

AK2117/34-6

Bew. AAF 1

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE !

MAYIBUYE



MAYIBUYE NUMBER 1

1982, YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION.

Journal of the African National Congress



Year of Unity in Action!



Amongst the founding fathers were, from left to right: King Dinizulu, John Dube, Charlotte Maxeke and Sol Plaatje.

(Extracts from a statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the formation of the African National Congress — January 8th, 1982. For the rest of the statement see MAYIBUYE No. 1 Supplement.)

After 70 years of unrelenting struggle, and building on the historic and irreversible gains recorded during these decades, we have reached a stage when the process of consolidating bases of popular power among the people has begun.

To promote this process, we have decided to mobilise our people for the oncoming period under the watchwords "UNITY IN ACTION". Our strength lies in unity, and our future advances, in action. Without unity we are weak, and without action we remain oppressed. To move forward we must attack, act in unity and unite in action. The gains recorded during 70 years of struggle have, thanks to the great contribution made by the successive generations of our people, given us the possibility to achieve such unity in practice.

The motto of unity was inscribed on our battle standards on the very day of

the creation of the African National Congress. As Seme had declared while organising the first congress, "we are one people!" For their part the delegates resolved to bring together the oppressed into common action as one political people.

Seven Decades

We have therefore striven for seven decades to build one common nationhood with one destiny. Our shared experience of collective sacrifices in the struggle for a common goal have knit us together as one solid block of liberation. The comradeship that we have formed in the trenches

of freedom, transcending the barriers that the enemy sought to create, is a guarantee and a precondition for our victory. But we need still to build on this achievement. All of us—workers, peasants, students, priests, chiefs, traders, teachers, civil servants, poets, writers, men, women and youth, black and white—must take our common destiny in our own hands.

On this, our 70th anniversary, we call upon our people and on our allies and supporters to make 1982 a year of Unity in Action with the intensification of our assault on all fronts.

We call upon the working people, the backbone of our liberation movement to mobilise as never before at the point of production to build a powerful democratic trade union movement for the

advancement of the interests of the workers and for their activation into the struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution.

Pretoria Puppets

We call upon our people in the bantustans to mobilise and to isolate and destroy the Pretoria puppets. Let us all fight for a democratic and unified South Africa.

We call upon our youth and students to maintain and heighten their spirit of resistance. You have already demonstrated that you are a detachment of greatest courage and heroism. Now, more than ever before, our struggle demands you to act with supreme dedication and vigour and the banner of our fighting movement.

Continued on Page 4

INSIDE

Page 2

Interview with former AZASO leaders

Page 3

Defend patriots in Botha's jails

Page 7

Christians and Marxists Conference

Page 8

Remember Matola!

Recently, Radio Freedom held an interview with Comrades Ravel Nkondo, former organiser of the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) and Iggy Mathebula, founder-member of the students' organisation, now with the fighting vanguard, the ANC and the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. (Extracts from the interview):

Q: Why was AZASO formed?

RAEVELL: Because of the banning of students' organisations and the fact that there had been a great increase in militant action not only on the student front, but also in the trade union front and by squatters, for example, there was a great need to co-ordinate the

people of South Africa into ethnic and racial units in order to rule them 'better', it becomes necessary that all the students of different racial and ethnic groups come together under one banner. Another aim of the students' organisation is to co-ordinate students' action in the fight for a better system of educa-

ents' organisation in particular—a national students' organisation—the Congress of South African Students, with which we have always had a healthy working relationship. In this, we are united by common objectives, aims and ideals. We are united in action because of our belief in the people's document, the Freedom Charter.

Q: What do you see as the major outcome of the AZASO congress held in July last year?

bringing the issues which affect workers in their day-to-day struggles closer to the students in order for the students to understand what progressive trade unionism is, and to discuss how the students could engage in supportive actions. An immediate example that comes to mind is the increase during strikes of trade union support committees, for example, the trade union support committees for the Wilson-Rowntree boycott and the role that students played in the red meat boycott. Another important feature of this Congress was the fact that it was shown that there was a greater need to include women as equals in the struggle. Yet another important feature of the congress is that when AZASO was initially formed, there was a lot of confusion as to whether there was a need for a national student organisation and what the aims and objectives of AZASO were—what ideology it would uphold. The congress quite successfully managed to explain all this to the representatives from the different universities and hence helped consolidate the base of AZASO at the universities.

Q: Would you say then that the congress was a success?

RAEVELL: Yes, the congress was definitely a success because firstly, AZASO had managed to establish its base at
Continued on Page 6

STUDENTS' STRUGGLE — one facet of liberation struggle

students' actions which were taking place in different universities and link these actions with the mass activity of the rest of the population. The national student organisation would, therefore, co-ordinate these actions and present students' problems and ideals with one voice under one banner.

Q: Who does AZASO repre-

sent i.e. a free, dynamic and compulsory educational system as expressed in the Freedom Charter.

Q: What is the relationship between AZASO and other students' organisations?

IGGY: We have always striven to unite in action with all progressive students' organisations. There is one stud-

RAEVELL: In order to answer this question it is important to place this conference in its proper context. During the time that the congress was taking place, there were a number of important actions—not only MK actions but also squatter resistance to forced removals, and increased worker action. Therefore, these actions gave the congress a special nature in that representatives of progressive trade unions were present at the congress to



Anti-SAIC meeting. (above). Unity in Action is the rallying call!

sent?

IGGY: AZASO represents all Black students in South Africa in the higher institutions of learning, that is, the universities, and the technical and training institutions. By Black students here we mean all the students from the oppressed community being the 'Coloured', African and Indian students. Since we know that the Pretoria regime and its predecessors have always tried to divide the

Student leaders interviewed

Continued from Page 2

the different universities. Secondly, it was also mentioned at the congress that there was a greater need to incorporate the students in the bantustans into the national student organisation because there was a tendency in the past to regard these students as being separate from the overall student community and thus from the struggle in our country.

Bantustan 'Independence'

Whilst in theory we would reject the bantustans, and so-called "independence", in practice there was nothing done to give support and guidance to the students in the bantustan areas. Another achievement is that for the first time there was a clear need expressed to include students in the teacher training colleges in the AZASO structure. If one has to look into the history of these colleges, one can see that there was hardly any political activity going on there and we had only ourselves to blame for that.

Q: What would you say, in general terms, is the role that students should play in our liberation struggle?

IGGY: The fact that the people of South Africa are involved in a fight for survival, in a fight against the Pretoria regime, demands

that student struggles should not end up in the fight for the repair of broken windows or for Students' Representative Councils. Those SRC's at the campuses and schools must know what their role is when workers, for example in Soweto, say, "Azikhwelwa!" and start boycotting buses. They must know what their role is when the workers at Wilson-Rowntree are being sacked without reason. The students should play a supportive role in all the struggles waged by the

Q: How would you relate this to the fight against dummy institutions?

IGGY: The students, as part of the oppressed community, have to regard this fight as their own. They have to form support committees, as we saw during the SAIC 'elections'. In every national campaign that should be the role of students: to join hands with the rest of the community in the fight against bantustanisation, for example.

Every member of the



Mass action by all sections of the oppressed and democratic forces is a prerequisite for victory.

society. We must know that it is impossible to get rid of this racist educational system until the whole system of apartheid and its exploitative nature has been radically changed. Educational struggles have to be seen in this context.

community must be organised, and the various organisations themselves have to be consolidated and should join hands as we saw during the anti-republican and anti-SAIC campaigns where Africans, 'Coloureds' and Indians—and an increasing number of democratic whites—joined hands, because the people in South Africa refuse to see themselves as racial or ethnic units.

Level of Organisation

As the level of organisation rises, the actions of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe begin to have a clearer meaning to the masses of the people. For MK combatants to operate effectively inside the country, they have to be protected. Wherever they go, they should find a receptive atmosphere. The people should not swallow the poison that the regime is trying to feed them with that our brothers and sisters are "terrorists". We have to understand the connection between mass struggles and the military actions of MK for, it is the

combination of these aspects of struggle which will result in the seizure of power from the fascist regime.

RAEVELL: What we should keep in mind especially with regards to students is that they have an important role to play: consolidating their own base and creating conditions which will enable the units of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC underground to operate with maximum effectiveness. One of the ways is to take up the issue of the six MK comrades who are awaiting the hangman's noose in Pretoria. Another is to plan and engage in activities to observe the 70th anniversary of the ANC.

ANC Underground

Q: You have mentioned the ANC underground. Can you tell us, comrades, what led you to join the underground?

RAEVELL: As you know, the student struggle is one facet of the national democratic liberation struggle, and because of the repressive nature of the Pretoria regime, at a certain point in time it becomes virtually impossible to operate above ground. The struggle has to continue until we take power, and in this regard, we felt that the only way in which we could advance the people's cause was to join the fighting ranks of our vanguard movement, the ANC.

And lastly, dear comrades, to the militant youth of our country we say that in order to have victory in our lifetime, we've got to take up the message from Robben Island from Comrade Nelson Mandela:

UNITE! MOBILISE! FIGHT ON!!



LISTEN TO

RADIO FREEDOM

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

Radio Tanzania

External Service, Dar es Salaam, on:
15435 KHz, 19mb shortwave; 9680 KHz, 31mb shortwave
Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays at 8.15pm (S. A. time)
Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays at 6.15am (S. A. time)

Madagascar

6135 KHz, 49mb shortwave and 5010 KHz shortwave,
7.30 - 9.30pm daily.

Ethiopia

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

Lusaka

9580 KHz, 31mb shortwave, Monday-Friday 7.15 - 8pm,
Wednesday 10.00 - 10.30pm, Friday 9.30 - 10.00pm,
Saturday & Sunday 7-8pm, Sundays 8-8.30am, 19mb, 17895KHz

Luanda

40 and 30mb, shortwave; 27.6mb om medium wave
7.30pm (S. A. time)



We call upon our women-folk to raise the cry for vengeance against those who are murdering, maiming and torturing our sons and daughters for their participation in our struggle. You have already demonstrated that you do choose between dying in defence of apartheid or joining the noble cause of national liberation.

We call upon the millions of the oppressed to stand shoulder to shoulder at this crucial hour in our history. The enemy manoeuvres to sow division in our ranks must be defeated. Our destiny is one!

Rethink Role

We call upon those amongst our people who have been clad in police and army uniforms to rethink their role. You have it within your grasp to choose between dying in defence of apartheid or joining the noble cause of national liberation.

We call upon those in the white community who stand ready to live a life of real equality and non-racism to make common cause with our struggle for genuine liberation.

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the African National Congress, itself a product of the trials and tribulations of Africa's children, we salute the OAU and the brother-peoples of our continent. To all of them we say the need for us to continue acting in unity in the struggle to destroy the apartheid regime, the enemy of all Africa, increases with the intensifica-

Year of Unity in



WORKERS AT A TRADE UNION MEETING: "The backbone of our liberation movement".

tion of the struggle. It is the hope of the millions of your brothers and sisters held prisoner by the Pretoria regime that this year you will, together with them, take initiatives further to advance our united action.

We salute in particular the brother-people of Namibia, their leader, SWAPO and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). It is to us a matter of proud record that as early as 1919, and again in 1946, the ANC sent delegations to Versailles and the United Nations respectively, to fight against the territory of Namibia being mandated to racist South Africa.

Heroic Struggle

Today, the heroic struggle in which the Namibian people are engaged is itself a mighty contribution to our own liberation, an expression of a united offensive in which we who suffer under a common enemy are engaged. We pledge to our fellow combatants of Namibia that we shall intensify the offensive on our front so that both our peoples can secure their emancipation.

We salute the heroic people of Angola who have res-

olutely sacrificed to sustain and advance the struggle of the Namibian people, in the process of suffering aggression upon aggression by the fascist regime of South Africa.

We salute also other comrades-in-arms engaged in struggles to liberate themselves, including those of Western Sahara led by the Polisario Front, of Palestine led by the PLO, of El Salvador led by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, of East Timor led by Fretelin, of Puerto Rico, Guatemala and elsewhere.

All these struggles together with our own belong to one democratic anti-imperialist mainstream. Any advances they make contribute to the furtherance of our own struggle; any advances we make strengthen the hand of these sister movements which like us, confront the forces of imperialism headed by the United States of America.

Forces of Reaction

These forces of reaction can see that the risen peoples are determined to bring to an end the epoch of imperialist domination. They have therefore decided to

go on the offensive against the people. The most backwards elements in world politics, therefore, be they apartheid South Africa, Zionist Israel or the reactionary Junta of El Salvador, find encouragement to hang on to their ill-gotten power at all costs.

World Changed

But in 70 years the world has changed radically. The people of Africa, of Southern Africa and of South Africa are not alone. We too have our allies and loyal friends—countries and peoples who share the same vision as we do, who are prepared to carry the burden of struggle together with us, who recognise that all humanity is diminished and world peace and security threatened by the continued existence of the apartheid regime.

We greet these allies and friends on the occasion of our 70th birthday. We greet the governments and peoples of the socialist community of nations, the governments and peoples of the countries organised into the non-aligned movement; the Scandinavian peoples and governments, and the anti-racist governments and peoples of the rest of

Action!

Western Europe and North America in the firm belief that we are together committed to act in unity against those who are committing a crime against humanity, the apartheid regime.

The year of the 70th anniversary of the ANC has been proclaimed by that august body, the General Assembly of the United Nations, as the year of mobilisation for the implementation of sanctions against apartheid. We urge that all those who truly wish to see an end to the inhuman system of apartheid should, acting in unity, seize this opportunity to ensure that the Pretoria regime is isolated as never before. Failure to do this will condemn our people and those of Southern Africa in particular and, in the end, the rest of mankind, to a terrible blood-letting that will forever remain a blot on the conscience of the entire humanity.

National Union

Today we commemorate with deserved pride the 70th anniversary of our national union. This is a historic occasion which has been made possible by the sacrifices which our people have made throughout these years and the support of the world democratic movement.

From Port Elizabeth and Bulhoek to Sharpeville and Soweto and many other widely dispersed points in time and space between, our people have laid down their lives in the struggle for our liberty and pursuit of the goals for which the ANC was founded. On Robben Island, in Kroonstad and Pretoria are locked away leaders of our people, both young and old, men and women, black and white, heroes and heroines to whom the liberation of the people is worth more than their own lives.

Historic Occasion

On this historic occasion we raise our banners in salute of all these martyrs and patriots and pledge to remain true to their example and steadfast in the execution of their command to

Continued from Page 1

seize power from our oppressors.

In their name and that of the National Executive Committee we greet the entire membership of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe and charge that they carry the tasks facing all of us with such honesty, courage, dedication and discipline as befit all true revolutionaries. In their name, and on behalf of the National Executive Committee, we command all these revolutionaries and urge all other patriots to unite in action, to act for

unity and, as one, to lead the people in united action.

In the name of the founding fathers, in the name of the martyred heroes of our people, and in the name of the leadership of the African National Congress, we call upon our people to observe 1982, the 70th anniversary of the formation of our national union, as the Year of Unity in Action.

Powerful Offensive

Let this be the year of the most powerful offensive that our country has ever seen Let this be the year of our greatest unity in action. Let this be the year of a great leap forward to the

threshold of victory.

Long live the Year of Unity in Action!

Long live our glorious people's movement, the African National Congress!

Matla ke a rona! Amandla ngawethu!

Ke nako, Mayihlome!

All Power to the People!!



International Solidarity



The 70th anniversary of the people's national union, the African National Congress was observed through meetings, demonstrations and other actions by democrats and peace-loving peoples of the world. In Dar es Salaam, President O. R. Tambo addressed a huge gathering of ANC militants and Tanzanian people, which was also addressed by prominent Tanzanian leader, Rachid Kawawa. In Sweden and India the period around January 8th witnessed mass meetings and other actions of solidarity. Meetings were also held at the United Nations in New York, in London, Angola, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, Mozambique, Cuba, Belgium, Holland, Zambia and many other countries of the world where leaders of democratic governments and organisations, including the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations pledged their solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa. Many messages of solidarity have been received from throughout the world. During the course of the Year of Unity in Action and International year of mobilisation for the implementation of sanctions against apartheid, all peace-loving mankind will engage in various actions in solidarity with our struggle for national liberation! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!!

DEFEND THE PATRIOTS IN BOTHAS' DUNGEONS

The past few months have witnessed the emergence and rapid expansion of a broad mass movement against the systematic detention of people's leaders and patriots by the racist regime.

Many democratic organisations and individuals have thrown in their lot with the families and relatives of the patriots who have fallen foul with Pretoria's arbitrary, fascist laws. The organisational structures set up to channel and strengthen the people's voice include the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and such specialised bodies as the Detainees' Health Rights Steering Committee.

The campaign for the release of detainees comes at a critical moment, when the regime has let loose its fascist police to silence those who seek and fight for justice and democracy in our land. The number of school pupils, students, trade unionists, journalists, ministers of religion...in detention has been conservatively put at 180, and during the course of last year alone, more than 500 patriots experienced detention.

Natural Reaction

Whilst the emergence of this movement against detention reflects a natural reaction to suppression, the width of its appeal signifies a great victory on the part of the struggling people. In meetings, demonstrations and petitions, workers, students, parents, intellectuals—including leading staff members at 4 major universities—and so on, have risen as one in support of the detained patriots.

All the people are agreed that detention without trial constitutes a serious violation of human rights. The people correctly express fear about the safety of the detainees for, as experience has shown, many patriots come out of these detention camps paralysed or mentally broken. An increasing number have either been released only to die of injuries sustained in detention or perished at the hands of the fascist interrogators.

Faced with these fascist monsters whose hands are dripping with the blood of

scores of our patriots, a number of participants in the campaign have adopted the slogan: "Charge or Release the Detainees" as the call around which we should rally. Many more, however, have gone a step further to state that the Pretoria regime does not represent the majority of the people of South Africa and, therefore, reserves no right whatsoever to arrest, detain or charge the fighters for justice, let alone to rule our country. In this context, said one speaker at the protest meeting in Khotso House, Johannesburg late last year:

"There is no point in condemning Section Six of the Terrorism Act without condemning the pass laws and influx control laws, and there is no point in condemning pass laws and influx control without rejecting the social and economic system they maintain".

Such is the issue facing the campaigners, the parents and relatives of the detainees and all the struggling people. The current spate of detentions should be seen in correct perspective as a desperate measure on the part of the regime to silence the voice of justice and democracy. As such, the slogans around which we rally should

reflect this correct understanding.

Whilst the "Charge or Release" slogan correctly focusses the attention of the people on the fascist nature of Pretoria's state machinery, it could—and does—imply witting or unwitting recognition of the 'legality' of the racist state including its judicial machinery. A practical pointer to this danger is the announcement on New Year's eve by the fascist minister of police, Le Grange that a number of detainees would be brought to court early this year. "We do not want these people to be held indefinitely", Le Grange proudly stated, "we

detention front whilst at the same time deepening its thrust to the very nerve centre of the system. We should extend the Detainees Support campaign to encompass all patriots within the grey walls of Botha's prisons, the banned and the banished. Campaigns such as the one waged by families of Robben Island prisoners to visit the prison between November 27th and December 3rd, and for information on the alleged hunger strike will, as a result, not be left to the prisoners' relatives but will assume a national dimension. So should the urgent campaign to stop the execution of our heroes and Umkhonto combatants on the death row: Naphtali Manana, Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo, Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise.

At national level, let us



At Oscar Mpetha's trial (left). After the death sentence on MK combatants (above). Defend the patriots in Botha's dungeons!

want to get them to the courts as soon as possible".

As the speakers at Khotso House and many others have said, the myriad of "security" legislation in our country exists precisely to defend, maintain and justify the system of racist colonialism. Such laws as the Communism Act, Terrorism Act, Internal Security Act have been enacted to ensure that every patriot in South Africa is put behind bars when the rulers so desire. The announcement by Le Grange, therefore, is a cunning attempt by the regime to weaken the campaign for the release of the detainees.

At the same time, it is a challenge to all the struggling people to broaden the anti-

mobilise for organised mass visits to the prisons and other actions in defence of our jailed patriots. In our localities let us campaign to involve all the people—from street to street in the townships; row to row in the classrooms and lecture halls; department to department on the factory floor...—to participate, for example, in the washing and ironing of the detainees' clothes and in the preparation of meals. In this way, as the experience of the late '50's and early '60's showed, we shall broaden the consciousness of millions and help strengthen the Political Prisoners' Support movement.

Unity in Action is our Battle-cry!!

common praxis in struggle

AT THE BEGINNING OF DECEMBER, 1981, REVOLUTIONARIES FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA MET FOR A HISTORIC CONFERENCE. FATHER MICHAEL LAPSLEY REPORTS:

For generations in South Africa, Christians and Marxists have joined hands to rid the world of apartheid. Unity in Struggle has been the keynote of the fight against racist colonialism.

In December, 1981 in Madrid, the African National Congress was invited to contribute to an encounter of Christians and Marxists from Africa and Latin America. The dynamic participation of christians in the South African struggle was particularly strongly echoed by the experience of El Salvadoreans and Guatemalans in their life and death struggle against imperialism. In Nicaragua the massive participation of Christians has extended beyond the first stage of revolution into the stage of reconstruction.

Considering the fact that successive white regimes in South Africa and their imperialist allies have always striven to put Christians and Marxists at loggerheads, the Madrid encounter—which helped strengthen the links of solidarity and exchange of experiences between the struggling peoples of the two continents—signifies a great achievement. The declaration of the Conference, which we print below, bears testimony to this great victory:

DECLARATION:

We, revolutionaries, Christians and Marxists from Belgium, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, France, The Federal Republic of Germany, Guatemala, Mexico, Mozambique, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Tanzania, gathered in Madrid from 5-12 December, 1981, to share our experiences, to reflect on our common praxis within the revolutionary process and the Christian presence within the struggle of our people. Denounce the option for death in which imperialism in its deepest expression led by the United States, has pushed the modern world. The evidence of our denu-

Sign The FREEDOM CHARTER

ANC

For generations in South Africa, Christians, revolutionary democrats and Marxists have acted in unity for freedom!

nciation:
1. Its interventionist policy in Central America and the Caribbean where Reagan backs the unprecedented killing of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala, and tries to stop the process of national reconstruction in Nicaragua and hardens its hostility towards Cuba, exposing the whole region to a clear threat of direct intervention.
2. Its policy of total support for the racist South African regime, the last bastion of colonialism. We are witnessing the massive invasion of Angola and the illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of Resolution 435 of the United Nations which demands the right of self-determination for the Namibian people. All the countries of the region are threatened by the destabilising and murderous policy of the racists. Inside South Africa the regime continues its genocidal policy of massive forced removals to arid "bantustans" and denies self-determination in a unitary state to the oppressed Black majority of South

Africans.
We also denounce the interventionist actions and aggressive statements of Reagan's administration in the world, including the so-called possibility of limited nuclear war in Europe.
While Reagan and his imperialist allies continue their policies of death, the vast majority of the human community is opting for life—for the right to work, for bread, shelter, health, for respect for their cultures, for their right to develop their full human potential and the right to live in peace.
We pledge our solidarity with all oppressed, exploited, and downtrodden people who are opting for life.

We express our support for the people of El Salvador, Guatemala, Namibia and South Africa who are struggling for their independence, and to the revolutionary governments who are engaged in the construction of a new society.
We thank the Spanish people for their hospitality and we hope that they will gradually win freedom through opting for peace.
We, revolutionaries, Christians and Marxists, gathered in this encounter, urge all people in the world to unite in the struggle against imperialism and to opt for life!
Madrid, 12th December, 1981.

HELP SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF THE ANC!
PASS MAYIBUYE ON:

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

BE CAREFUL!!!

Remember Matola!

On January 30th, 1981, fascist South African troops and hired mercenaries murdered our 12 compatriots and fellow freedom-fighters in Matola, People's Republic of Mozambique. In memory of these dedicated sons-of-the-soil and to commemorate this day, we reprint extracts from the speeches by Comrades President Tambo at the funeral and President Machel at the public rally in solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa on the 14th of February, last year.

I believe that the people of Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, the Congo, Angola, Namibia...the people of this continent who are the most immediate victims of this terrorism are united as never before, united in their determination to rid the continent and mankind of this racist piracy and to help the people of South Africa to take over power which they will put at the service of Africa and mankind. The South African regime cannot help creating this unity...

Perhaps the Matola murders will impart to the revolutionary struggle in South Africa what the Mueda massacres gave to the revolutionary struggle of the people of Mozambique; and from Mueda to fully

They say they attacked us because of our support for the ANC. They want to divide us, to weaken us. They want us to stop supporting the ANC. We and the ANC were always in complete solidarity with each other. It is unthinkable that this solidarity between our people and the South African people be severed.

The ANC is the oldest liberation movement in Africa. The ANC is the vanguard that has been leading

liberated Mozambique may well signify a move from Matola to the total liberation of South Africa...

There is no reason why this regime should be tolerated anymore. Our resolve is a calm resolve. It acknowledges that we are dealing with a kind of Hitler here, with fascism and nazism. It is merciless; it is strong even; it can yet put up a fight. But let us rise like one man, as one people, to overthrow that regime.

The people of South Africa, the African National Congress and its allies will lead in that assault. The onslaught that Botha and Malan have been crying about has been precipitated by their own recalcitrance and intransigence, by the deaf ears

the liberation struggle of the South African people for 70 years.

The ANC is the vanguard that bears the tradition of centuries-long resistance to foreign occupation; the vanguard of the whole South African people in their fight against apartheid.

What is apartheid? Why is this system condemned by all humanity?

Apartheid is the system that maintains 23 million people oppressed, humiliated,



President Tambo at the funeral

that they have paid to the appeals of the international community. Let there be that onslaught! What is the alternative? Mozambique will not grow, Zimbabwe will never—for as long as there is oppression in South Africa

we shall not know independence. And the enemy is attacking: LET US REPLY!!

(President O. R. Tambo)

own liberation struggle took root. It is the patrimony and pride of our continent, the embodiment of the indestructible will of peoples for their liberation.

The ANC is recognised by the international community as the true and legitimate representative of the South African people. It is represented in all parts of the world, in all the big international organisations. It is represented in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Throughout the world, the ANC has representatives, offices, residences, exiled citizens and refugees from segregation and repression. It has representations in England, France, Italy, the United States, the Nordic countries; throughout Africa, in the socialist countries.

In these countries their militants live in houses. It was residences like these that were the target of destruction and massacre in the early hours of January 30; residences that the South African regime classified as ANC military bases.

(President Samora Machel)

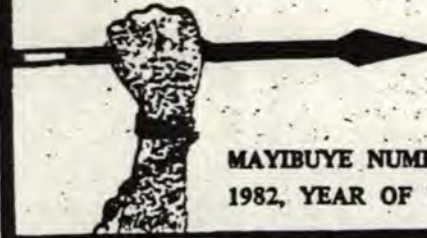


Presidents Tambo and Machel at the rally on the 4th of February, 1981.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE !

MAYIBUYE

(Supplement)



MAYIBUYE NUMBER 1 (Supplement)
1982, YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION.

Journal of the African National Congress

UNITE IN ACTION

(NEC STATEMENT)

Compatriots, allies and democratic supporters of the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa,
Comrades,

The names of the founding fathers are in the minds of many of the oppressed people of our country today as we commemorate the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress. One of these, Pixley ka Izaka Seme, had declared in 1906:

"The brighter day is rising upon Africa... Yes, the regeneration of Africa belongs to this new and powerful period. The African people... possess a common fundamental sentiment which is everywhere manifest, crystallising itself into one common controlling idea... The regeneration of Africa means that a new and unique civilisation is soon to be added to the world".

Historic Call

In 1911, in a historic call which articulated a widely felt need for a united struggle against colonial domination in Africa, Pixley ka Seme invited the peoples of the sub-continent to meet in conference and, forgetting and burying all past differences and divisions, to discuss and plan together for their common future.

As an expression of the "regeneration of Africa" and in response to the call for united struggle, the most representative political gathering of Africans ever held in the sub-continent of Africa took place on January 8,

1912. Delegates and representatives came from all over South Africa and from other countries of Southern Africa. They included workers, farmers, peasants, professionals, journalists, traders, churchmen, chiefs, members of the African royalty, poets, musicians, authors.

Mangaung

The venue of this momentous event was MANGAUNG (Bloemfontein). Pixley ka I. Seme explained to the assembled delegates:

"The white people of this country have formed what is known as the Union of South Africa—a union in which we have no voice in the making of laws and no part in the administration. We have called you... to this conference so that we can together devise ways and means of forming our national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges".

The ensuing debate and deliberations culminated by a unanimous decision, in the epoch-making formation of the African National Congress. The people of Southern Africa had thus forged a new and mighty weapon of struggle, a regional political force, a national movement which grew to become part of the people's political life, experience and history; the embodiment of their



COMRADE PRESIDENT O. R. TAMBO

deepest belief in the certainty of victory and the expression of their identity with the progressive forces of the world in the pursuit of man's just cause.

Seven Decades

Today, as we look back over 7 decades of uninterrupted and principled struggle by the African National Congress to free our continent and our motherland from the shackles of colonialism, racism and fascism we rise in our millions in salute of the great patriots who gathered at Mangaung in early January, 1912. Among them, were John Langa-libalele Dube, Sol Plaatje, Walter Rubusana, Sam Mak-

gatho, Alfred Mangena, Meshack Pelem, Charlotte Maxeke, Thomas Mapikela, Edward Tsewu and others. There were the royal personages who had personally or whose forebears led the armies of resistance to the colonial occupation of our Africa but also came to or were represented at Bloemfontein to forge a new weapon of struggle, among them: Solomon ka Dinizulu of the Zulu, Montsioa of the Barolong, Lewanika of the Lozi, Letsie II of the Sotho, Labotsibeni of the Swazi, Dali-ndyabo of the Tembu, Sekhukhuni of the Pedi and Khama of the Tswana.

The desire, the attempt,

Continued on Page 11

NEC STATEMENT continued

to bring to the Bloemfontein Conference all the peoples of Southern Africa, as a first step towards the unification of the African struggle, was defeated only by the fact that we were separately subjugated by three metropolitan powers—Great Britain, Germany and Portugal.

Those who attended came from the British-colonised part of the region. Today, however, the colonial barriers that separated us in 1911 have crashed under the weight of the advancing African revolution. We have become one people, with one cause and one enemy—the South African fascists and their imperialist allies.

Anti-Colonial Forces

The African National Congress was conceived as a regional union of anti-colonial forces and had a distinctly continental perspective. On the occasion of its 70th anniversary the masses of the people of South Africa salute their comrades-in-arms, the peoples of Southern Africa—the founders of the ANC.

They salute the people of Africa—who, with the decolonisation of Namibia and South Africa, will have fulfilled their historic mission to achieve the total liberation of the continent, thus conso-

lidating a firm foundation for a victorious struggle against imperialism.

The oppressed masses and democrats of South Africa, through the ANC, salute all world forces for change who, during the past 70 years, have fought triumphant struggles against colonialism, racism and fascism. Within 5 years of the formation of the ANC, the world's first socialist state came into being. Today a powerful world socialist system exists and the principles upon which it is founded win growing acceptance as man develops from his past to his future.

The African National Congress, born of the people, a creation of Africa's history and experience, has moved with the people and with the times. It was born into the frontline, to spearhead the people's struggle. Thanks to the dedication of its members, the great vision of its leaders and the calibre of its allies and supporters, it has remained in the frontline and is now spearheading the final assault upon the last colonial stronghold in Africa.

An integral part of a changing world, the ANC has influenced and has been influenced by the socio-economic and political transformations that have come in

the course of man's struggle for a better world. It is an integral part of the worldwide forces that are in fact changing the world—eliminating its injustices, correcting its imbalances and introducing a new social, economic and political order in which friendship and peace will prevail because the causes of conflict and war will have been removed.

Vanguard Movement

On this historic occasion, marking the 70th anniversary of the founding of our vanguard liberation movement, we extend our revolutionary greetings and congratulations to all our people on the great achievements and advances that they have thus far registered along this long and arduous march to our cherished goal of national and social liberation. That goal is already in sight! We are saying this boldly and confidently, for our forces of national liberation have never been better poised for the final onslaught to eradicate the evil system of colonial and racial oppression and exploitation.

The formation of the African National Congress, on January 8, 1912, was an expression of the future people's power won through protracted and bitter struggles against the combined

Boer and British colonial enslavement. The ANC was, and remains to this day, the organised political representative and fighting force for the attainment of democratic and revolutionary change in our society.

The message that came out of the founding conference in Bloemfontein 70 years ago, expressed the collective resolve of the peoples of Southern Africa who correctly perceived that they were suffering under the self-same yoke of colonial tyranny and therefore shared a common destiny. That message also coincided with the aspirations of millions of colonially-subjugated Africans throughout our mother continent.

It is not accidental that history apportioned to our region the role of fore-runner in this regard. For it is here that imperialist domination and colonial occupation had achieved the most pernicious and disastrous results, and therefore made more pressing the need to challenge foreign rule and to counterpose to it the right of the African people to self-determination and independence. Stretching from that period, the peoples of Africa have made gigantic strides, with practically the whole continent having attained political independence and now engaged in national economic reconstruction to consolidate these gains. A few pockets of racial and colonial dominat-

MANGAUNG January 8, 1912

*I was born on January the eight
For my birth
My parents travelled
Day and long miles
To a place called
MANGAUNG
Which means
The meeting place of the leopards*

*Today,
The enemy calls my cradle
Bloemfontein.
Mangaung was warm
Hospitable
A meeting place
Where now
Only poisonous crops
Of injustice
Bloom.*

*Well,
Just for me
One January 8th
My parents came
From all corners heights and plains*

*Of our land
Stolen
And in pain...
Our cattle gone
Our homes burnt
Our fields made green by us
But, especially not for us
And if they could only speak.
All those rivers of South Africa
Could tell of countless seasons
Of our blood, our tears*

*But that's when my parents
Were not married.
They walked alone,
Just like each fighting bulldozers alone
Alone, tried to brave
With bare hands
The mad stampede of elephants
When single-banded victories
Often leave each parent armless
If alive at all...*

*But before that certain January 8th
After the enemy.*

*Settled a little family he had
Over our EVERYTHING
He united
And strengthened his fighting muscle
Against my people*

*Today
English French Dutch
German Italian Greek
Portuguese and other
Tongues of Europe
Pronounce themselves
Nation—indivisible
In my country!
And us—
Sotho Venda Xhosa
Tzibopi Shangan Zulu
The same European tongues
Pronounce
Nations—divisible
In my country!*

*Oh,
But just for my birth
Serious anxious and colourful parents*

ion remain, soon to be swept off the surface of the continent.

Our struggle, as part and parcel of the revolutionary process that is sweeping across the continent, draws inspiration and support from the victories already scored by Africa. Our victory over what was at the beginning, and remains, entrenched imperialist domination and white minority rule, will constitute the apex of Africa's advance to genuine political and economic emancipation.

It is equally true that the revolutionary transformations that we have witnessed on the continent of Africa are also a component part of the broader global struggle waged by progressive mankind against the dark forces of imperialist domination over the world and of the exploitation of man by man.

Imperialist Powers

At the time of the founding of the ANC, a handful of imperialist powers dominated the rest of the world politically and economically. Africa had been carved up among the grabbing imperialist forces in pursuit of strategic raw materials, profit, and spheres of influence. Millions upon millions of people in the colonial and semi-colonial world had been reduced to objects of unbridled exploitation and producers of fat profits for foreign masters.

Today that picture has changed. It has changed radically and irreversibly. The sphere of imperialist domination has shrunk tremendously and continues to do so as the forces of liberation and social progress grow in size and combativeness. As a consequence, the balance of forces, both continentally and internationally, has decisively shifted in favour of the forces of independence, democracy and peace. The mainstay of this world revolutionary process are the socialist countries, fully committed to the cause of national liberation, the democratic forces in the capitalist camp, and the national liberation movement. We too, therefore, are part and parcel of this revolutionary stream that is changing our planet for a better and happier world to live in.

Given this background, therefore, the 70th anniversary of the African National Congress finds all of us better placed than we have been before to carry out our historic mission to destroy the apartheid monster and realise the goal of total liberation of the African continent. It is our historic obligation, as it is that of Africa, united under the Organisation of African Unity, to fight to achieve this goal, and in doing so, to contribute to the efforts towards ensuring that the continent as a whole enjoys peace and attends to the urgent task of winning economic liberation and raising the living standards of its people.

We are better placed to move forward because our people are engaged in mass organised action at a level and with a tenacity unsurpassed over the last seven decades. We are better placed to break new ground in our assault on the enemy because these risen masses recognise clearly, from practical experience, that the revolutionary struggle in which we are engaged has one leader and one perspective—the African National Congress and the Freedom Charter respectively. We are better placed to move in on the enemy because today we have a popular army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, capable of speaking to the enemy in the language he understands best.

The early decades following the 1912 founding conference were times of probing by our movement to meet the changing context of the struggle in which new economic and political forces for change were still in their infancy. Our people had been finally robbed of their land and all political rights. In growing numbers they were pushed into the mines and plantations to produce wealth for South Africa's ruling class. This marked the emergence of the working class movement in our country. It was from this black labouring section of our population that the new forces of resistance came up. The past 70 years

have witnessed unending efforts by the working people to combine and use their collective strength to defeat the oppressor. In the process, confrontations, skirmishes, economic strikes, boycotts, anti-pass campaigns, defiance campaigns and other forms of struggle, took place all over the country. All these served as a practical school for drilling and training our revolutionary forces. Gradually they have grown in strength and experience and now pose a real threat to the system of apartheid. They form the backbone of our striking power.

Already by the late 1940's our young militants, thrown up by the growing and intensifying struggle, began to chart new and more effective methods of struggle for the new stage. This prepared the ground for the massive confrontations of the 1950's—the campaign for the defiance of unjust laws, general political strikes, more anti-pass campaigns and the Congress of the People that adopted our historic document—the Freedom Charter. By that period the African National Congress had become a mass movement involving all sections of the oppressed in active struggle. Faced with and frightened by the rising revolutionary tide, the enemy declared our movement illegal and detained many of

were there,
They came
On foot on bicycle
Oxwagons horseback
Some by trains with cattle, like cattle,
Through rains and the frying sun...
The wind thorns and rock
Saw too they conquered,
They came
The flame-hearted ones,
The back-bent and bruised ones
Their unseen scars swelling anew
The whipped ones came
The downtrodden
Violated again and again
Though unyielding
Whenever tried like reeds
In the cruel whirls and storms
Of Anglo-Boer love
They arrived,
These unconquerable custodians of justice

And rallied
Their visions fixed on a gigantic
A pregnant ideal
Down from the place
Of another birth
The birth of dispossession

Called Natal
They came with stories
Of the valley of a thousand hills
Always green and swollen with hope
Seemed to swallow Tugela waters
Just to let freedom riders pass!
And those whose wagons and bicycles
Saw the Lekwa and Nciba waters
Rise
With African pride
Also impatient for the return of stolen lands
Whispered in various tongues
That even creatures
Known to lose human blood
Popped their heads high
Up and down
Spirited by the call of
MANGAUNG
And bubbled
Deep in their water-borne
Ndelelanle!
Just let freedom riders pass!
Tidela a ti basi
Tseta tseta
Just to let freedom riders pass!
Just to lighten the burden
Ndila tseta
Let the roads be white
They all sang

All their hearts pounding
All thoughts now extended, mingling
All embracing now
Awaiting
The beginning of the death of our
Splitting pain
The pain that separates us
Awaiting,
Just to let freedom riders pass

They came
Burning deep inside
In the bidden brow
Watery in the eyes
Weighted in the mind
By what they called
The pains of labour

From pass-carrying mines
From pass-carrying farms
From pass churches, pass-schools
Pass universities, pass stores, pass leas
From plenty heavy pass work
Our people did and still do,
Speaking all the despised languages
Of our roots
And European ones too
They arrived

Continued on Page iv

our leaders and activists.

For us it was a time for reassessment, for the drawing up of a new strategy and new tactics to meet the changing conditions.

The administrative terror which the enemy unleashed against the popular upsurge: the bannings, banishments, beatings, torture in police cells, hangings and shootings—none of these have succeeded in neutralising the people's militancy. Instead they have reinforced our determination to pursue the cause of liberation.

Under the leadership of the ANC and its allies as well as other patriotic revolutionary forces inside the country, organised political confrontation has grown immeasurably over the recent past. The underground forces of our movement are entrenched deeper and are multiplying among the people more than at any stage since the outlawing of our organisation. The enemy is engulfed in a crisis of deep proportions and is frantically looking for new ways out of this political quagmire.

In the current period, our

people have begun to reply to the enemy violence with revolutionary violence. Today our armed cadres are dealing blow after blow at the enemy in wide-spread areas throughout South Africa. The growing sophistication of these blows, their frequency and their high level of organisation have inspired our people and reinforced their conviction that our cause shall triumph. The racist regime itself can no longer deny that they face a future in which growing mass political upsurge will be more and more complemented by increasing armed action by the people. We have reached a stage where the people have opted for and are joining the armed struggle as one of the most effective ways to dislodge the racist rulers from power. Inside our own borders the balance of forces is gradually tilting in our favour. The voice of the mass democratic movement, headed by the ANC and its allies is winning the hearts and minds of growing numbers from amongst all the oppressed, pushing into growing isolation

the diehard racists and fascists. This movement is not only an opponent of the apartheid regime, but has actually emerged as an alternative power, enjoying the actual and active allegiance of the overwhelming majority of our people. Increasing numbers from the white-oppressor group are steadily joining the stream for political and social change.

Through our sacrifices, and in the face of brutal enemy repression and persecution, we have stubbornly and persistently defended our great creation, the African National Congress, against frantic and desperate efforts by the enemy to blot it out. We have defended it because we knew that without it our collective strength would cease to exist, without it the prospects of our capturing power would fade into the distant future. Twenty years after the oppressor regime declared it illegal, the ANC today on its 70th anniversary, is openly acclaimed as the leader of our people, thanks to the imposition by the masses of a new popular concept of legality which

the enemy guns cannot shoot out of existence, and which his courts cannot imprison. By "lifting" the ban in this manner we have asserted ourselves as the alternative power of our land—the only legitimate power—because we are the people, the democratic majority, whose will must triumph in the end.

In sharp contrast to the racists who have sought to divide our country and people into racial and ethnic compartments, we have upheld the ideal of one country, one people and one democratic and non-racial destiny for all who live in it, black and white.

The people's determination not to deviate from these ideals remains steadfast and finds expression in the universal commitment we have made to remain loyal to the perspectives contained in the Freedom Charter. As there can be no compromise between democratic rule and racist tyranny, so must it be that the Freedom Charter, the alternative political, economic and constitutional platform of popular power in our country, will emerge triumphant...

*The birth of our nation
There at MANGAUNG!*

*I think my parents
Chose this place because
I was to be special
The first fruit of peace
From ourselves
The living wedding gift
An unbreakable vow
That each is empowered
And raised higher
Only
And then only
In the tightening and linking
Of our clenched fists:
In short
A weapon against
Divide and destroy*

*Today,
(The enemy grazes the pockets
Of a few greedy ones
Who wear our leopard skins
And forget MANGAUNG!
The enemy dots our country
With smallpox and leprosy
Dumps
Called Bantustans
To hasten the death
Of our nation!*

*But I'm an extraordinary spirit
A power, a force, a home
A shield
A spear
A child
Yes, a child born with stubborn leopard spots
Of racism
All over
But nonetheless
Breathing, licking stretching
Into the future*

*Breathing heavily
With the hearts of leopards and lions
Plus all the unknown
And unknown courage and triumphs
Of Africa
For I was born
At the gathering of the brave!*

*Today,
The enemy tramples
On the burial place
Of our umbilical cord
With iron boots tanks
And bullet-belts*

*Oh no!
Please!
I'm not boasting
When I say
I base the most supreme family tree
For every vein in my body
Every artery was infused with blood
Rich
With the history of freedom fighters.
And just for my birth
They all came!
Thulimabashe was there
Remembering Soshangane
Sekhukhuni stood high
And kings standing taller
And more majestic
Than any Hollywood king of kings
Makhado with his elephants head
He remembered Thobo ya Ndou
Kbama Moshoetboe
All shielding the lowly victims of
Capital and race
Victims of bloodsucking exploitation
Cetshwayo with unshakeable Shaka
On his mind
All took off
Their cloak of loneliness*

*Hintsa, Makhbenda-Nxele
Their leopard flesh touching close
And all carrying
The Spear of the nation!*

*And then
To think
All of them
All in me
This wealth, this vast greatness
Our country, our people
All in each of us,
Whatever our birth
Wherever our birth
Wherever we carry the struggle*

*For I was born
Crying FREEDOM!
While our working people
The true midwives of our wealth
Midwives of vision, hope
Our future
Tenderly passed me
From hand to join hand
Of leopard hearts
Blowing into me
The rising strains of
Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*

*And
What's my name?*

*The AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Of South Africa. Born on January
8, 1912.
I gave birth to UMKHONTO
WE SIZWE on the 16th of December
1961*

Lindiwe Mabasa

Collection Number: AK2117

DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: **Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand**

Location: **Johannesburg**

©2012

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of the collection records and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.