

MAYIBUYE

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The Fortnightly Journal of the African National Congress.

Strike against the White Republic!

"Those celebrations are for whites and not for us. The days of our celebrations are coming when this country will be ruled justly."

With these words, a respondent in a snap survey of THE SOWETEAN newspaper articulated the attitude of all South African patriots to the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the white republic by the racist regime and its supporters. In these words is ingrained the people's rejection of the fascist republic and all it represents, and the struggle for a people's republic.

The anger of the people against the white republic is building up with each passing day, provoked further by the fanfare of the oppressors' trumpets on the occasion of this anniversary. If anything, the pomp and false glory with which the regime crowns the 20 years

of its 'independence', rubs like salt into our festering wound, reminding us much more painfully that our freedom has yet to be won!

Massive boycott

All patriots have been inspired by this challenge to respond with a massive boycott of the celebrations. The anti-white republic front has been established and the call for boycott resounds across the land with resolute clarity. Students, workers, christians, Moslems, teachers and all have declared with one voice that the overwhelming majority of the South Africa people shall not be party to the celebrations of

oppression and exploitation.
Let the ruling clique and
its supporters once more
lull themselves to the dream
that white domination will
last forever; we are saying,
your rickety and creaking
establishment will crumble

Oppression and exploitation, fascism and war, a false theology ...are what the white Republic stands for!

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under the weight of popular struggle, sooner rather than later.

The order of battle has been issued: The oppressors' celebrations must be met with a revolutionary festivity of the oppressed. Attack and once more attack the enemy and shake the foundations of his ill-gotten gains! On all fronts let us in this period of the white republic celebrations - and beyond strike ever harder blows against the oppressor. From the boycott stance which has the support of all except Botha and his supporters let us forge ahead to a position of challenge.

Organisation

The nature of that challenge will depend basically on the level of organisation, the forces we can muster Continued on Page 2&3

ZIMBABWE: TYEAR FORWARD!

H. E. The Prime Minister, Comrade Robert G. Mugabe, Prime Minister's Office, Salisbury ZIMBABWE.

On the occasion of a historic and joyful day for the people of Zimbabwe, the first birthday of the Republic of Zimbabwe, may I on behalf of the African National Congress, our popular army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the patriotic forces and the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa wish you Comrade Prime Minister and through you the government and people of Zimbabwe our sincere congratulations. Our own people will also celebrate on this day because we are convinced that your victory is our victory.

The last twelve months have demonstrated practically that the successes you scored on the battlefield, at the polls and in the defence and consolidation of the independence of Zimbabwe constitute a decisive blow for the total liberation of Africa from colonialism, racism and apartheid, for national emancipation, democracy, social progress and peace.

Once more Comrade Prime Minister, please accept assurances of our highest fraternal esteem, the pledge of our unequivocal support for your noble efforts to defend and advance the gains of the people of Zimbabwe and our best wishes for this day and the coming year which will surely witness further advances towards the realisation of our common goals.

The struggle continues! Victory is certain!

OLIVER TAMBO

President: African National Congress.

THE REAGAN-BOTHA ALLIANCE

INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE JOSIAH JELE, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC AND HEAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT.



MB: Since the advent of the Reagan administration into office in the USA, there has been a marked increase in verbal attacks by US leaders against the Soviet Union and other anti-imperialist forces including the national liberation movement. What do you think Reagan intends to achieve through these provocative policies?

JJ: Well, it is common knowledge that the Reagan administration represents the most reactionary circles of monopoly capitalism in the United States of America and, the history of the development of capitalism proves that the interests of these circles can best be served by a regime which persues a policy of agression and expansionism.

The successful execution of such a policy would then need a favourable international climate as the vital precondition, particularly at this time when the world balance of forces has drastically altered in favour of those who stand opposed to imperialist, colonial and racial domination.

We can only judge Reagan's postures correctly as

well as determine what he hopes to achieve through his provocative policies, by taking into account the fact that the positions of imperialism have been weakened a great deal and its spheres of domination narrowed by the growing strength of the socialist community of nations, the victories scored by the peoples of Indo-China and Nicaragua - to name but a few in Asia and Latin America respectively; and on our own continent by those of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe.

Greater Vigour

Meanwhile in Namibia and South Africa, the oppressed, under the leadership of SWAPO and the ANC, are challenging the Botha regime with greater vigour and determination.

Confronted by these challenges imperialism would clearly embark on a course of actions designed to ensure its continued survival. It would be reasonable to expect these actions to assume either

a) the form of adopting and persuing a policy of accomodation and deception which seeks to project imperialism as a friend of the oppressed - by posing, as did the Carter administration, as the so-called champion of human rights, or that of b) adopting the Reagan stance of displaying undiluted reaction, engaging in threats, intimidation and outright aggression as in El Salvador.

The ultimate goal of both these stratagems is to regain for imperilaism its lost regions and strategic positions.

Sinister Objectives

Logically therefore in order to create the necessary conditions for the accomplishment of these sinister objectives, the Reagan administration would need falsely to characterise the national liberation struggles as struggles conducted by terrorists while those who express solidarity with the people engaged in these just struggles, like the Soviet Union, are dubbed as supporters of 'international terrorism'.

However, the Reagan administration's provocative policies have only served to unmask the violent and aggressive nature of present-day US imperialism, a fact-or which has in turn caused world-wide condemnation of this regime and rallied evergrowing numbers of peace-loving peoples into the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces.

MB: In addition to his declared policy of propping up reactionary regimes in Latin America and supporting bandits in Angola and Afgiranistan, Reagan has come out openly to say that the US ruling clique shall not abandon racist South Africa, their reliable ally during the two World Wars. How does this affect our struggle and how do we respond?

JJ:If the Reagan administration represents the most reactionary circles of US imperialism as I have already said, then we should not be surprised when it declares total support for reactionary and fascist elements everywhere including the regime of terror in our

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DOWN WITH THE WHITE REPUBLIC!

Everywhere our people are already shouting with one voice:

WHITE REPUBLIC

MEANS BLACK MISERY.

LET US ACT NOW!

Let us show our hadred of white oppression. Let us strike a blow for freedom.

NO WORK ON MAY 25, 26 and 27 STRIKE AGAINST

THE WHITE REPUBLIC!

AZIKHWELWA! AWUPHATHWA!

Tutu returns 'despite...'

The withdrawal of Bishop
Desmond Tutu's passport has
been condemned by the whole
of democratic mankind, including many governments and such
personalities as the SecretaryGeneral of the United Nations
and the Archbishop of Cantebury. The threat of the withdrawal was first made by the fascist Prime Minister P. W. Botha
when the Bishop was still abroad.

What was the aim of the regime in issuing this threat at that point in time? The Afrika-ans newspaper, Die Transvaaler of 3rd April carries what might as well be the answer to this question. In a lead-article the

newspaper says the Bishop,
"despite the possibility that his
passport may be withdrawn",
decided "somewhat melodramatically and with great fanfare...to
fly back to South Africa..."

Does it therefore mean that the regime expected the Bishop to chicken out of the heat of struggle merely because his passport was to be withdrawn? Coming from a newspaper owned and run by the top brass in Nationalist Party hierrachy, the hint cannot but be taken seriously - especially immediately after the same tactic was employed to force the Argus Group to close down the POST and SUNDAY POST newspapers.

Bishop Tutu's return, his heroic welcome by the people, and, above all that he bravely retorted that he will continue to fight oppression is certainly not for the ruling clique's comfort!

BELOW WE BRING YOU
EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS
STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE ANC,
COMRADE A. NZO ON THE
WITHDRAWAL OF BISHOP
TUTU'S PASSPORT....



Bishop Tutu's_ Passport is withdrawn

NO TO THE WHITE REPUBLIC -from Page 1

and mobilise effectively in the shortest possible time. But the strength to deliver these blows we do have! We have already shown this by uniting in the widest front ever since the All-In-African Conference in 1961. This is the tremendeous achievement from which we must rise to meet the challenge of the moment which is to raise our opposition to the celebrations from the level of boycott to that of challenge.

To the daring acts by the soldiers of the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe such as the recent attack on the giant electric substation in Durban which paralysed the whole industrial region, the derailment of a goods train in Richard's Bay...let us add our massive strength and ensure the progressive evolvement of our onslaught against the white republican festivities which we have so ably ini-

tiated. Let us combine all aspects of our people's war and bring nearer "the days of our celebrations".

As a culmination of this campaign, a call has been issued for a stay-athome on May 25, 26 and 27. This call constitutes a welcome step forward which must give the popular boycott campaign added impetus. However, to succeed, such a national stay-athome demands widespread mobilisation of the people throughout the country by the organisations and individuals in the strong anticelebration front and all patriots including in particular, the trade union movement, youth, civic and women's organisations.

ORGANISE AND MAKE THE SATY-AT-HOME A SUCCESS!!

AZ'KHWELWA! AWUPHATHWA! MAY 25, 26, 27!! The high-handed and infamous action of the apartheid regime of withdrawing the passport of the General-Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, deserves and calls for the firm condemnation of all those who value liberty and democracy.

This action once more must draw the attention of the world to the fact that the frightened bullies of Pretoria are determined to intensify repression and silence the voice of the oppressed majority rather than concede the just demands put forward by democrats and men of conscience such as Bishop Tutu.

Our people and the whole world know that Bishop Tutu is being victimised for his principled involvement in a non-violent struggle to bring about a non-racial, democratic and peaceful South Africa.

The fact that the Botha regime responds by intensifying state repression should convince all those who had honest doubts, that no ammount of persuasion can change this regime from its chosen path of defending the apartheid system at all

The African National Congress therefore once more calls on the international community to use the weapon available to it, namely, mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the stubborn and brutal apartheid regime.

To the people of South Africa we reiterate that our freedoms of movement, thought and speech can only be guaranteed and safeguarded in a free and democratic South Africa. The enemy reprisal against Bishop Tutu, at a moment when the people of Zimbabwe are celebrating the first anniversary of their independence, must accordingly serve as a challenge to us to intensify the struggle to achieve the democratic victory that the brother people of Zimbabwe have gained.



civilians to buy these excuses any more!

Was it not the same blood-thirsty criminals who joined the police and army furing 1976/77 and last year's uprisings guns in hand to 'restore law and order' in the locations? We have been attacked by such hooligans with iron rods and any weapon they can lay their hands on during strikes and demonstrations to believe that the recent acts of murder can by any means be justified.

Such is the reality we have lived and continue to live in; where white civilians take it upon themselves to actively try to render

Workers' strikes - white provocation!

At the beginning of April black workers at the asbestos mine in Penge, Eastern Transvaal downed tools to back up their demand for higher wages. Within two days of the strike 2 black miners lay dead and six critically wounded in hospital.

In response to this blatant provocation, the workers went ahead to burn down mine offices, the canteen and several mineowned vehicles. In the same week, one black worker was shot dead in the Pretoria industrial area. He was amongst the 4 000 workers who had gone on strike over low wages, the recognition of their trade union and other grievances at the Sigma motor plant owned by the giant Anglo-American Corporation.

The similarities between these two events, which happened almost 200 kilometers apart are quite striking. Firstly, the workers who lost their lives were this time not killed by the racist police but by white "civilians". None of the assailants was apprehended because the police 'could not identify' the culprits, and as usual we were told that investigations were continuing. This was quite ironical coming from a regime which employs such measures as indefinite detention, torture and murder as methods of investigation.

The white-owned press was quick to resort to the traditional excuses which are ready at hand in such situations: The black miners were stoning residences of the white mine officials who shot them, and the Sigma workers were stoning cars along the nearby highway and in response a white woman motorist had to shoot her way out. As such, we are made to believe, all was done in self-defence or in defence of valuable property!

But such stories impress us no more. They can only sell to the gullible - those in the white community who want to accept the commodity to give themselves a false sense of absolution from guilt. We have lived through worse horrors perpetrated by such white

ineffective the mass actions, of the struggling people independently or jointly with the fascist police and army. Our history of strike actions abounds with examples of whites who have volunteered as scabs in an attempt to keep the machines running when we down tools. There are many cases of white employeees who invade workers' hostels and assault them when they are on Continued on Page 5

THE SIGMATER AMPLE!

The strike by 4 000 black workers which brought the giant Anglo-American Sigma car plant in Pretoria to a standstill started on the 9th of April. The workers were demanding higher wages and the recognition of their popular trade union by the bosses. In an unprecedented move in recent labour history, the workers went ahead to also advance such political demands as the release of all political prisoners.

Significance

The significance of this levelopment is that the Sigma workers showed in action their correct realisation of the fact that it is after all the alliance of the bosses and the regime which ensures our continued subjugation; that the exploitative economic system forms the bedrock on which the whole

system of apartheid colonialism rests.

Bold Step

The ANC, SACTU and the rest of the liberation movement of our country salute the Sigma strikers for this bold step which is not only correct, but should serve as an example to all black and democratic workers of our country. As the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) has always said,

"...the orgainsing of the mass of the workers for higher wages, better conditions of life and labour is inextricably bound up with a determined struggle for political rights and liberation from all oppressive laws and practices. It follows therefore that a mere struggle for economic rights of the workers without participation in the general struggle for political emancipation would

condemn the trade union movement to uselessness and to a betrayal of the interests of the workers."

The Sigma example should be followed by all the workers of our country. The independent trade union movement should respond to this challenge by mobilising their members and supporters around the political demands of the people for the scrapping of pass laws and the migratory labour system, for the destruction of such puppet bodies as the Community Councils and the President's Council ...in brief, against the fascist republic and for people's power!

THIS CALL IS MADE
THE MORE URGENT BY
THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE WHITE
REPUBLIC CELEBRAT!ONS IN WHICH THE ENTIRE
PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT
HAS DEDICATED ALL ITS
STRENGTH!

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strike. And the least that many of these self-appointed 'law-enforcers' do, is to jeer at workers on strike, at bus boycotters trudging along the roads to and from work - their vitriolic words incensing even the most 'humble'.

The fact of the matter is that the Pretoria regime cherishes such incidents. In fact it has deliberately prepared the grounds for them. Its propaganda is geared at creating a state of seige in the minds of the white community: If there is no terrorist under the pillow then at least there should be some black horde stalking the white man's life and property.

This seige mentality continuously drilled into the white community has made the white population of South Africa per capita the most heavily armed in the world. In the aftermath of the '76 uprisnigs efforts were made to speed up the formation of 'civilian commando units' who are supposed to defend themselves and their property from 'terrorist attack'. Centers for training such units in basic military know-how have been set up throughout white South Africa'.

Quite logically therefore, the state of tension created by the regime and its system sooner or later finds an outlet. In other words, if an individual is trained to defend herself or 'nimself against terrorist attack' then that individual will have to go out of his or her way to find an incident to test his or her marksmanship. If the 'swaartgevaar' which is supposed to pounce on me sooner or later seems to be

Injury to one...

Fight for the release of OSCAR MPETHA, community and trade union leader who is standing trial in the fascist court in Cape Town!

Support the petition for the release of our 21 Wilson-Rowntree fellow workers who are on hunger strike to protest against arbitrary detention by the puppet Ciskei administration!

Injury to all!

directed only against the institutions of state and the big employers, some of the these quasi-civilians argue, then better join the battle where it is actually raging.

Tragically this mentality results in such acts of sadism that we the oppressed cannot easily forget. Whilst we buried the black child who was shot and killed in cold-blood by a racist soldier for daring to walk along a main raod, we also mourned over the bodies of our deceased at the Vaal Reefs goldmine in 'an accident' resulting from deliberate sabotage by 2 white miners - incidents which reminded us of the deaths of hundreds of blacks who perished near PPRust a few years ago when a white fascist derailed an overcrowded train moving across the bridge...

Crocodile Tears

The cocodile tears shed by the regime over the murders, attacks against and intimidation of patriots by such terrorist groups as the so-called Wit Kommando and the occasional arrests and show trials of selected 'terrorists' are but simple indicators that in these whites who are too ready to 'skiet die kaffer' and 'to put the Bantu, Hotnot or Coolie in his place', the regime has got willing accomplices, blind followers who will assist it

followers who will assist it in its acts of murder, intimidation and strike-breaking.

Coming as the latest murders did, immediately after the barbarous attack by the racist troops on refugee houses in Matola, they cannot but further raise the level of our anger. It is not an idle exercise once more to ask ourselves, whether we should allow these provocateurs to blind us to the correct identification of the enemy. And we shall as always respond: Of course not! But rest assured, since the regime has shown by its benign behaviour (if not direct connivance) that it is not prepared to deal with them, these culprits shall have to be brought to book by the masses of the people themselves!

FIGHT AGAINST HIGH RENT!









... AT THE PUBLIC MEETING



Fists against the sky as the ERAB offices go up in flames!

Interview with cde. Jele

country. For indeed, apartheid South Africa remains the last bastion of reaction on the African continent.

We all know that the present racist rulers in our country were followers and supporters of Hitler during the Second World War. But what has not generally been known is that those racists who rule our country, together with Reagan's colleagues in the American administration, found common cause in support of Hitler fascism and reign of terror. This revelation by Reagan himself lends a lot of substance to his declared policy of support for the fascist regime in our country.

An Increase

We should therefore expect an increase in US assistance to the regime in the economic and military fields. We should look forward to a phase in our struggle which is to be characterised by escalated aggression against Frontline States and intensified savage repression of men, women and children in our country.

But if Reagan believes that a massive savage onslaught by his racist allies aganst the oppressed in our country will have the effect of cowing our people, he should pause and reflect soberly. That reflection will reveal to him that our people are prepared to sacrifice even their very dear lives to achieve the goal of liberation. He needs only to assess the meaning of the mass upsurge against the regime that has become a permanent feature of our country since 1976.

Our response to Reagan and Botha's unholly alliance against our just cause will no doubt find expression in sustaining and consolidating the present trend of widespread mass confrontation of the enemy. We are determined to raise the level of political and military actions, and these actions are bound to succeed because the regime enjoys the support of only a very narrow base of white racists.

Internationally we are geared to undertake vigorous campaigns aimed at exp-



US officials, Smoak and Shipley (right) with South African army officers in Namibia.

osing the Reagan administration as the enemy of the international community by allying itself with a regime whose policies have been declared by the United Nations as "a crime against humanity".

It is gratifying that the Non-Aligned Movement, the OAU, the overwhelming majority of African states and the rest of progressive mankind have wasted no time in denouncing the Reagan administration for its pledge of open support of the apartheid regime.

MB: Recently the US government allowed 5 fascist
military officers including
the head of Military Intelligence into the US and only
raised a storm after these
South African Army officers
had completed their meetings with officials of the
US National Security Council and other policy-making bodies. What is your
comment on this?

No Surprise

JJ: The visit of the fascist military intelligence officers to the US and their meetis with officials of the US National Security Council came as no surprise to us, following as it did on the Reagan administration's statements of open and shameless support for the regime of terror in our country. Needless to say, both regimes are committed to a policy of oppression and exploitation of peoples expressed in the form of aggression and terrorism as a means of achieving and safeguarding the interests of imperialism. It follows therefore that both regimes

would take the earliest opportunity to arrange a meeting of their military officers, so as to exchange views on how best to collaborate in the execution of the criminal designs of their respective regimes.

We have now been informed that the meeting of the military brass is to be followed by the official visit to the US of the racist Foreign Minister, Pik Botha. These visits should be seen as the crowning of the Reagan and Botha alliance at the political and military levels - an outright fascist alliance intended to sow death and destruction in Africa.

Bound to Fail

But what plots will be hatched at these meetings against our people are bound to fail. What these gentlemen overlook is that our people are no longer prepared to live and be ruled in the old way. They are determined to brave all the odds to achieve our cherished goal of liberation.

MB: In the aftermath of the raid on ANC residences in Matola, Mozambique unearthed the CIA network there and showed in fact that these agents were working hand in hand with the Pretoria regime. In its comment, the Mozambican newspaper, NOTICIAS said that this was a clear indication that southern Africa constitutes one of the main regions where the confrontation between the forces of progress and socialism on the one hand and those of reaction and capitalism on the other is greatly acute. What is your opinion on this?

JJ: I belive the existence of CIA networks all over the world has become a well-

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known open secret. The CIA has a reputation of being the most vicious and violent arm of US imperialism. As a matter of fact if ever there existed any efficiently organised body whose task is to carry out the objectives of international terrorism, that body is the CIA. The tentacles of this monster have spread to every corner of the world.

Victims

We in southern Africa have been victims of atrocities, death and destruction to property caused by the colonial and racist regimes in collaboration with the CIA in an attempt to crush the struggles of our peoples for national liberation and independence. We continue to suffer from these criminal and inhuman actions.

CIA and BOSS/DONS/ NIS agents have always worked and acted in collusion. It is now a matter of public knowledge that the abortive invasion of the People's Republic of Angola by the fascist hordes of apartheid South Africa was undertaken in collaboration with the CIA. The then racist Prime Minister, John Vorster grudgingly admitted the BOSS-CIA connection when he publicly attributed the ignominious defeat which his troops suffered in Angola to the failure of the then US administration to honour some of its commitments in support of the invasion.

The answer to the question, why is it that there should be such a large concentration of CIA agents in southern Africa as revealed by the detention and expulsion of some of them from the People's Republic of Mozambique after the racist raid on our residences in Matola, lies in that correct observation of NOTICIAS that the raid proved that southern Africa has become the main arena of confrontation between

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BOTHA-REAGAN ALLIANCE -from Page 6

the forces of progress and those of reaction in Africa. This is so for the simple reason that South Africa is regarded by imperialism as its treasure trove, a source of enormous profits accruing to the capitalists of the West from the callous exploitation of the labour of the black majority as well as her reliable ally in the machinations to destabilise and subvert the independence of African states.

Now that the independence of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe have created conditions which make the fascist regime vulnerable to the people's onslaught, the consolidation of this alliance between imperialism and the racist regime has become vital - thus turning southern Africa into a battleground of battles that are bound to determine the destiny of our people and continent.

Besides, by espousing socialism as the only socio-economic system capable of ending for all time the exploitation of man by man and which guarantees social progress, Mozambique and Angola not only serve as undying source of inspiration to our fighting people in Namibia and South Africa but also constitute a permanent threat to the continued existence and survival of the regime of terror in our country. It is for this reason also that southern Africa has become the main region of confrontation between the rival forces of progress and reaction in Africa. Inevitably, whatever the gravity of this confrontation, the outcome is unmistakeable - the oppressed people must win.

MB: Developments internationally show that the issue of economic sanctions against the apartheid regime has become most urgent, especially in the aftermath of the Geneva talks on Namibia which were sabotaged by the Pretoria regime. What effect will sanctions have on our struggle?

JJ: The African National Congress' appeal to the international community to employ boycotts and sanctions against the apartheid regime dates as far back as

the 26th of June 1959. The call we made then as we continue to do now was based on a study which revealed that foreign investments constitute one of the most important pillars upon which rests the edifice of apartheid. We concluded therefore that the imposition of comprehensive economis canctions would greatly weaken the apartheid system and contribute substantially to our struggle for liberation.

For indeed foreign capital has since the colonial conquest of our country served to strengthen the racial oppressor against the oppressed majority. The investments by multinational corporations have not only financed and helped to sustain the institutions and organs of racial domination over the years but have also and particularly after the accession to power of the Nationalist Party - contributed to the regime's unprecedented military build-up which is intended to guarantee the survival of apartheid by drowning our people's struggle for liberation in blood.

It is not difficult to find reasons for apartheid South Africa's attraction to foreign investors. One of the main items of attraction is the enforced cheap labour of the Black people whose superexploitation earns the multinationals enormous profits. Nowhere else in the world is useful labour so cheap and profitable as in South Africa.

MB: What about the argument that disinvestment would, more than anything else hurt the Black people most and that foreign companies can serve as an instrument of change for the better?

JJ: The apologists of foreign investments inside and outside of South Africa argue that sanctions will entail more hardships for Blacks. Let us examine whether this argument can be sustained by the realities of apartheid South Africa:

During the period between 1970 and 1980 for instance, the avarage wages for Africans in most industries continued to be six times



less than those of whites. In the mines, the ratio between the wages of whites and blacks has ranged from 10:1 to 17:1 during the decade of the 70's which was marked by increased foreign investments and which registered very high economic growth rates in the country. This was also the decade of the Soweto uprisings which proved the readiness of our people to sacrifice life itself rather than live under the system of apartheid. It is also during this decade of increased investments that conservative estimates of unemployed blacks reached the staggering figure of 2 million. Besides, and most significantly, military spending reached unprecedented heights during the same period and now estimates reveal that the budget for 1981/82 is expected to rise to R2, 8billion.

It is well to remind the proponents of investments that most of the profits and dividends from foreign investments accruing as they do within the system of white domination in which these companies operate, cannot but be diverted to strengthen the social, political and military interests of apartheid. All these dividends and profits are poured into the Public and State sector of the economy which means that they are used for supporting and sustaining the apartheid regime and system. They are not used to better the living standards and conditions of the black people.

Given these facts, the effects of comprehensive economic sanctions including an oil embargo against the regime would therefore be the substantial weakening of the economic and military capability of the system which gives it strength,

vitality and ensures brutal repression of our people.

Economic sanctions would also deprive the regime of the resources which it uses to bribe the white section of the population into supporting racism. The high standard of living which this section enjoys in our country, in fact the highest in the world would by the imposition o sanctions be greatly reduced thus compelling many of the white minority to throw in their lot with the black oppressed majority. This is an important factor: The participation in the liberation struggle of large numbers of whites because they no longer benefit from the system would contribute in bringing about the overthrow of apartheid rule.

Similarly, an oil embargo would deprive the racists of 90% of their oil supplies and thus virtually
ground the whole fascist
military machine. A situation
in which aggression against
frontline states would be
drastically undermined cannot possibly give comfort to
to the imperialists, precisely
because that situation would
substantially contribute towards the attainment of our
goal.

We therefore call for sanctions because we are certain that they would,by weakening the system economically and militarilly lessen the flow of blood and suffering which war, especially against fascism entails. We would also like to make it clear that we do not regard sanctions as a substitute for our determination to struggle and sacrifice but as an important complement to the selfless resolve we have already demonstrated in our striving to overthrow the tyranny of apartheid in our country!

Profile: ELIAS MOTSOALEDI

Comrade Elias Motsoaledi is one of our leaders and patriots languishing on the notorious Robben Island.

Born in 1925 in Sekhukhuniland in the northern Transvaal, Elias was one of a family of ten living on four acres of land. His parents could not afford to keep him at school after Standard 6 and at the age of 17 he went "to Johannesburg to earn a living to help my family", as he was later to recount. In Johannesburg he was at once subjected to arrest on account of having left his pass behind.

Domestic Servant

He worked first as a domestic servant for a miserable wage of £2. 10 a month and later in a boot factory for 24 shillings a week. Although at the time he knew nothing about trade unionism, he organised his fellow workers to demand an increase in their wages and for this he was sacked. Later he joined the Leather Workers' Union and continued to organise his fellow workers although this cost him his job on many occasions.

He joined the Communist Party of South Africa around this period, and in 1948 he became a member of the African National Congress and was elected Secretary of the Denver (Transvaal) branch. He later became a member of the Provincial Executive of the ANC and also chairman of the African Furniture, them illegal. I thought a Mattress and Bedding Workers' Union. In 1953 Motsoaledi became chairman of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions - a precursor of the South Africa Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) -

a responsibility in which his experience was enriched all the more.

His trade union work was cut short in 1953: He had been a leader in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the following year he recieved orders from the fascist authorities, banning him from attending gatherings and from belonging to any organisation. He was served with these stringent orders whilst he was in hospital recovering from tubercolosis, a decease which up to this day is often contracted by many black workers due to the bad working and living conditions which are their lot. It is only a reflection of his commitment and the fear of the regime of what he represented and still represents that despite the banning order, comrade Elias was detained during the 1960 State of Emergency declared after the Sharpeville massacre.

Umkhonto

In 1962 he joined the People's Army and went underground to continue the struggle at this demanding phase of armed resistance, a decision he was later to describe thus: "The government would not let us fight peacefully any more and had blocked all our legal acts by making great deal about the matter. could see no other way open to me. What I did brought me no personal gain; what I did I did for my people and because I thought it was the only

way left for me to help my people." He was a member of the technical committee of the Johannesburg Regional Command.

Detention

In 1963 he was arrested under the 90-day detentionwithout-trial law and kept in solitary confinement for 50 days before being joined with the Rivonia accused. Along with Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Goldberg and Mlangeni this gallant patriot was convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Motsoaledi, now aged 56 is married and has seven children, the youngest of whom was nine months old when he was sentenced in 1964.

161 Days

His wife was herself detained under the 90-day law while attending his trial in Pretoria and held in custody for 161 days.

With all the trials and tribulations comrade Motsoaledi's determination and courage remain as unshaken as ever, because for him and indeed for all patriotic South Africans active armed and mass restistance to white domination "is the only way left..."





LISTEN TO

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

Radio Tanzania

External service, Dar es Salaam, on: 15435 KHz, 19 mb shortwave; 9680 KHz, 31mb shortwave. Mondays, Wedenesdays, Fridays at 8.15pm (S.A. time) Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays at 6.15am (S.A. time) Sundays at 8.45 pm (S.A. time)

Madagascar

6135 KHz, 49Mb and 5010 KHz, 60 Mb shortwave, 7.30 - 9.30 pm daily.

9580 KHz, 3I mb shortwave, Monday-Friday 7.15-8pm, Wednesday IO.00-IO.30 pm, Friday 9.30-IO.00pm, Saturday and Sunday 7-8pm

Sunday: 8 - 8.30 am, 19 Mb (17895 KHz)

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

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

"GIVE IT TO YOUR FRIENDS AND FAMIL"

*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 PEOPL YOU MEET AND YOUR FRIENDS.

BE CAREFULIII