



# MAYIBUYE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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1984 YEAR OF THE WOMEN!

Journal of the African National Congress

## A BOYCOTT IS NOT MERE ABSTENTION

A MAYIBUYE interview with Comrade Reginald September, a senior member of the ANC

**Question:**

How strong are the democratic forces to successfully boycott the fraudulent elections to the tri-cameral parliament?

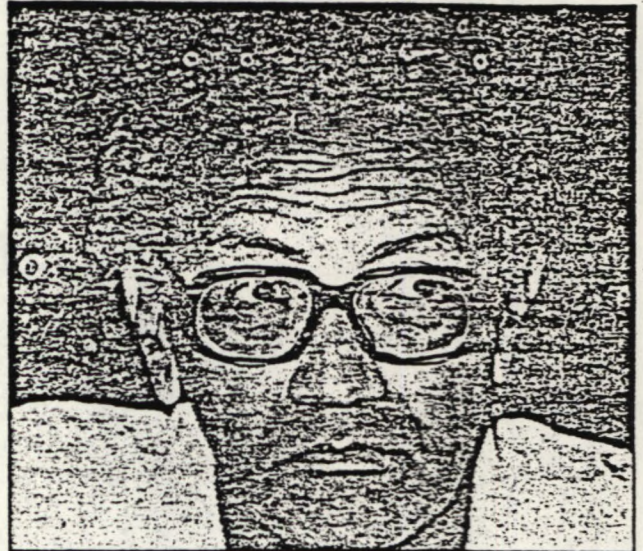
**Answer:**

The regime initially depended on the Labour Party to achieve support at its round of public meetings which it called on a country-wide basis. But instead of support, the people totally rejected their approach. On some occasions it had even to call the police for protection from the people. Hendrickse and company failed miserably even to get a hearing. Secondly, the regime together with the "coloured" and the Indian representatives who work with it, fear a referendum despite earlier assurances that after the testing of white opinion at a whites only referendum, the opportunity would be given to these communities to either show their acceptance or rejection of the proposals. At all costs, they want to set in motion this deception at power sharing and one sees all the signs now of brotherhood and crude scrambling among these small groupings, for power within these political organisations. As far as they are concerned, this is the best offer they have ever had. But the people

on the other hand, have had remarkable experiences in recent times which have strengthened the forces challenging the regime. Let us mention here some more significant of these expression. First of all, one should mention the management committees which have completely failed to gain credibility among the community and, in fact, have passed resolutions of no confidence in the management committees as a system. The school boycott of 1976, '80 and '81 were tremendous experience for the people. One should also mention the challenge to the old order in the NGK church. The strike movement in factories has grown up to such great extents that the regime has been unable to stop it. This

is coupled with the growth of the trade union movement. The Anti-Republic campaign and the Free Mandela Campaign have drawn in wide sections of our people of different communities. There is also the significant growth of civic and community organisations, the re-emergence of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses and also the coming

into being of the UDF with its growth even in areas like Northern Cape, Knysna, Oudtshoorn. The growth of the newspaper



Comrade Reg September: "The regime must be challenged."

Grassroots and the start of the new Afrikaans paper in Knysna and Mossel Bay to serve these districts is also of great importance. The strikes by our comrades of MK have taken the struggle to new heights. Perhaps the most recent event which must have boosted the morale of our people in no uncertain manner, resulting from internal international pressure, is the release of Comrade Toivo Ja Toivo of SWAPO. All these experiences have taken the people of all communities a good step forward in the struggle against the President's Council proposals.

**Question:**

Besides the popular boycott campaign, what other popular measures could be undertaken to ensure that the constitutional schemes of the racists are frustrated?

**Answer:**

What else can we do besides boycott? As you know, to boycott may seem quite simple. It would mean that once you refuse to participate you just need to abstain. That's all. But for any campaign to be a success you need to ensure that the militancy of the people is raised. That in the course of the campaign the people learn the right lesson of the struggle. In addition, they have to plan and conduct the campaign in such a way that the organisation comes up stronger, than ever before. Right now a million signature campaign is in progress, and this will, no doubt, lay foundation for a very widespread organisation. This means that in every little town, suburb. CONTINUED BACK PAGE.

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## EDITORIAL

### ATTACKS AGAINST THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL SYSTEM.

We must begin to use our accumulated strength to destroy the organs of government of the apartheid regime. We have to undermine and weaken its control over us, exactly by frustrating its attempts to control us. We should direct our collective might to rendering the enemy's instruments of authority unworkable. To march forward must mean that we advance against the enemy's organs of state power, creating conditions in which the country becomes increasingly ungovernable. This message is carried in the January 8 Statement of the ANC.

The spate of petrol bomb attacks on the houses of community councillors and other symbols of the hated community councils in Soweto, Lamontville, Duncan Village, Diepmeadow and other widely scattered areas, shows that a significant number of people have clearly grasped the message of the African National Congress to destroy the regime's organs of administrative rule.

#### POLICE PROTECTION

The recent request by the Soweto community councillors that they be given a salary raise and police protection because of the high risk involved in their work, is clear testimony to the effectiveness of the people's actions against them. In their request they confessed that over 90% of the people wanted them to resign their posts. Instead of acceding to the people's demands, they have asked for more police protection.

We are presently involved in a campaign to boycott the oncoming »Coloured« and Indian »elections« into the white-dominated tri-cameral parliament and this present petrol bomb campaign against stooges of the regime will serve the purpose of showing those who intend to participate in it to know what lies in store for them. For far too long we have been blatantly defied by ambitious and greedy persons who, though aware that we had overwhelmingly boycotted them, proceeded to further the regime's

aims by manning puppet bodies such as the bantustans, community councils, the South African Indian Council, management and local affairs committees, etc.

What had begun as scattered but resolute actions against the community council system has to be transformed into countrywide action. The ANC underground has to be in the forefront of this struggle. It has to be in the lead in developing the spirit of rebellion that is being manifested against the regime's instruments of oppressive rule.

#### BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN

We in the ANC underground have to make the people aware of their capacity to be their own liberators. We have to show that the regime's manoeuvres, both in the region and internally, are the result of our struggles which have reached new heights in the last few years. Thus, not to increase the tempo of our attacks on the enemy's organs of apartheid rule would give the racists the respite they need to create more diabolical schemes to hoodwink us into believing that they have undergone a change of heart.

As we said before, it is important that this struggle is taking place when we are poised to wage the greatest boycott campaign in our country against the »Coloured« and Indian »elections«. Besides this struggle being a warning to the collaborating Indian and »Coloured« parties, it will also serve to ensure that our victory against the tri-cameral schemes of the regime is complemented by the destruction of the community council system. In this way, the crisis that is engulfing the apartheid system will be compounded and deepened.

What we want is people's power. Towards this goal we should consistently act in a revolutionary way and strive to be present in all battles of the people. The community council system is a weak chink in the enemy's armour and it is this weakness that we have to take advantage of.

## ORGANISE WITHIN THE SADF'S RACIST ARMIES!

The increasing involvement of blacks in the South African Defence Force reflects the growing desperation of the racist regime, that it has come to rely on the very black people it oppresses for survival. This is an indication that its end is near.

While the presence of blacks within the SADF divides our people and creates difficulty in the identification of the real enemy, it does, on the other hand, expose the fundamental weakness of the enemy. This must be exploited to full.

Blacks, by virtue of their social position in the South African society, need not look far for the reasons that necessitate the destruction of the SADF. Already within the white community there is growing resistance to the conscription into the SADF despite their privileged position.

Concerted efforts, in the form of continuous campaigns, must be made to dissuade our people from joining the SADF, while resistance within the armed forces has to take a definite, organised form. The objectives have to be clearly set out. Organised agitation should be the order of the day. It must have practical consequences. All this would necessitate the formation of resistance cells within the army. These would be the core of the organisational work that would ensure planned and continuous work.

The armies in the Bantustans are merely extensions of the South African Defence Force. Late last year Mphahlele offered his Venda army to South Africa because, he claimed, they both faced the

»communist threat«. The Bantustan armies have among other tasks that of maintaining the buffer zones around apartheid South Africa. This would be invaluable if the people within them could be organised to understand their actual social position within these so-called states.

Education and agitation must be carried out with sole aim of these armies to turn their weapons against their puppet rulers. Winning over the Bantustan armies has several advantages, among them being that the enemy would have to scatter his forces in a bid to defend the borders. This would make the occupation of Namibia difficult. It would, moreover, curb racist aggression against the Frontline States.

The importance of destabilising and eventually destroying the SADF, rendering it incapable of coherent action, cannot be overstressed. This task lies on those patriotic forces who would turn against the fascists. Our long-term objective should be to agitate whole sections of the army into deserting with their arms, mutiny in the battlefield, joining sides with Umkhonto we Sizwe in the midst of battle, etc. However, the immediate task is to organise and educate those in the racist army. This political education must be carried out both within the army and the community



Black recruits like these must subvert the racist armies and become part of the people's army!!!

# KOORNHOF'S AMENDED OM&SBP BILL STILL TIGHTENS PASS LAWS

"I detest the 'dom pass' . . . we are in the process of doing away with it," said the racist Minister of Co-operation and Development addressing the National Press club in Washington, 1979. Yet the hated pass laws, a primary instrument of excluding Africans from the urban areas and forcing them into the barren and jobless bantustan, still continues to this very day.

Twenty-four years after the callous massacre of demonstrators against the pass laws in Sharpeville, and despite all the proclaimed reforms, if there has been any change at all it has been evidently for the worst. Conservative government statistics show more than 200,000 pass arrests were recorded for 1982. An increase of over 27 per cent over the figures of 1981 and a startling increase of 90 per cent over the 1980 figures. Looked at in the background of over 3 million Africans forced into the bantustans in the period between 1950 and 1980, the vital role of the "pass" in the government's bantustan policy becomes crystal clear.

## RACIST BILL MEETS STIFF OPPOSITION

With its attempt at further tightening influx control the Genocide Bill, one of Koornhof's Bills, having met with our stiff massive opposition, forcing it to retreat in 1982, the racist regime is once more trying to sneak the Bill in.

Through the 'amended' Genocide Bill it is implementing the recommendations of the parliamentary select commission that i) some aspects of the Koornhof Bills should be implemented as amendments to existing legislation and ii) that the less controversial Black Community Development Bill should receive precedent over the Genocide Bill! In fact, the 'amended' Bill shall have the same effects as the original Genocide Bill without spoiling the regime's reformist face to the international community. Through it the

regime still hopes to ensure that South Africa remains "white" by deporting the millions of Africans the amendment is meant to disqualify as "illegals".

Yet an added dimension to this Bill is that it is the regime's attempt at bypassing its own Appeal Court's decision in favour of Rikhotso and Koma. A decision by which a certain category of migrant workers, their wives and children were given rights to reside together in urban areas!

With an increasing military budget the regime is no



Pass laws have been with us through all the ages of racist rule in our country, respecting neither age nor sex. Our way forth can only lie in our uprooting of the apartheid system.....

The regime intends to consolidate the migrant labour system by continuing to keep African families apart if wives and children of the workers fail to prove that their husbands and parents are "permanent urban residents".

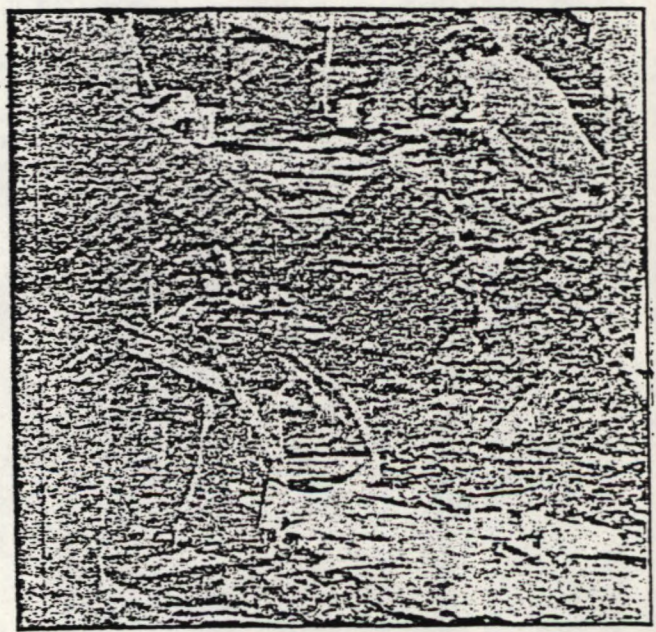
## RETRENCHMENTS

Through this amended Bill the regime intends to make retrenchment and unemployment constant threats to the African worker. That will mean resettlement! It hopes to use inherent evils of capitalism as a weapon against the worker. Thus the Bill is meant to weaken the democratic trade union movement's capacity to organise the migrant and urban workers! Loss of a job is synonymous with loss of citizenship, in terms of the Bill!

longer in a position to subsidise the costly parallel structures of its creation. It is now through the so-called local authorities and community development machineries, bent on levying taxes and increases on rents, electricity and other services that they hope to finance their structures. We are to pay salaries for its corrupt stooges like the Tshabalalas. *We are expected to pay for our own oppression!!!*

We are not fooled by the racists' tactics! Pass laws are still existing and worsening our lives in South Africa. Let us expose these racist parliamentary intrigues by calling upon all patriotic South Africans to act in unity and fight this amended Bill! The democratic trade union movement needs to take the matter and educate its membership about the implications of this Bill and mobilise for its opposition at factory and community level! Community and religious bodies, women and youth organisations must all mobilise our people into mass action against the Bill and the pass laws!

**UNITE FOR PEOPLE'S POWER!  
DOWN WITH THE GENOCIDE BILL!**



.....where we must select for attack those parts of the enemy administrative system which we have the power to destroy, as a result of our united and determined offensive. We must hit the enemy where it is weakest.

STATEMENT OF THE NEC OF THE ANC ON THE RECENT EVENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

# THE CENTRAL QUESTION - THE OVERTHROW OF THE RACISTS!

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress has met to consider the current situation in Southern Africa. The meeting resolved to issue the following statement

Over the last few weeks, the racist and colonial regime of South Africa has been involved in a frantic diplomatic, political and propaganda counter-offensive in Southern Africa.

## PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES

Some of the principal objectives of this offensive are:

- to isolate the ANC throughout Southern Africa and to compel the independent countries of our region to act as Pretoria's agents in emasculating the ANC, the vanguard movement of the South African struggle for national emancipation;
- to liquidate the armed struggle for the liberation of South Africa;
- to gain new bridgeheads for the Pretoria regime in its efforts to undermine the unity of the frontline states, destroy the SADCC and replace it with a so-called constellation of states and thus to transform the independent countries of Southern Africa into its client states and
- to use the prestige of the frontline states in the campaign of the white minority regime to reduce the international isolation of apartheid South Africa and to lend legitimacy to itself and its colonial and fascist state.

## "NON-AGGRESSION

### FACTS"

In pursuit of these aims, the Botha regime has sought to reduce the independent countries of our region to the level of its Bantustan creations by forcing them to join the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei Bantustans in entering

into so-called non-aggression pacts with Pretoria.

Such accords, concluded as they are with a regime which has no moral or legal right to govern our country, cannot but help to perpetuate the illegitimate rule of the South African white settler minority.

It is exactly for this reason that this minority has, over years, sought to bind independent Africa to such agreements.

## PROFOUNDLY CONSCIOUS

The African National Congress is profoundly conscious of the enormous political, economic and security problems that confront many of the peoples of our region. The blame for many of these problems must be laid squarely on the Pretoria regime which has sought to define the limit of independent countries of our region through a policy of aggression and destabilisation.

We are convinced that this regime, which is dripping from head to foot with the blood of thousands of people it has murdered throughout Southern Africa, cannot be an architect of justice and peace in our region.

Neither can the ally of this regime, the Reagan Administration of the United States, with its pro-apartheid policy of "constructive engagement", angel of war reaction and repression in other regions of the world, including the United States itself.

A just and lasting peace in our region is not possible while the fountainhead of war and instability in this area, the apartheid regime and oppressive system it maintains in South Africa



Cde Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC

and Namibia, continue to exist. The Botha regime knows that no peace has broken out: rather, it has resorted to other means to continue its war for the domination of Southern Africa.

## MAPUTO SUMMIT

The situation in our region continues to point to the correctness of the decision of the Maputo Frontline States Summit held in March 1982. That Summit observed that:

"Under the leadership of the ANC, the people through strikes and armed action, are vigorously rising against apartheid". It went on to commit the front line states "to intensify their material and diplomatic support for the liberation movements, SWAPO and ANC of South Africa, so that they can

intensify the armed struggle for the attainment of the national independence of their peoples".

## FUNDAMENTAL PREREQUISITES

That statement was made in full recognition of the fact that the destruction of the apartheid regime and the liberation of South Africa and Namibia constituted the fundamental prerequisites for peace, stability and uninterrupted progress in our region.

That commonly agreed position reaffirmed the obligation of the people of South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC, to escalate their offensive, using all means, including armed action, for the overthrow of the criminal apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the masses. We remain and shall remain loyal to this perspective.

(From opposite page)

The Pretoria regime is acting in the manner that it is, to try to extricate itself out of the crisis that confronts its racist and colonial system of apartheid. It hopes that after it has "pacified" our neighbours and driven the ANC out of our region, it will then have a free hand to suppress the mass democratic movement of our country and thus create the conditions for it to spin out its intricate web of measures for the refinement and entrenchment of the apartheid system.

**PRINCIPAL TASK**

Our principal task at this moment therefore is, and must be, to intensify our political and military offensive inside South Africa. This is the urgent call that we make to the masses of our people, to all democratic formations and to all members and units of the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe. Relying on our strength, through action, we will frustrate the schemes of the enemy of the peoples of Africa and continue our forward march to the destruction of the system of white minority colonial domination in our country!

The central and immediate question of South African politics is the overthrow of the white minority regime, the seizure of power by the people and the uprooting by these victorious masses of the entire apartheid system of colonial and racist domination, fascist tyranny, the super-exploitation of the black majority and imperialist aggression and expansionism.

This question will be and is being settled in struggle.

within the borders of our country and nowhere else. We are entitled to expect that all those, anywhere in the world, who count themselves among the anti-colonial and anti-racist forces, will join hands with us to bring about this noble outcome.

The peoples of Southern Africa know from their own experiences that there can be no peaceful coexistence between freedom and independence on the one hand and colonialism and racism on the other. We are confident that these masses, their parties and governments which have, over the years, demonstrated their commitment to the cause of the total liberation of Africa, will themselves remain loyal to this cause and firm in their resolve to stand with our people until victory is won.

**CRAVE FOR LEGITIMACY**

We are equally certain that the rest of Africa and the world progressive community will continue to deny the Botha regime the legitimacy it craves so desperately. We must adopt new measures to isolate it and increase their political, diplomatic, moral and material support to the ANC.

The struggle for the liberation of South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC, will continue and grow in scope and effectiveness until we have won our victory. Forward to a people's government!

Alfred Nzo  
Secretary-General

March 16, 1984.

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**THE WAY FORWARD TO GREATER VICTORIES!**  
\*\*\*\*\*  
\*STRENGTHEN THE ANC UNDERGROUND  
\*ACTIVITY, GUARANTEE OF PEOPLE'S POWER!  
\*JOIN UMKHONTO WE SIZWE - THE FIGHTING  
\*ARM OF OUR REVOLUTION!  
\*FIGHT THE ENEMY IN UNITED MASS ACTION!  
\*ISOLATE THE ENEMY INTERNATIONALLY!  
THE ORDER OF THE DAY IS:-  
MOBILISE AND MARCH FORWARD TO  
PEOPLE'S POWER!  
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**WELCOME**

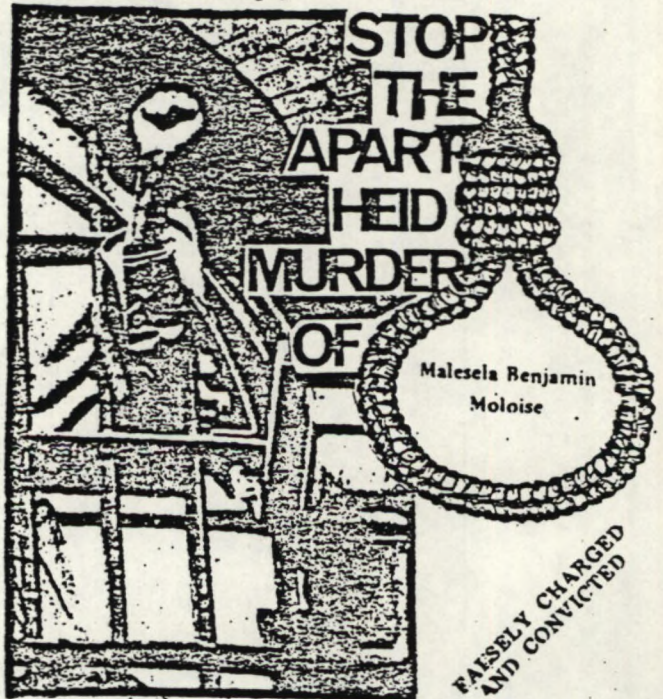
**DOROTHY  
NYEMBE**



IMPRISONED-1969-1984



During this month of March, when one of the most outstanding leaders of the South African women, Dorothy Nyembe, leaves Kroonstad prison after fifteen long years, we must dedicate ourselves to the release of another leader of the women; Albertina Sisulu (above), who has been sentenced to a long-term imprisonment by the fascists. This campaign must be part of our tasks for the Year of the Women. Our call must be: Release all the women political prisoners and other patriots incarcerated in the fascist jails!



# ARTISTS MUST FORM A STRONG NATIONAL UNION

Over the years, the South African working class has come to understand that in the struggle against national oppression and economic exploitation, unity is indispensable. This belief has found concrete expression in formation of trade unions in all major factories and industries throughout South Africa to protect the interests of the workers.

These trade unions, though they have suffered a number of setbacks, have also scored important victories for which they must be commended and further encouraged. Their achievements must serve as a source of inspiration and lesson for the rest of us the exploited people.

## CULTURAL CENTRE

We, South African artists who have been turned into objects for profit making by the recording companies, art galleries, theatres, etc., under the guise of "promotion" have a special reason to be organised too. This is not to suggest that no such attempts were made in the past, not at all. In the late fifties and early sixties we had in Johannesburg, for instance, a cultural centre, Dorkay House, which housed the offices of Union Artists. This was the only coherent body which represented artists, but which for one reason or another, died in the sixties. There was also the South African Black Theatre Union of the Black Consciousness era which had several though temporary successes in bringing artists together.

## PROGRESSIVE UNION

The reality of the present situation, however, is that, as artists, we cannot speak of any progressive national union to which we belong and which articulates our aspirations, frustrations and objectives. The Federation of Union of Black Artists (FUBA) and the Music, Drama, Art and Literature Institute (MDALI), cannot be considered as complete successes because they have

both at different times exhibited exclusivity and lack of concern for the ordinary artists. In addition they have not gone out of their way to organise artists at national level.

It is important for us artists, and especially those of us who have decided to use our talents for the promotion of the liberation struggle to understand that the struggle we are waging against the exploitative promoters, is part of the ongoing national liberation struggle. We cannot, therefore, fight in isolation and outside of this broad context.

role it will play in the liberation process. It is such a definition of purpose that will guarantee a strong and viable union.

We need to, once and for all, discard the misconception that culture and politics are two parallels that have no point of intersection. Day in and day out we are experiencing the harassment of our colleagues by the racist regime for nothing other than an artistic expression of the general grievances against national oppression. Fresh in our minds is the sentencing of two musicians of "Splash" to an effective four years under the Internal Security Act. As artists we could not organise any effective protest against their arrest and subsequent imprisonment. There could be no doubt that had we been,

organisations such as AZAPO, COSAS, AZASO who have scored great victories for which they must be commended and further encouraged. Our impact as artists and cultural workers, in an organised form, has however not been felt so far. This is so, partly because we lack this organisational unity through which to carry out such activities.

## LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The 1982 Symposium on "Culture and Resistance" held in Botswana which saw the participation of renowned musicians like Abdullah Ibrahim, poets like Keorapetse Kgositsile, writers like Mongane Serote, and others put the role of culture in the liberation struggle in its proper perspective and clearly demonstrated its objectively partisan character. The



At the Gaborone Festival and Symposium of "Culture and Resistance", one of the most fundamental issues discussed was the role of the artist in the liberation struggle. Above is a detail from one of the plays performed there in July, 1982.

The immediate implications of this, of course, are that as we come together, sitting down to discuss the formation of such a union or unions, we must right from the beginning be able to clearly define the objectives of such a union, its general political direction and indeed the

organised into a strong union, our actions would have had a definite influence on the outcome of this case.

At present, the international cultural boycott, an important campaign against the regime, is being spearheaded (inside the country) by political and student or-

ganisation of "MEDU" on the other hand is a shining example of what progressive art should consist in and what organised artists can achieve. Let these serve to inspire us to organise more of such bodies and symposia inside the country.

# GA RE TSAMAE, KOORNHOF!

The past twelve months have seen the most ruthless and unprecedented spate of removals where our people have been shoved, usually at the point of a gun, to the most remote, arid and unproductive corners of the country.

Removals are the same as the Hitlerite genocidal plan where people were transported in cattle trucks to the concentration camps of Auschwitz, Beisen and Dachau. The dream Hitler had of the master race is no different from that of Koornhof and the Pretoria regime of ensuring that South Africa remains as "white" as possible. The realisation of this dream means untold suffering for our people.

## "REMOVED VOLUNTARILY"

The apologists and spokespeople of the racist regime say that the people are removed voluntarily. They declare that our people are being removed to 'better pastures'. But all of us know better. We know, for instance, that the Bakwena of Bagopa families resisted being removed. They put their foot down and said, "GA RE TSAMAE, Koornhof" — We are not moving! If this had been voluntary, then the regime would not have needed the soldiers and the police and the trucks that took our people away. The people of this endangered community would not have built schools and other community facilities if they had been ready to move. Moreover, these people have stayed in the land for more than 70 years.

Removals serve the racist regime. They serve the grand apartheid designs of Pretoria where our people are moved to some bantustan so that they finally lose their South African citizenship and provide, to the racist economy, the type of cheap labour the Nazis received from the concentration camps.

## HEROIC BATTLE

Within the community of Mogopa, the sections that resisted last June put up a heroic battle that should

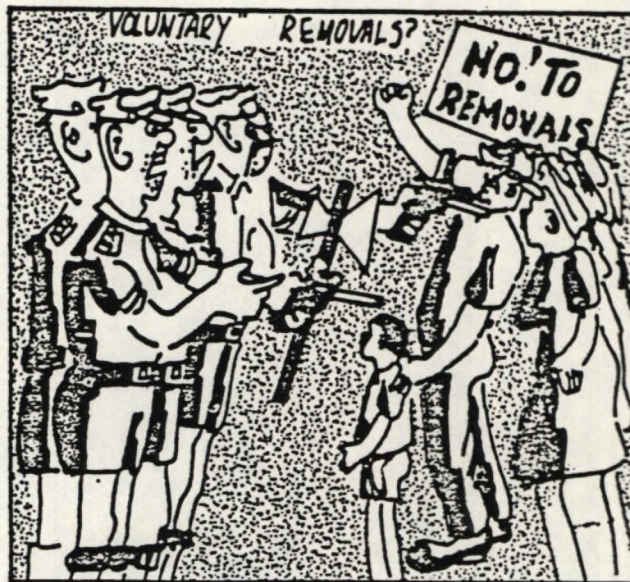
serve as an example for other communities threatened by removals. They showed the world that it was possible to resist the Pretoria Nazis. But ultimately the people had to move because there were those among them who held meetings, usually secret, with the representatives of the racist regime.

This was a mistake which no threatened community should commit. The people must always be united in their resistance. No one from our midst should allow himself to be tricked or forced into accepting removals. They are unhealthy for our well-being as a people and they serve to sharpen the teeth and whet the insatiable appetites of the racist ruling clique in Pretoria.

## MAJOR FAILING

Our other major failing was that we did not rally to the aid of the people being removed. We sat and watched as if saying, "This is not happening to us." Such a thing should not be allowed to happen again. Whatever happens to the people of Hout Bay, Crossroads, Nyanga, KTC, Mogopa, etc., happens to us also.

We should go to those



chiefs and headmen who allow themselves to be the tools of Piet Koornhof and the Pretoria murderers and stop them from working for the Boers. — In Mogopa we have real community leaders who stood by us even when they were facing harassment, sjambokking and prison.

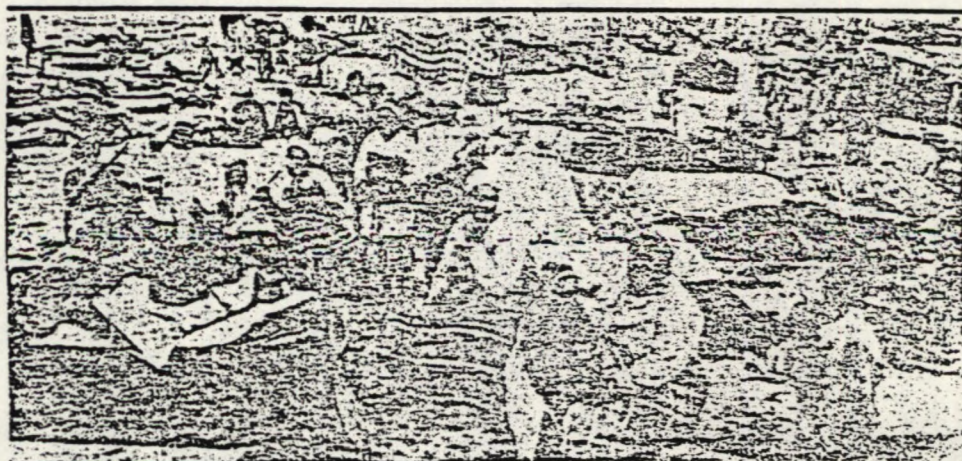
Communities outside the stricken areas should stretch their hand and help materially and morally. They should spread the word of the plight of the affected people. We should all strengthen all those organisations and committees in our communities and have them take a more fighting stand on the question of removals. People must

be imbued with the spirit of resistance and should be made to look upon this resistance as a school for greater participation in the overall liberation struggle.

We have all lived the best part of our lives under the threat of the gun, baton, jackboot and bulldozers. Our heads are bloody but unbowed. Let us all make sure that the racist enemy finds it impossible to move us anywhere.

Let us fight for a unitary, unfragmented and free South Africa of the Freedom Charter where all of us — black and white — can live together in peace and harmony.

GA RE TSAMAE, KOORNHOF!



Removals — a scene reminiscent of NAZI Germany where millions of people were dumped and left to die of starvation and backbreaking work in the concentration camps — the "resettlement" camps

## Interview Continued (FROM P.1)

village, factory you would have to have organisations to carry out and put such a decision into effect. This would mean you collect names and addresses. This is what people would be doing among themselves at home, on the ground. In addition, those who are on the ground together with the leadership would be considering a very wide range of strategies involving all levels of all communities. In this there are elements which no doubt we all agree, convert this into a positive and active campaign as against a negative abstentionist boycott. Important issues are at stake affecting not only the "coloured" and Indian people. I think it is important that the African people are the key participants. After all, we know that the bantustans are simply regional administrations.

We need to cut through all this fragmentation: the "coloured" on the side, the Indians on the side and the Africans on the another side and the bantustans even fragmented among themselves. We have to adopt positive approaches in this campaign. More than anything else, I believe that it is going to be possible to fire the imagination of the whole country. By the whole country, I mean black people, and even some

"thinking whites. There is a need to go on a nationwide campaign in support for a demand for universal adult franchise. This is the key. To counter the fragmentation being imposed by the white minority regime, we need to pose our alternative. The regime with its feudal practices, despite its modern industry, modern army, must be challenged as never before and its ferocity, its fascist intent must be exposed. We have to fight and pursue a programme designed to put us on the offensive. Our people are showing all the signs of being ready to be galvanised in opposition to the regime. The right and positive note needs to be struck and so carry the struggle to a significant stage forward. And I believe we are on the verge of doing that now. Our people are on the verge of doing that now.

**AMANDLAI MATLAI  
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**



## The order of the day


THE ONLY QUESTION THAT CONFRONTS US ALL SINGLY OR COLLECTIVELY, IS HOW WE SHOULD RESPOND TO-

**THE ORDER OF THE DAY—MOBILISE AND MARCH 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
- \*DISCUSS THE ISSUES RAISED WITH THE PEOPLE YOU MEET AND YOUR FRIENDS.

**BE CAREFUL!!!**



# Workers united will crush apartheid

"There was nothing we could do. The workers were in a position where they were not protected by legislation." These were the words of the South African Chemical Workers Union's General Secretary, Maneni Samela after the failure of the higher wages week-long legal strike by 8,500 AECI workers to secure their demand and after the threats of dismissal by the Management.

This is the first legal strike in the annals of South African black labour history and what does the outcome prove amongst others;

- that the exhaustion of all legal procedures by the workers to attain their legitimate demands is not guaranteed by the law itself,
- that the workers can be dismissed by management who are protected by their common-law rights to do so, immaterial of whether the strike is legal or not
- that the law is for the protection of the employers at the expense of the workers.

### REGISTRATION: IS IT WORTH IT?

Is registration under the Industrial Conciliation Act worth any while? The *Sunday Tribune* of 22-1-84 reports: "Trade Unionists said the stand by the AECI against almost 9,000 of its workers 'lays open the issue of whether it is worth going through the lengthy, time-and-money-consuming process of having a legal strike. The only protection workers who strike legally have is that they cannot be arrested'"

### WORKERS' PROBLEMS

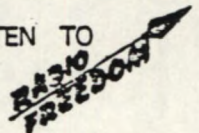
But obviously, workers do not wage a legal strike only to enjoy the guarantee of not being arrested. They do so to secure their demands.

The question of registration or not has been, and still is a burning issue. It is now about time that the workers address themselves to the question that has been learnt and experience gone through by the workers themselves.

The stand of the South African Congress of Trade Unions has always been that the Industrial Conciliation Act does not offer any solution to the problems of the workers. It is there to entrench the interests of the employers who are prepared to sacrifice even human life for profit. Under the existing apartheid laws, workers will always be at the mercy of the bosses, hence our call for the uprooting of the apartheid system and the institution of the people's democratic government in South Africa.

Our demands for economic and social changes at the factory floor cannot be divorced from our political struggle. It is towards this realisation that as workers we must address ourselves.

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