuss the issues raised with the people you meet and friends.

**BE CAREFULL!!**

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN TO  
SAVE ALL THE  
PATRIOTS, INCLUDING  
THE SHARPEVILLE SIX  
FROM PRETORIA'S  
HANGMAN!



# ROT WITHIN THE SYSTEM

**A rotten potato does not change its state because of the shiny foil paper that it is to be baked in. The rotten core remains and if it is left as it is, even within that shiny wrapping the rot will continue to eat deep into it.**

The bantustan system, born out of the failure of the apartheid system, even though it was brought in to try to give life to this system, contains within it the very rot that will eventually lead to its destruction. To present it to us as the ultimate solution to the landlessness and economic and political powerlessness of the African people, the racists have pumped a lot of money into it and created an elite ruling class which is portrayed as the successful class of people who have benefitted from the bantustan system.

But as we have witnessed recently, the very advertising tricks that have been employed to promote this system are the very ones that have led to serious upheavals in the various bantustans. The rapid transformation of former school leaders and inspectors, clerks and chiefs, etc, into rich property owners has led to discontent among people. The ruthlessness with which these "politically successful" groups hold on to power, has made the people even more determined to dislodge them from power.

In a normal situation we would expect that the self-enriching corruption would be toned down to quell the discontent among the people. We would expect that a semblance of democratic rule would be put into practice to extinguish the fire of revolt that is creeping among the people. But it is not so here. The corruption and political ruthlessness are inherent in this system. It would not survive another day if there were no corrupt officials to benefit from the system or if the people were allowed to voice their rejection of it.

Let the system cannot go of its own. We must **destroy** it, we must approach the issue of its destruction with more urgency than we have done before. Within the plans of the regime this apartheid appendage's role is going to be elevated to an even higher plane. With the local elections over, the regime will seek to bring onto the stage these men and women who have stood patiently by, awaiting their chance at so-called national politics.

For the immediate aims of the regime they will play a role in its "regional development" plans. As can be expected, in its division of the country into development regions, the regime tries to portray South Africa as a constellation of independent and non-independent states which must work together for the development of the whole region. And this, within the context

of the regime's plans for drawing in more and more blacks to participate in its so-called reforms, means the pumping in of more money into the running of the apartheid system and creating an even higher layer of blacks who will trample on the rest to hold on to its power. And, significantly, the regions chosen as priority areas for "development" are those that involve the Ciskei, Transkei, Natal, KwaZulu, Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu. Another attempt to prettify the ugly face of the bantustan system!

The immediate question before us is why the regime goes to all these lengths to lift-up the face of the bantustan system. Even in the aftermath of the October sham elections, it is obvious that to the regime a town or city council can fall, but when a bantustan falls it will go to any lengths to save it. The bantustan system is central to the apartheid rule.

As part of our offensive to ensure that our boycott victory of the October elections does not remain a mere victory but serves to advance our struggle forward, we should go on a renewed offensive against the corrupt rulers of the bantustans. Their vulnerability in this area has already been seen in the Transkei and Bophuthatswana. In areas like KwaZulu, KwaNdebele, Venda, Lebowa and others we must systematically fight to expose the bantustan regime's reliance on vigilantes and secret armies for their rule.

In the face of these tyrants, whose narrow minds seem to have forgotten how terrible it is to be oppressed, we must never go down on our knees. We must struggle and use all forms of struggle. Our refusal to pay their bantustan levies; refusal to pay increased fares; challenging their illegal rule in court and undertaking many other small but significant actions, all add up to the rejection of apartheid rule in the form of bantustans.

Let us remember one important adage as we challenge this system - revolutions are made out of the accumulation of many small demands for the redressing of grievances. Out of organisation around local issues a national organisation emerges to fight all the issues at a national level. The people's organisation is the ANC which has led the fight against the bantustan system ever since these came into being. For this reason it is earmarked for the most venomous attacks from the likes of Buthelez, Sebe, Mangope, who look upon it as an enemy rather than the Botha regime. Therefore the people who are oppressed and deprived of even the means of living, can have no home either than within the ANC and all those forces fighting against the Botha regime.

**AWAY WITH BANTUSTANS!**



## STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) ON PRETORIA'S RECENT CAMPAIGN TO WIN EXTERNAL LEGITIMACY.

*The Pretoria regime has launched yet another of its "Peace" offensives. Like previous ones, this offensive is purely for external consumption. At home the order of the day is suppression and the flow of blood. Outside it is all smiles and offers of dialogue.*

*It is surely ironic that the Botha regime has chosen as the prime targets of this offensive the Front-Line States which, from the moment of their birth, have been unendingly destabilised and plundered by Pretoria and its bandit mercenaries. Most of these have already experienced the dubious value of the previous accords, treaties and dialogue with South Africa's rulers.*

*The current policies of blood and smiles are two sides of the same coin. Botha is once again attempting to achieve through external diplomacy what he has so far failed to achieve at home. By attempting to forge links with Africa he hopes to win the legitimacy and respectability which is denied to him by the overwhelming majority of our people.*

*Three years of emergency rule accompanied by military and police terror and assault on the little that remained of civil liberties have demonstrably failed to crush the moral and fighting spirit of our oppressed. External solidarity from the world as a whole and especially from our African brothers, has helped considerably to sustain the spirit of resistance. In addition, escalating sanctions have begun to eat away at some of the economic and social foundations of race rule.*



*Botha's present diplomatic offensive is therefore designed both to demoralise internal opposition and to relieve the growing siege of the apartheid economy. Its ultimate objective is to achieve a "Peace" which will ensure the permanent survival of white supremacy and provide space for Pretoria's economic domination of our sub-continent and beyond. Botha will never be forced to abandon these objectives only through the process of negotiation and dialogue. What is needed is increased pressure.*

*Whatever possibilities exist of a settlement in the on-going negotiations on Angola and Namibia will be the result, in the first place, of struggle and the serious armed defeats inflicted on the racist army*

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by the combined forces of Angola, Cuba and SWAPO. This contrasts starkly with the previous chronicle of years of talks on Namibia which South Africa and its friends continually exploit to sabotage the implementation of resolution 435.

Experience has shown that Botha welcomes any form of external dialogue, particularly with countries in our continent. It helps him breakdown his very damaging isolation. It enhances his legitimacy. And what is most important, it gives him the space and time to concentrate on the job at hand, to be left unhampered by the outside world in his attempts to destroy the liberation opposition.

Events have also clearly demonstrated that there is no hope whatsoever of bringing Botha to a table with anything approaching an acceptable negotiating agenda without an increase in the level of internal and external pressure. Premature initiatives for summits and dialogue with Pretoria, however well-meaning, are actually counter-productive to peace. Such initiatives tend inevitably to postpone or ease the very pressure which is needed to pave the way for meaningful negotiations.

The 19th summit of the OAU in 1983 declared that "the sole obstacle to peace in Southern Africa is the apartheid regime and its policies of internal repression". and called upon our whole continent to work to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under chapter VII of the UN charter. With the passage of time, that call has, if anything, become even more imperative. The unprecedented intensification of repression and the defiant resistance of our people demands, more than ever before, the stepping-up of external pressure and isolation.

In these circumstances we are compelled to voice our deep concern that coun-

tries like Zaire have seen fit not only to receive and play host to the butcher of SOWETO but are also trying to smooth his path towards a summit with black states.

We say to the whole world that now is not the time to open up to the Pretoria regime. Those who do so are, whatever their intentions might be, postponing the day when Botha will be forced to speak to the real leaders of our people on a real negotiating process towards a democratic South Africa. Until he is prepared to do so he deserves only to be treated like an outcast by those who are revolted by the apartheid tyranny.

At the moment the shortest route to peace with the least blood-letting in our country is to step up the internal struggle and to encourage greater external pressure. A contrary course is signal of legitimacy and respectability to the regime and one of discouragement to our struggling peoples. As was so clearly stated in the declaration of the council of ministers of the OAU in April 1975, "Vorster's outcries about detente can have one meaning in so far as the situation within South Africa is concerned. And this is that Africa should collude with apartheid and thus acquiesce in the daily humiliation, degradation, deprivation and repression of the African people in South Africa."

We call upon the whole world and more specially our brothers on the African continent to slam their doors in Botha's face and to intensify all measures for the isolation of Pretoria and everything it stands for. We know that the prime task of defeating this evil system rests with our people led by the ANC. But those in the world who wish us success can play a part in shortening this process by even more resolute actions of solidarity.

NO COLLABORATION WITH  
APARTHEID



# **JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS, AND MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

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The African National Congress (ANC) had talks with representatives of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and 52 other people from a wide cross section of the Indian community of South Africa from the 7th to the 9th of October, in Lusaka, Zambia. A further 40 people were to attend the talks but were unable to do so because of transport difficulties.

The meeting was facilitated by the Indian High Commission in Zambia. This was one of the largest groups of people from within South Africa to have talks with the ANC. The ANC was represented by a large and very senior delegation of its National Executive Committee led by Treasurer General - Thomas Nkobi. The NIC and TIC delegations were led by Jerry Coovadia and Cassim Saloojee respectively. Many senior members of the two Congresses and other influential leaders in the community were unable to attend because of passport difficulties and other restrictions.

The participants from the wider Indian community comprised businessmen, cultural workers, professionals, religious leaders, teachers, trade unionists, welfare persons, sports people, women, youths and students and other sectors. The ANC was very pleased to meet such a large and extensive delegation from the Indian community.

Historically the NIC and TIC and the broader Indian community have had a very close relationship with the ANC - and at present the ANC has high regard for the two Indian Congresses. It views them as an integral part of the wider liberation movement and believes firmly that the Indian community has a vitally important role to play in the struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa.

The participants from the Indian community were moved by the warm reception given to them by the ANC, and they found the discussions highly stimulating and enlightening.

Among the major issues that emerged from the talks were: -

## **1. Role of the ANC**

The participants from the Indian community were convinced that the ANC is indispensable to the process of seeking a peaceful and lasting solution to the crisis which faces our country. They therefore called for the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the release from detention of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, and the lifting of the State of Emergency. They urged the government to begin negotiations with the ANC to create a peaceful, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

## **2. On Armed Struggle**

The ANC explained that in view of the complete intransigence of the South African government and the persistence of state repression, it has no choice but to escalate the armed struggle. However, it remains firmly opposed to armed attacks on "soft targets" and regrets the loss of civilian lives in these attacks. Where as those present believe in peaceful forms of resistance to apartheid they expressed their understanding of the reasons why the ANC was obliged to take up arms.

## **3. The ANC and Communism**

It was understood that the ANC is a National Liberation Movement that includes all classes and strata of the oppressed people and democratically-minded whites. It is not a communist organisation. As a democratic organisation it includes all people who are committed to the goals set out in the Freedom Charter. This means that it also has members who are communists.

## **4. Post Apartheid Economy**

It was generally agreed that there is a need for economic and political liberation. The ANC seeks to eliminate social inequality based on race. It reaffirmed its commitment to the Freedom Charter and explained its support for a mixed economy, which will include state, co-operative and private sectors.



## COMMUNIQUE OF MEETING BETWEEN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE NATIONAL SOCCER LEAGUE AND SOCCER ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA. (19 OCTOBER, 1988)

*On the 18th and 19th October, 1988 the African National Congress met representatives of the National Soccer League and the Soccer Association of South Africa. The delegations reviewed the state of soccer, sport in general and other developments within South Africa. The delegations agreed that apartheid is the root cause of the problems afflicting South Africa including in the field of sport. In this regard, the ANC expressed its appreciation for the efforts of the NSL and SASA - within the few years of their existence - to set soccer on a non-racial footing in co-operation with the broad democratic movement.*

*Such co-operation and joint actions need to be further strengthened with the ultimate purpose of ridding our country of the scourge of apartheid and the creation of a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa. The delegations agreed that it is necessary within our country to unify soccer, strive for the establishment of a unitary non-racial controlling body and integrate soccer at the grassroots level.*

*The ANC put forward its perspectives on all questions pertaining to the democratic struggle including the sports front. SASA and the NSL expressed their recognition of the fact that the isolation of racist sport is an important element of the struggle to end apartheid. For this reason they reaffirmed their opposition to rebel tours and called for a continuing moratorium on all tours. This campaign is complementary to the perspective of supporting and strengthening democratic and non-racial organizations. It was resolved that both would, in co-ordination with other democratic forces, work out the mechanisms of ensuring that South African non-racial soccer finally occupies its rightful place in the world.*

*It was agreed to meet again as need arises.*

## SECURITY GUARDS AND PEOPLE'S WAR

**"My white supervisor was nowhere to be seen" said Moses Biyela, a Security Guard at Johannesburg's Hyde Park shopping complex. Biyela was lying in hospital, suffering from burns and lacerations to his whole body, and a big gash in his head.**

With the escalation of armed struggle, Security Guards have found their duties extended beyond the mere guarding of economic establishments from "thieves and robbers". They are now expected to detect and report explosive devices- in other words, to carry out police functions. Moses Biyela dutifully reported the "suspicious object" to his white boss who in turn asked him to guard what was obviously an explosive device. The blast went off as Biyela was throwing a suppression blanket over it, as instructed by his supervisor. The latter had conveniently slipped away from the scene.

By carrying out a duty that otherwise belongs to defenders of apartheid, Biyela suffered their fate. This sad experience- the issue of the nature of the target itself might need further examination- raises a crucial

question regarding the role of security guards in the escalating war of liberation.

They should refuse to be drawn into the ranks of the forces that protect apartheid. The masses of the people expect them to assist people's combatants in their task of attacking strategic military, economic and other installations. In fact, more and more among them should join the MK combatant groups; furnish relevant information and participate in actual operations. Their employers will most certainly want Security Guards to assist in the defence of white rule and exploitation. But the Guards are not obliged to do so. Yet, to effectively defend their rights, they have to be organised into the democratic trade union movement and educated accordingly.

Moses Biyela has had a nasty experience. He could easily have lost his life for a cause that is not his. His white supervisor will continue to laugh all the way to the bank. Moses might not even get adequate compensation, but his experience is a gruelling lesson for us all; to organise and defend our rights, and to act all the time in the interest of the struggling people.



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do so are motivated by genuine intentions, the following additional criticisms need to be taken into account: Is the characterisation of this historic initiative as "overambitious" and "impractical" accurate? The turn-out in Cape Town disproves this. Is the labelling of prospective allies as "direct representatives of the ruling class - simply because of their skin colour or the fact that they hail from the bantustans - correct? The real criterion should be searched for in the theatre of action, not in libraries. Further, in building broad fronts, all the forces should be guided by realism and honesty, and not seek to inflate their support. In the process of joint actions, the question of quantitative representation at all levels can be further negotiated and balanced out if needs be.

Taken as a whole, the objections advanced by AZACCO - as outlined above - tend to put their sincerity to question. But anti-apartheid forces would be failing in their duty if they were to rest content with this surmise. Rather, we should continue to thrash these questions out - without getting bogged down in debates at the expense of actual struggle. Many more genuine anti-apartheid forces will join the broad coalition as they realise its sense of purpose. Those who are bent on blocking the general advance will be swept aside by the very mass base they seek to cushion off from its objective allies - whatever the size of such a mass base.

Besides winning over more adherents, the Coalition forces have to start in earnest to engage in joint actions around the issues that bring them together. In reality, the task of winning new allies will largely depend on what these forces do on the ground. Some of the more urgent issues include: an intensified campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees, against the execution of patriots, for an end to occupation of Namibia, for the lifting of the State of Emergency and an end to repression.

On these and many other campaigns, joint publicity, planning and execution would have to be undertaken. Out of such planning, the purposeful division of labour would also emerge. The process started before and on September 24th and 25th must be consolidated and find expression in practical action: to isolate and weaken the ruling clique and create conditions for the emergence of a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

In time, and with our organisational (and security related) experiences, the anti-apartheid forces must and shall have their Conference.

**LISTEN TO:  
RADIO FREEDOM**

**Voice of the African National Congress and  
Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army.**

**Radio Luanda**

Short wave: 25 m band. 11955  
19H30 Monday to Saturday  
20H30 Sunday

**Radio Lusaka**

short wave: 31 m. band. 9505 KHz  
19H00 Daily  
Wednesday: 22H15  
Thursday: 21H30  
Friday: 22H15  
Sunday: 08H00 11880 KHz

**Radio Madagascar**

short wave: 49m. band. 6135 KHz  
Daily: 19H00

**Radio Ethiopia**

short wave: 31m. band. 9595 KHz  
21H30 Daily

**Radio Tanzania**

short wave: 31m. band. 9750 KHz  
Monday: 20H15  
Wednesday: 20H15  
Friday: 20H15  
Tuesday: 06H15  
Thursday: 06H15  
Saturday: 06H15

**"The process of negotiation and discussion was more important than the Conference itself. The Conference would have been the cherry on top of the cake".**