"Boycott: a weapon in struggle"

WHEN former Minister of Sport and Recreation, F.W. Waring, said that the Springbok colours are for whites only, he couldn’t have imagined that the whole of racist South Africa would have to account to the world community for his statement.

After years of scoffing at attempts by progressive countries to have South Africa change its racist and exclusive sports policies, racist South African sports administrators are dismayed and bewildered by the news that the Commonwealth Games Federation has adopted punitive measures aimed at driving racist South African sport into complete international isolation. Now, such countries as the United Kingdom and others, whose teams continue flirting with apartheid sport, are threatened with expulsion from future Commonwealth competitions unless they listen to sense and crack down on sporting links with racist South Africa.

THE FIRST STEP
An amendment to the Gleneagles Declaration was drafted at the meeting of the Commonwealth Games Federation, the ruling body, in Brisbane. This amendment, or the new code of conduct which has been written into the constitution, should close almost all sports connections with apartheid South Africa.

Any nation that infringes the new code can expect to be excluded from the next Commonwealth Games, Sam Ramsamy, Chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) and one of the moving spirits behind the Brisbane deal, said, “This is only the first step.” He and the leadership of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa have no intention of relaxing the offensive for the total isolation of racist South African sport.

STAGGERING SUMS

We can see, then, that we have the progressive world community supporting us in our fight. We must not forget that the United Nations declared 1982 the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions Against South Africa. While this should give us a measure of comfort, we should not close our eyes to the fact that the enemy will try anything to fight international sport isolation. The racists have offered tremendous amounts sometimes up to R75 000 for each player from abroad as in the case of cricket mercenaries from Sri Lanka. These staggering sums are aimed at putting a wedge between and finally splitting sports bodies like the International Cricket Conference whose affiliates could be lured to come and play with the racists.

We must remember that racist South Africa was suspended from the Olympic movement in 1960 and expelled in 1976. The racist sports administrators, seeing that their total isolation is imminent, have called a so-called national sports congress which will be held in Johannesburg next month. Another earlier panic measure that the racists took was to get the “Human Sciences Research Council” to investigate ways and means of providing loopholes through which racist South Africa could thwart total isolation. The findings of the “HSRC” and the statistics it compiled are further testimony that the racists would like to give the international community the impression that they are veering away from apartheid sport. The “HSRC” still talks of “multi-racial” sport as an ideal whereas the people of South Africa want non-racial sport.

NON-RACIAL SPORT

Sacos, which has always championed the ideal of non-racial sport in our country, has organised a sports festival showing the people of South Africa that non-racial sport is not impossible, nor is one of the opportunities through which people of South Africa can meet on an equal footing and have a practical example of living together in peace and security. The detractors, those who do not like unity, have tried to sabotage this festival by distributing pamphlets giving conflicting dates on sports events. “This,” said Frank van der Horst, festival convener and vice-president of Sacos, “can only be the work of agents of multinational sport. It is organised to cause confusion.”

We have always shown, through acts of unity in action, that we have the power of sending sports mercenaries scurrying back to their lairs with their tails between their legs. Our strength lies in our unity. We must use the total isolation of racist South Africa from international sport by rallying behind non-racial sports bodies like Sacos. We must co-ordinate the activities of our women’s, civic, students’, community organisations to ensure the biggest offensive against mercenary sports events. We should have nothing to do with the so-called national sports congress that will try at bringing to life a corpse that is already smelting.

EFFECTIVE WEAPON

Our most effective weapon is the boycott of all these events; we must demonstrate against them. Total isolation of racist South Africa should be our rallying cry. ANC Sec-Gen., Comrade A. Nzo eloquently laid down the guidelines when he said: “A boycott is a weapon in the struggle — a weapon that can only be used by a people fighting together as a consolidated unit. Therefore, when people decide to boycott, the first objective is to fight for unity, to expose enemy manoeuvres, enemy agents and traitors to the popular cause.”
The announcement in mid-February that a deadline for the "elections" to both the "Coloured" and the Indian chambers of the tricameral parliament has been set for August 22, should set in motion the greatest boycott campaign ever launched in our country.

The choice of a boycott as a weapon for the defeat of the racist constitutional schemes is dictated by the advantages it has, both tactically and politically, over the weapon of "rejectionist participation" in the coming "elections". An option for the latter will only lead to the political confusion of the people; reverse organisational achievements we have made so far; decrease the degree of organisation of Indian and coloured" puppet leaders and we would then be very much in the same position where they are actually seeking power for their own ends. In this way, we would lose the main aim of defeating Botha's constitutional schemes, and also the chance to use the campaign as an organisational, educational and political weapon.

BOYCOTT WEAPON

very potent and sharp

We should realise that the racists are engulfed in a deep political crisis and are desperate to produce an alternative that would entrench apartheid without seeming to do so. Their hopes hinge on the success of this plan.

On the other hand, we the democratic forces regard the destruction of these plans as central. In the struggles of the past few years, the boycott weapon has shown itself to be very potent and sharp. Through a boycott, the South African Indian Council was reduced to a laughable caricature. Others, like the community councils and bantustan administrations, were brought into power by the most negligible fraction of the people.

ORGANISED BODIES FOR STRUGGLE

The destruction of the enemy's constitutional plans will mean that we have taken our struggle further towards the seizure of political power by the people. It will mean that the crisis faced by the fascist rulers will have deepened and will bring further disarray within their ranks. This will bring new challenges to complete the system's destruction — and we have to be prepared for these.

It is in this light that the other advantages of the boycott come to the fore.

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EDITORIAL

War and Peace in Southern Africa

Events in Southern Africa over the last two months, especially, have confirmed the urgent necessity for us to liberate our country and thus make a decisive contribution to the establishment of a just and stable peace in our region.

The Pretoria regime launched its diplomatic offensive, having calculated that the scale of wanton destruction of human lives and property that it had already caused and the promise of more brigandage were sufficient incentive for the independent states of our region to bow down to its will.

RACIST DISAPPOINTMENT

To its disappointment, it finds however, that the Kingdom of Lesotho refuses to enter into a so-called non-aggression pact. The People's Republic of Angola insists that peace on the western flank of our region can only come about as a result of the genuine independence of Namibia and the destruction of the puppet UNITA bands in Angola.

For its part, the People's Republic of Mozambique reiterated its support for the ANC while the Republic of Zambia affirms that there can be no peace in Southern Africa while the apartheid system holds sway in South Africa.

FIRMLY COMMITTED

The ANC and SWAPO remain firm in committed to the escalation of the struggle by all means, fighting from within their countries, for the liberation of the people of South Africa and Namibia.

Since the combination at the heart of the South African regime has failed to act as a result of the demands of the masses, the ANC decided to launch the uninterrupted offensive that will bring war of aggression is being conducted by a regime from our own country..." He went on to say: "In this context, let the oppressed and democrats of our country assume their historic responsibility, recognising that the struggle in South Africa is the hope of the sub-continent."

HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY

Indeed, the time has come for us to assume our historic responsibility. The peoples of our region and the rest of the world are looking to us, the democratic and liberation forces of Southern Africa, to launch the uninterrupted offensive that will bring closer to realisation the dream of peace in the subcontinent.

As President Tambo said, we must "raise our voices in condemnation of aggression... (We must) demand and fight for the immediate withdrawal of all South African troops and mercenaries, Pretoria-backed bandits and special assassination groups from Angola, Namibia and other affected countries of Southern Africa..."

Now it is the time to develop a big mass campaign around the demands: No to Aggression! Yes to Liberation and Peace!

At the same time, we must further sharpen and extend our assault on the organs of government of the apartheid regime. To reduce the capacity of the racists to govern our country also means to weaken its capacity to commit aggression against independent Africa.

AGGRESSIVE FORCE

By its nature an aggressive force, the Pretoria regime has stepped up its counter-offensive in our region, at this time, because it feels weak inside our country. It is engaged in a hopeless search for solutions to the general crisis in which it is immersed.

The situation demands that we hit the enemy and hit it hard and continuously in our forward march to people's power and peace.

THE CENTRAL QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS IS THE SEIZURE OF POWER!

SACTU'S CALL ON MAY DAY

ORGANISE! MOBILISE! UNITE!

What are we doing to honour May Day, May 1st?

From today let us workers take this issue to our unions. Let us involve all our community organisations like: youth, women, civic, church, sports bodies and so on.

We can organise seminars, workshops, rallies — let us workers march bravely under our banner: AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!

Those of us workers in the mine compounds, on farms, in the bantustans, women workers; those of us living in the appalling conditions at hostels like Makiti, Shakaville, Hambenoth — let us all UNITE IN ACTION on May Day.

Through out the country let us form May Day Committees to plan how we will honour this Labour Day. Let us plan now, let us all do something!

ORGANISE! MOBILISE! UNITE FOR PEOPLE'S POWER!

An injury to one is an injury to all!

South African Congress of Trade Unions

LET US UNITE AND FIGHT FOR:

* an end to repression against trade unionists, workers and our people
* an end to migrant labour, passes, bantustans and unemployment
* an end to poverty wages and the ever-spiralling cost of living
* an end to the war in Southern Africa, especially in Angola
* an end to all racist laws

LET US UNITE AND FIGHT FOR:

* safety and health standards which are entrenched by law, can be monitored by unions and workers, therefore making contravention by the bosses a punishable offence
* the unity of all workers, including those presently in reactionary unions like TUCSA. Let us ensure their withdrawal from these puppet unions.

ORGANISE! MOBILISE! UNITE! THE CENTRAL QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS IS THE SEIZURE OF POWER!
As one approaches the bantustans or the “settlements” of the black workers in the white farms, one common feature is evident in abundance — poverty. Half-starved children with bloated bellies such their thumbs wondering where they will get their next meal. Skinny cattle, the few there are, stand in the day barren wild with them protruding from their emaciated bodies. In short, it is glaringly clear that hunger abounds for both people and livestock.

There is no doubt that these masses of our people, condemned to spend their lives in such misery, possess tremendous revolutionary potential for the bitter struggle that lies ahead. And, since the women are in the majority and generally have to bear the full impact of the day to day collisions with these inhuman conditions, it is essential that they be organised into a fighting force which will conduct consistent struggles for people’s power.

**RURAL AND RURAL ORGANISATION**

As has happened with all the successful popular revolutionary struggle in the world, it is essential for us to combine urban and rural organisation and mobilisation. In this way as we advance against the enemy we will be able to suffocate him through our varied stranglehold on him. Presently, we have achieved a relatively advanced level in urban organisation and must do the same with rural masses, especially the women, in this Year of the Women.

We have to look at some of the major causes of the particularly harsh conditions of the rural women such as the migrant labour system, landlessness, low-paying farm work, etc.

One of the major propaganda drives of the racists is to portray the migrant men in the cities as irresponsible drunks who spend their wages on liquor and prostitutes instead of sending the money to their wives in the rural areas. By so saying, they are trying to hide the real reason for the poverty in the countryside. They want us to believe that the men who are working in the cities feel no responsibility for their families in the countryside. But the truth is that the system, by separating and deliberately bringing instability within the African families, is directly responsible for the way many of the workers tend to live when they are in the cities. They are in a position of helplessness and inability to support their families and are forced to form “substitute” families for themselves. These very “substitute” families are themselves people who are forced to live this kind of life because of an absence of any source of livelihood.

The question of migrant labour and influx control must then form one of the core issues around which we organise the rural women. The evils of the Genocide Bill (Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons’ Bill) should be explained to them because they are going to be the most affected. How many of their men, who are today still able to scrape a living in the urban areas, will be dumped in these bantustans to complete the apartheid regime’s genocidal dreams? To avert this situation means organising these women against the bantustan administrations who are collaborating in the fascist schemes to make this Bill into a law.

On the question of organising the rural masses around the issue of land, the January 8th Statement of the National Executive Committee of the ANC states: “One of the fundamental elements for the solution of the problems facing our people in the countryside is the resolution of the land question in favour of the tillers. Our immediate task, therefore, is to mobilise the rural masses around the question of land. It is only when the countryside is organised that the rural masses will respond to the call: ‘Seize the land!’”

**NATIONAL OFFENSIVE**

It is again clear that the women, who remain behind in the bantustan, are expected to make a living out of the land. However, only magicians would make a living out of barren pieces of earth. In the white farms, where their cheap labour is extensively used, women and children till the land from morning to sunset without hope of ever fruited themselves from the vicious clutches of the white farmers whose only work is to collect the huge profits.

For the successful revolutionary overthrow of the fascists, we cannot afford to leave this important section of our people unorganised. To understand the resoluteness of our women, we need only to recall their memorable actions in 1913 over the question of land, in Zeerust against passes, their unshakeable stand in the Pondoland Revolt, in Natal and in many other instances where our people have fought against removals and the destruction of squatter camps.

To achieve the task of bringing the women together into strong, united organisations, we have to select those issues that can bring them together immediately and create the necessary grounds for national unity around such tasks as destroying the bantustan system and the struggle for the transfer of land to the tillers.

Thus as the first step in the organisation of rural women, we must organise them around their immediate problems — removals, living and working conditions in the white farms and in the bantustans, health facilities, etc.

This means that the organised women’s movement and other democratic forces should spare no effort in assisting the rural women to form their own grassroot organisations, guiding them and activating them for increased participation in our national offensive.

A broad democratic front like the UDF should also take, as one of its priorities, the involvement of rural women. This would help further to deepen the roots of the democratic movement. Similarly, the trade union movement should also help in organising the agricultural and rural women workers.

The brutality of the apartheid institutions, especially in the rural areas, calls for support of the women in the countryside from all sections of our population. All our people must rally together the rural people around the question of land and freedom.

Women, unite for People’s Power!
In 1976, journalist David Raklin was imprisoned for preparing and distributing literature of the national liberation movement in South Africa. Last December he was released and deported to Britain. After 7 years, he surveys the political scene in South Africa and finds dramatic changes:

Emerging from a South African political prison after a sentence of 7 years, one is impressed above all by striking transformation of the South African political scene that has occurred in the period that began in Soweto in June 1976. I was lucky. I was sentenced in September 1976 as the fumes of tear gas sucked in by the air conditioners reminded everyone in court that the racist regime was desperately defending itself against a popular uprising. I began my sentence with a strong sense of achievement and purpose. Now, at the time of my release, the movement for the liberation of South Africa stands stronger than ever, while the enemy camp is divided and uncertain. Dominating the scene is the emergence of the African National Congress and its sister organisations as the leading force and authentic voice of the oppressed majority. The deep roots struck by the ANC among the black people of South Africa during long years of struggle proved able to withstand the political drought-years of the late 1960s. As the popular movement re-emerged, the ANC began to grow and flourish. It was not so easy to see this in the early 1970s, while working in the underground movement inside South Africa. The racist regime seemed almost invincible. The masses appeared subdued. The name of the ANC was banished from public discussions. But the ANC, whether abroad or deep underground inside the country had never been discouraged. After Soweto the liberation movement was able to raise both the armed and mass struggles to levels never before attained. Armed units of Umkhonto we Sizwe have engaged enemy targets and forces in an ever-increasing number of attacks and have shown growing strength, skill and combat efficiency.

The attacks on Sasol petrol-from-coal plants and the Koeberg nuclear power station were among the most spectacular of these operations. Recently the ANC has announced its determination to raise the armed struggle to a higher level with more attacks aimed at meeting the enemy face to face. Armed propaganda is to be supplemented by guerrilla tactics as a further stage of people's war. The development of the armed struggle has had an enormous impact on the political situation in South Africa. Among the masses it has generated a sense of pride and revolutionary enthusiasm essential to the long task of overthrowing the racist regime. For many decades the racists had the monopoly of the use of force in South Africa, and they used it ruthlessly to maintain their privileges and subjugate the black majority. Today this monopoly no longer exists. This in itself has transformed the political situation in South Africa. Alongside and closely connected to the armed struggle there has grown up a mass movement of popular resistance that today has become so strong the apartheid state is powerless to enforce the legal ban on the ANC effectively.

Before I went to prison the ANC was a forbidden topic. People spoke its name in whispers. As a newspaper subeditor I was instructed to delete the organisation's name whenever it occurred in news agency reports. Today the ANC receives almost daily mention in the English-language and even Afrikaans press in South Africa. The conspiracy of silence has been broken.

Today no serious discussion of politics can take place in South Africa without taking into account the ANC, its policies and activities. Mass organisations, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF), have sprung up.

A powerful movement of non-racial trade unions has emerged, fighting for workers' rights and conscious of the inseparable connection between the aspirations of the black workers and the objective of people's power. The emergence of the Freedom Charter as a central document of the South African liberation struggle is one of the most remarkable developments of the period I spent in prison.

Before 1976 the Charter was rarely mentioned in newspapers or other publications. A whole generation of young black people had grown up without a close understanding of the demands raised by the Charter. But those demands, which had issued from the hearts of the African masses and been
formulated in the historic Congress of the People, in 1955, were deeply rooted in the black community. When in 1980 the ANC declared the Year of the Charter, the response of the masses was immediate and overwhelming.

Today the Freedom Charter acts as a guiding light to the rapidly developing movements of mass resistance. Because the Charter expresses so clearly and so forcefully the deepest aspirations of the oppressed majority, no political questions can be settled or even discussed without referring to the Charter.

Just as the Charter has the effect of uniting the black major it serves to divide the whites. More and more white students and youth are coming to realise that their true interests lie in identification with the ideals of the Charter and are deciding that they want to live in the kind of society the Charter describes.

**AFRIKANER YOUTH**

Even among the Afrikaner youth and intellectuals the Charter has found a response. The chairman of the Afrikaner student ginger-group, Pato, Francios du Bois, a grandson of Hendrik Verwoerd, has said his organisation supports the ‘broad principles’ of the Freedom Charter. Afrikaner students, he said, were ‘particularly interested in the sections concerning protection of minority groups’.

In fact, as veteran trade unionist and UDF leader Oscar Mpetha recently pointed out, there is a close connection between the growing unity of the black masses and the increasing fragmentation of the racist bloc.

When I went to prison in 1976 the monolith of Afrikanerdom appeared invincible. Whatever doubts there may have been were closely concealed and discussed only behind the firmly sealed doors of the ‘Volk’.

Today the Afrikaners are openly divided. Their mighty National Party (NP) has split and a savage internecine struggle is being waged in Afrikaner institutions from the boy scouts to the Broederbond.

Not only are there irreconcilable antagonisms between the NP and Andries Treurnicht’s Conservative Party, but there are deep divisions within the NP itself.

P.W. Botha’s supporters are divided about how fast and far the sham reform process should proceed in regard to the Indian and so-called Coloured people. They are divided over how the proposed ‘confederation’ of the Bantustans and the white state should be structured. And they are divided between the militarists and those who fear the consequences to themselves should power pass openly to the techniques of terror.

But not everything that has happened during the years I spent ‘inside’ has been favourable to the liberation movement. The racists, growing daily more desperate, have unleashed a savage campaign to destabilise the black states of Southern Africa and punish all those who dare to identify with the aspirations of their oppressed brothers and sisters in South Africa.

Unable to offer a political alternative or even to create credible puppets, the racists have to content themselves with bombing creches, destroying health centres and blowing up railway and power lines.

I may firmly believe that the policy of the present government of the United States for ‘constructive engagement’ with Pretoria is a blank cheque to indulge in these acts of barbarism.

It is a well-known fact that ruling groups who see the balance of forces moving irrevocably against them are tempted to lash out even more recklessly in an attempt to turn the tide of history. It is a sign of weakness. But given the military capacity of Pretoria and its Western friends — it is also a real danger with which the freedom-loving peoples of Southern Africa and the continent as a whole will have to learn to deal.

**AMANDLA**

The Afrikaans churches, among the most powerful social and ideological forces in white South Africa, are also deeply divided. As the Rev Allan Boesak, one of the leaders of the UDF, recently explained: ‘There is an intimate relationship between the volk, the church, the state and the organisations created by the state’ in South Africa.

Rev Boesak predicted a ‘crisis of confidence and confusion within the Afrikaner community’ that would inevitably lead to an ‘horrible clash’.

**STOP THE APARTHEID MURDER OF**

**Malesela Benjamin Moloiise**

**FALICELY CHARGED AND CONVIUCTED**
Reaction on the increase

"In the Ciskei, as with other so-called independent bantustans, we must take the battle further. In the conflict of will between ourselves and the murderous Sebe regime, our will must prevail. And it will if we transform what began at resistance toboa fare in Mdantsane and the murderous Sebe regime, our will must prevail. We must take the battle further. In the conflict of will between us and the system.

The above words were spoken by ANC President Comrade O.R. Tambo on the occasion of January 8 when he declared 1984 the Year of the Women.

As the patriotic revolutionary forces gain the ascendancy in the struggle for political power as has been the case in many revolutionary struggles, the puppeteers used by the ruling circles find themselves threatened and begin to unleash the most ruthless repression against the popular forces.

Towards the end of last year, the people of South Africa bore witness to the brutality of the bantustan system. Trade unionists and workers were arrested and detained without trial. Some unions, like SAAWU, were banned outright.

Beginning on August 4, the people of Mdantsane in the Ciskei Bantustan boycotted buses after an 11% increase on bus fares. The Ciskei "president", Lennox Sebe, let loose his armed police and vigilantes who shot and killed and maimed the boycotters. About a hundred people lost their lives and hundreds more were injured. A reign of terror followed, with people being interned in the makeshift concentration camp of the Sis Dukashe Stadium where in the dark, Mdantsane residents could hear screams that shattered the silence of the night.

Cowardly Acts

Many in the Western world see Gatsha as the Savimbi of South Africa, to come between the fight by the people of South Africa, led by the ANC, and the racist regime. In boasting about Inkatha's being the leader of the South Africa Black Alliance (SABA), he offers himself as an alternative to the ANC.

While Inkatha stands "for a western type of democracy," he says, "the ANC is supporting a Soviet type of government for South Africa." He goes on to say that the Soviet Union and its allies "are pouring in aid of very kind into the ANC and the misguided western countries and western organisations are contributing to the ANC under the mistaken belief that the ANC's strategy will succeed as Frelimo's did in Mozambique and Zanu's in Zimbabwe."

The South African racist regime allows Gatsha to criticise it on foreign podiums for the simple reason that he is in turn one of its main apologists and gives it a measure of respectability. He protects the interests of the West more jealously than any of the so-called homeland leaders in South Africa. He weeps, as it were, louder than the bereaved. One unfaithfully likens him to a smart dog that has been given a rubber bone to play with but has its eye on a real juicy bone of power. The unfortunate aspect of all this is that the man does not care over how many dead bodies he climbs to reach this goal. In his public statements he has begun to sound increasingly like the fascist regime itself.

He has made it extremely difficult for the people of KwaZulu to go about on their normal day to day life. To swell the ranks of Inkatha, teachers and civil servants don't have a ghost of a chance to get jobs unless they take up Inkatha membership. It is this forced membership that he shouts about in foreign countries as he scipes the barrel for investments to shore up the apartheid system.

We have for a long time resisted the Bantustan system. We have been loud in saying no to Bantustans. Our attention should now be turned to chasing out the Bantustan hyenas — Sebe, Mangope, Matanzima, Mphephu, etc. — and destroying the puppet oppressive structures they continue to man.

Tackle New Tasks

The action of the workers of boycotting Sebe's buses until he was forced to forget about the increase in fares is commendable. But we have to build on that victory to tackle new tasks. What should we do is to uproot the whole Bantustan tree, as a step towards the destruction of the system of exploitation, starvation and murder that apartheid is.

We should stand up together to banish the Bantustan system for ever. Student, women, civic, cultural, peasant, workers and community organisations should make it their number one priority to destroy the bantustans.

Committees like the Ngoye Crisis Committee should be formed through the length and breadth of the country as part of our broad democratic movement. These committees should inform the people of the evils of the Bantustan system. They should educate the people and give them guidelines about the ways and means of combating and defeating this system.

We must not, at the same time, lose sight of our primary enemy. We must not allow the racist regime to run away from dealing with us by keeping us busy fighting the Bantustans. We should combine this struggle with, and wage it as part and parcel of, our main goal — the seizure of power.

As President O.R. Tambo said, "The intolerable hardships and sufferings: the persecutions, detentions and murders of patriots and democrats. In... Bantustans call for the establishment of fighting organisations to organise and lead the struggle for the destruction of these racist institutions of oppression."

Let us heed the call to form these fighting organisations. Where they already exist, let us support and strengthen them. In this way we will have honed sharper the Spear of the Nation. We shall have come closer to the creation of a People's Government!
Walls must have ANC slogans

The people of Lamontville and Chesterville have for some time been at the eye of the storm as they waged wars against the racists' institutions such as the administration boards and their "councillors". They have paid hard for this with the murder of their popular leaders.

Gatsha Buthelezi and the ANC tried to incorporate among urban townships, into Kwazulu. The people said no to incorporation. Through all sections of the community — youth, workers, women — came out and lashed into the sell-outs and mpimpi.

In the January 8 ANC NEC statement, Comrade President O.R. Tambo said: "In the course of our struggles against rent increases and other facets of apartheid, such as the proposed incorporation of some townships into the KwaZulu Bantustan, we have gone further to destroy part of the administrative infrastructure of the Pretoria regime."

MK EXAMPLE

Inspired by the glorious example of Umkhonto we Sikele, the people are transforming themselves into the spear of the nation; they have identified the enemy and worked at elimination of all those things in the community that harass people and oppress them.

The people have formed themselves into propaganda units that have made the name of the ANC and heroic army of the people, known to all through their writing on the walls. We must sharpen this aspect of our war against the regime. We must leave no public space empty of our political slogans. The enemy will repaint the spots but they cannot delude the oppressed people by whitewashing their sins.

"From these examples, President O.R. Tambo said, it is clear that we have the ability to raise the struggle to greater heights. Having rejected the community councils by boycotting the elections, we should not allow them to be imposed on us. We do not want them. We must ensure that they cease to exist. Where administration boards have taken over their function, these must be destroyed too."

Forward to the People's Government!
Mayibuye page 8

BOYCOTT!

From Page 1

It is clear that in such a struggle we will have to put forward to the people our democratic ideal of a new South Africa as opposed to the oppressive and exploitative alternative of the past. We will be able to school the popular masses in the politics of revolutionary change and organise them into the underground of the ANC. In short, we will be able to transform the day to day struggles in the process of the boycott into the struggle for the capture of state power.

Finally, the boycott campaign will provide us with the opportunity to unite in action and act in unity. The goal is one — to ensure that nobody votes the puppet in and the puppets are not allowed to stand. Our action will be the determining factor because the strength of our organisations, our political goals, all derive from our popular united action.

Let us waste no time and move resolutely into country-wide action. Our families, our neighbours and our friends should be the first to be drawn into active participation to halt the sell-out by the puppet parties.

FORWARD TO A SUCCESSFUL BOYCOTT!!!

RADIO FREEDOM
VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
AND UMKHONTO WE SAWU, THE PEOPLE'S ARMY.

RADIO TANZANIA
External Service, Dar es Salaam

154 KHz. 19mb shortwave,
9980 KHz, 31mb shortwave,
Mondays, Wednesdays,
Fridays at 8.15am (SA time)

MADAGASCAR
5135 KHz, 49mb shortwave
and 5910 KHz shortwave,
7.30 — 9.30pm daily

ETHIOPIA
9.9/10 KHz, 31mb shortwave;
9.30 — 10.00pm daily

LUSSAKA
9580 KHz, 31mb shortwave,
Monday-Friday 7.15 — 8pm,
Wednesday 10.00 — 10.30pm,
9:30 — 10.00pm
Saturday & Sunday 7-7pm,
Sunday 8.45am, 10mb
17895mb KHz

LUANDA
40 and 30mb shortwave; 27.6 mb on medium wave 7.30pm
(SA time).

Puppets' houses set on fire

With the farcical community council "election" over and the puppets having been installed by their masters, our greatest effort has to be directed towards making these bodies to crumble as part of our offensive to destroy the enemy's organs of government.

In one of the most significant events in the heightening struggle against these sell-outs, the people of Sobantu in Pietermaritzburg were able to force the community councillors to bow to the will of the people and resign. In the aftermath of this resignation, the Administrative Board itself a target of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the object of the people's wrath several times (in the past) decided to take over the running of the affairs of Sobantu.

This action did not dampen the fighting spirit of the people as it was intended. Instead, the people of Sobantu began attacking the Administration Board itself.

ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE PEOPLE

In other areas of the country, the people also clearly displayed their anger. The so-called mayor of Diepmeadow, J. Mahabush, had his house burnt down while the house of Patrick Gabutloeloe, a Soweto "town councillor", was petrol bombed. These are but a few actions taken by the people.

ORGANISE AND DEMONSTRATE!

Any man less committed to the selling out of his people would pause and ask himself why the people have become so angry with him that they decide to burn down his house. He might then apologise to the people and resign from the oppressive community councils or local authorities as the racists want us to call them now. But not these men like Kgame, Mahabush, Tahabala and others. Their commitment goes to deep for them to resile from these bodies.

It is therefore our task to remove from them from these bodies. We cannot wait for other distant "elections" in order to demonstrate our rejection of this system, as we did in November and December, and only to find that the puppets again defy us and further our oppression.

To fight for the resignation of these puppet councillors, we have to use the anti-community council organisations we formed in preparation for our successful boycott. Not a day must pass without these oppressors' pawns being attacked by us for sitting in the community council chambers when we have told them clearly through our boycott that we will not allow ourselves to be sold anymore.

We have it within us to force the councillors' resignations. So let us organise and unite behind our organisations and demonstrate that these organisations that have been formed by us are our true voices.

Our demand from these people who feel no pangs of conscience at selling out their people for power and money should be resignation from the community councils and taking a public stand against these evil bodies.

Houses of community councillors and Administration Board offices have been burnt down!!

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 ON A PUBLIC WALL OR ON THE SHELTER AT NIGHT
• DISCUSS THE ISSUES RAISED WITH THE PEOPLE YOU MEET AND YOUR FRIENDS

BE CAREFUL!!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Let us make our country ungovernable

This issue: all people, the PBO’s regime, is busy carrying out its programme of implementing the provisions of its new apartheid constitution. The friend and instrument of the blood-thirsty generals of the so-called South African Defence Force, F.W. Botha, has been installed as President of racist South Africa. He will proceed to appoint various persons to his cabinet and to his ministerial councils, all of which will be presided over by Botha’s war-council, the so-called State Security Council.

The people of our country are living in an atmosphere of fear and terror. The destruction of our country, by a small band of fanatical racists, is being further refined, reinforced and strengthened.

The question that faces the democratic movement of our country is whether, from our point of view, things are proceeding according to plan? Are we achieving our objectives and making our country ungovernable?

Release Mandela campaigners say no to constitution!

CONTINUED PAGE 4
THE racist regime has received a stinging slap in the face. All efforts of the Botha-Malan clique to co-opt the Coloured and Indian communities and make them partners in maintaining a system of national oppression and exploitation have been met with a solid wall of resistance by our people. Despite all efforts to divide and mislead our people into thinking of racially compartmentalised groups, the mounting mass campaign against the tri-cameral parliament has demonstrated that the different communities of our country think as one people, see our country as an undivided South Africa and are acting in unity.

The Botha-Malan clique has had its mask torn off its face. Botha talks of disengagement, of the election results demonstrating that our people are ‘not ready to exercise their constitutional rights’. Other spokesmen of the regime talk of the results as a setback and describe the ferment, the militancy and anger sweeping through our country as constituting a ‘revolutionary situation’. In other words, the enemy has been forced to concede defeat.

In the midst of the wreckage of its intrigue, Botha is already talking of another ‘new dispensation’, of some further tinkering aimed at gaining some token credibility. This time a ‘dispensation’ for ‘urban’ Africans.

It is clear that the Botha-Malan clique, augmented by the tiny band of totally discredited stooges, like the Hendrickses, the Rajbansis and Pocumnings, will push ahead to perpetuate their lies, to increase repression and prolong the life of apartheid and white minority rule.

The tasks before our people have never been as clear as this. We have to move ahead, correct our mistakes, do away with weaknesses, fortify and extend our resistance.

Let us by a campaign of systematic isolation of the states in every sphere of our lives show them that we shall not tolerate their presence in our midst. Let the convening of the tri-cameral parliament be a demonstration of our will to carry forward our resistance.

At the same time, let us make atake stock of the gains at which we need to strengthen our resistance, of the section of our people that need to be drawn into the mainstream of the struggle. In particular, let us ensure that the participation of our workers in the mass battles that lie ahead is strengthened, that the militancy of our students youth and women is sharpened and that our communities in the towns and the countryside stand fast together, to confront the enemy on all fronts.

And let us grasp more firmly one of the fundamental lessons of the history of the long march of our people to freedom. Even in the present campaign, the regime has once again demonstrated its resolve to use repression, intimidation, and terror, the naked force of its police, army and the State, to hang on to power. The way forward to victory is the ever increasing combination of united action by our masses and organised revolutionary violence under the leadership of the ANC and Umkhonto We Sivwe. People’s War is the way to victory.

We can on all people in all their formations to unite to make every attempt to toss the tri-cameral parliament on us a resounding declaration of our resolve to defeat the racist regime.

The government of India, on its behalf, and on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which it is chairman, condemned the racist plots to co-opt certain sections of the oppressed people as co-pressors of the African majority and called on the Coloureds and Indians not to vote on August 22nd and 28th.

The Socialist International which met in Tanzania in August, added its voice to the worldwide condemnation of the apartheid plans to deceive the world by bringing into being a constitution that excludes the majority of the people of South Africa.

Through the United Nations and as individual states, the socialist states gave their pledge to continue their unwavering support for the liberation movement of South Africa, led by the ANC until the criminal Botha regime is removed from power and a democratic and non-racial state is created in its place.

There is no doubt that all peace-loving and democratic peoples of the world are with us in our just struggle for the seizure of political power in South Africa from the apartheid criminal regime.

THE world is with us

The constitution of the Botha-Malan regime has not only been rejected by the people of South Africa themselves but has been rejected by the whole world.

The United Nations Security Council was specially convened in August to take its stand on the apartheid constitution. In the resolution passed, the racist constitution was declared "null and void". All member states voted for the resolution with the exception of Britain and the United States, the closest allies of South Africa, which abstained.

The O.A.U. Liberation Committee voiced the total support of the African continent for our cause, when it condemned the constitution as just a window dressing by Botha, and declared its continued support for the liberation movement.

The Anti-Apartheid movements of Britain, the Netherlands, France, U.S.A., Scandinavia, Japan, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and other European countries, expressed their total rejection of the constitution and called on their governments to stop their economic and political support which strengthens the Pretoria regime.

The government of India, on its behalf, and on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which it is chairman, condemned the racist policies to co-opt certain sections of the oppressed people as co-pressors of the African majority and called on the Coloureds and Indians not to vote on August 22nd and 28th.

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bishops protest against Botha's visit in June
A fitting commemoration

THE spirit of August 9, 1956, which drove 20,000 women marching to the Union Buildings against the hated pass laws, lives on in the hearts of our women unquelled. Each year, in the last few years, has seen us coming nearer to the organisational capacity we had when we marched on Pretoria in 1956.

In this Year of the Women it was especially fitting that this memorable day should be as widely celebrated as it was, both inside and outside our country, From August 8 - 12 mass meetings were held in the country and in many areas of the world.

Among some of the meetings held in the country were those in Evaton, Turffloop, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban, Cape Town, and many other places. Organisations that took part jointly or in various centres included the South African Domestic Workers' Association, United Women's Organisation, Fedswa, Vaa: Organisation of Women, Women's Front, Border Women's Organisation, United Women's Movement, and other local and regional women's organisations. There were also present and participating in these meetings trade unions, students and youth organisations as well as churches which conducted services on Sunday 12th.

VALUABLE PLATFORMS

For the democratic movement mobilising for a boycott the fake elections for the Indians and the "Coloureds" these meetings provided valuable platforms which contributed to the success of the campaign. The broad spectrum of the groups and the number of women's organisations which took part in countrywide celebrations was a clear pointer to where we are going - towards the creation of a truly representative and national organis-

ational women of our country.

As we shall recall, the NEC of the ANC has declared 1984 the Year of the Women in recognition of the great contribution and sacrifices our women have made in the difficult and protracted struggle to eradicate the apartheid colonial system for our national liberation and social emancipation.

Moving from the point that women form a vital element of the liberation forces in our country, our leadership issued this declaration for mobilising our womenfolk into an even more powerful, conscious, united and active force for revolutionary change.

We are confident that the Women's Section of the ANC will strive for the attainment of even greater results...

In this Year of the Women Mayibuye publishes excerpts of the message below:

On the occasion of the 9th of August, allow us to salute the strident and heroic women of our country.

As we shall recall, the NEC of the ANC has declared 1984 the Year of the Women in recognition of the great contribution and sacrifices our women have made in the difficult and protracted struggle to eradicate the apartheid colonial system for our national liberation and social emancipation.

Moving from the point that women form a vital element of the liberation forces in our country, our leadership issued this declaration for mobilising our womenfolk into an even more powerful, conscious, united and active force for revolutionary change.

We are confident that the Women's Section of the ANC will strive for the attainment of even greater results...

On this day we take the opportunity not only to salute the veterans and fighters of our struggle but solemnly lower the revolutionary banner for the fallen heroines of our struggle in embattled South Africa...

We salute and greet all the struggling women in our country in the towns, villages and rural areas. We would like to once more express our deepest confidence that our womenfolk will not only use their newly-found organisational strength for raising the combat effectiveness of their immediate front...

Amanda Ngwethu

NOW YOU HAVE TOUCHED THE WOMEN YOU HAVE STRUCK A ROCK YOU HAVE DISLODGED A BOULDER YOU WILL BE CRUSHED AUGUST 9 WOMEN'S DAY

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN
Let us make our country ungovernable

continued from page 1)

to everything that Botha seeks to promote and engage using his dictatorial powers as President.

OPTION FOR UNITY

ey went beyond mere truce. They rejected the white minority for the domination of the African majority. Instead, they demonstrated resolve to remain part of a united, democratic and racial South Africa. They rejected the apartheid system and opted for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. They demonstrated resolve to remain part of a mass democratic movement of South Africa, knowing well that the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa necessarily entails suffering and sacrifice.

In essence, our victory consists in the fact that the organised democratic forces of our country as their authentic representative, and to accept consciously the perspective of a united struggle for a free South Africa, refusing to be misled by false promises of reform and gradual adaptation or amendment of the apartheid system.

In answering the question, whether, from our point of view, we are proceeding according to plan, we need to answer the question whether as a democratic movement, which the people have accepted as their authentic representative, we are doing all that is necessary to move this organised, conscious and active mass army of liberation into a continuing all-round offensive for the seizure of power by the people.

It is clear that the enemy, on its side, had prepared for the eventuality that in August, it might suffer a defeat. The enemy knew that victory for us would mean that we would have created better conditions for our forward march. Botha's State Security Council therefore convened to consider what the apartheid regime should do to stop our advance, what is should do to stop our victories.

The arrest of the leaders of the UDF, on the eve of the “Coloured” elections was intended to deny us the possibility to use the then impending victories as a stepping stone to new successes. The regime stated openly that it feared that a revolutionary situation was beginning to emerge in the country. The military exercises trumpeted by the regime as the largest since the Second World War were also aimed at discouraging the emergence of a revolutionary situation that Pretoria fears so much. The forces to carry out our offensive are daily demonstrating in action their readiness to march ever forward. They demonstrated this resolve on August 22nd and 28th. They have been displaying this resolve in the African townships. They have been showing their fighting capacity in widespread military operations carried out in Durban, Johannesburg, Roodepoort, Krugersdorp and elsewhere.

It is important that we recognise the reality and bear it in mind that in fact Botha's policy is in shambles. The arrogant confidence of white bakkap is evaporating like clouds in the face of storm winds.