



MAYIBUYE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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Render State of Emergency Ineffective

SINCE the colonialists landed on our country more than three centuries ago, South Africa has never known peace. Millions of our people have lost their lives in the resistance wars and the struggle for national liberation. The enemy has been wielding the gun for centuries and continues to rule by the gun.

But this time the enemy faced with the ever-growing mass political action and intensified armed action on the part of the oppressed and exploited masses, has decided to declare the vicious state of emergency. It has mobilised all its armed forces for a showdown against our people.

It is not for the first time that the enemy has declared a state of emergency. In fact we have been living under the state of emergency for decades. But the degree of the present repression and terror is unprecedented.

Never in the history of South Africa have so many people been killed and maimed within such a short period of time. Thousands of people have been detained under martial law. The racist police and soldiers have been empowered with sweeping powers in areas which the racist Minister of 'Law and Order' may declare 'unrest areas'. This virtually means the whole country. Thus the aim of the Botha regime is to maintain

a perpetual state of emergency.

The President's Council has imposed 180 days detention orders even though the Indian and 'Coloured' chambers in the racist tri-cameral parliament had opposed this measure. Of course, these puppets opposed this measure because of the enormous pressure from the entire democratic movement of our country. Botha has shown them in no uncertain terms that they do not even have token power in the tri-cameral parliament. This only confirms our earlier assertion that the Pretoria rulers, at best, want to use these puppets from the Indian and 'Coloured' communities as rubber stamps for their evil machinations against our people. Our demand is that they must resign from these organs of oppression and join the ranks of the fighting masses for genuine democracy for all.

As a consequence of the emergency regulation, mass rallies and demonstrations have been banned with an exception of those organised by the supporters of the apartheid regime like Gatsha Buthelezi and his Inkatha. Blanket curfews have been imposed in many areas from dusk to dawn. Obviously the vigilantes, Witdoekes, A-Teams, Community Councillors and bantustan puppets are exempted in this regard. They use

the cover of the night and the protection of the racist police and soldiers to attack, kill and maim patriots.

As if all this is not enough, even the victims of the police and soldiers are not allowed to be buried in a fitting manner. No mass funerals are allowed. The number of people who can attend a funeral and its duration are strictly restricted. Funeral orations must be those that do not reflect the real situation in our country.

In order to conceal the evil deeds and the reality of the situation from our people and the outside world, the racist rulers have clamped down on the press. Further, communication bet-

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EDITORIAL

KWANDEBELE 'INDEPENDENCE'

ORGANISING their resistance under a very repressive state of emergency and brutal violence from the KwaNdebele puppet regime, the people of KwaNdebele have emerged triumphant as the bantustan's Legislative Assembly decided to shelve its plans for 'independence' in December.

The terroristic Imbokodo has been forced into a hasty, defeated disbandment. The career of its boss, Piet Ntuli, has been terminated by patriotic forces in the face of his increasingly intolerable and criminal actions towards opponents of 'independence'.

For our struggle, this victory is a significant landmark. It is the first time that we have actually succeeded in forcing a bantustan administration to back down from its intention to impose 'independence' on us. In the other areas such as the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei, we resisted and fought valiantly, but in the end, through the terroristic methods of the bantustan tyrants together with those of the South African fascists, 'independence' was imposed on us.

From our victory in KwaNdebele there is no doubt that the resistance we have kept and increased in these areas, will result in the destruction of these apartheid dummy institutions. As in KwaNdebele, we have to view our offensive against the whole bantustan system as an offensive to make the country increasingly ungovernable and apartheid unworkable.

Our offensive was continuous and resolute in KwaNdebele. We left the enemy no respite, so that in the end the enemy was exhausted and forced into a decision it had not anticipated. Further, we combined all forms of struggle, armed and mass struggle. We attacked from all fronts, uniting patriotic sections of the royal household, the youth, civil servants and other workers, women, the church and other sections of our people. In the other bantustans, there was intensified activity of the people. No bantustan remained untouched by mass and armed activity of the people.

It is clear that from the victory in KwaNdebele we

have reached an important point in our struggle to destroy the bantustan system. With the administration sent into a retreat we are faced with the task of converting this retreat into a complete rout. The administration must not be allowed to regroup and devise new methods of controlling us such as the proposed National Council.

Therefore, the major question that faces us at the moment is how fast we move further into the offensive and how much effort we put into the consolidation and expansion of the unity we have built in our offensive in KwaNdebele and the other bantustans in recent months.

As we have already stated, our offensive in KwaNdebele is part of our offensive to make the country ungovernable, and from this ungovernability to move further into people's power. The near collapse of the administrative structures in KwaNdebele, amply demonstrated the rulers' inability to govern the area at will, means that we must, as we have done in other areas of our country, continue to create and consolidate existing people's committees. These popular structures must not only be our instruments for the running of our day to day services, but our instruments for further mobilisation and organisation to move from ungovernability to people's power. This is a task not only of the people of KwaNdebele or the other bantustans alone, but of all patriots and democrats of our country.

These patriotic forces in the bantustan administration who have decided to join the people against the bantustan system, must unite in action with the democratic movement to hasten the demise of this pillar of white minority rule.

From Ungovernability to People's Power!

Spread the Anti-Rent Campaign

AN anti-rent campaign is steadily gaining ground throughout the country. To date there are twenty eight townships that have gone for months without paying rent.

The anti-rent campaign cannot be seen merely as an economic measure, even though rents eat very deeply in our empty pockets. It is much more than that. It is a tactical manoeuvre that we should employ to break the power of the community councils which rely on it to carry out the functions of the apartheid regime.

As many areas refuse to pay rent, various ploys have been hatched up by the community councils. Offices have been opened in white areas to 'safeguard' those who do not want to participate in the struggle for our liberation. But these offices remain as empty as those in the black townships.

Some employers, because of the stake they have to the apartheid system, are doing their best to force their employees to pay rent and thus prop up the community council system. They deduct money from the workers and threaten to fire those who refuse to pay rent. This is an urgent issue that must be taken up by the trade unions and members of the business community who state that they want to see apartheid removed from the face of our country. The method that has been used by the racists to force us to pay rent was recently prohibited by the Supreme Court ruling that no authority has a right to evict a person for refusing to pay rent. We must use this loophole in the laws of the racists to further our aims.

The townships that have not yet joined the anti-rent campaign must do so. It is only through their participation that the campaign to break the power of the community councils and do away with the rental system can be achieved.

Under the state of terror that is enveloping our country, this anti-rent campaign should be stepped up. The success of our anti-rent campaign will contribute tremendously towards our strategy of making South African ungovernable and apartheid unworkable.

By refusing to pay rent we are laying the foundation for organs of people's power. Already where the apartheid administrative structures have collapsed, they are being replaced by new organs of popular power. We are all called upon to reinforce this democratic change and spread it to all the corners of our land.

**NO TO THE EXORBITANT RENTS!
NO TO THE PUPPET COMMUNITY COUNCILS!**



State Of Misinformation

A CURTAIN of darkness has been drawn by the South African fascists, trying to destroy the revolutionary forces of our country that have risen up against the apartheid system. The Botha regime is trying to shield itself and its filthy deeds from the glare of the international community and the people of South Africa themselves.

The past twenty two months have focussed the attention of the international community on the fascist state and its murderous army and police in the black townships. Increasingly, as the people's struggle advances to new heights, the fascists are becoming more desperate and brutal in their repression.

As we have stated before, the new form of the state of emergency arose from the fear of the racists that the struggle of our people is gaining momentum. This is also a desperate attempt to allay the fears of the white community and racists' allies in the west.

Additionally, as a necessary element of the brutal repression and persecution of the democratic forces in the country, the racists have clamped down on news reporting. While noting that there has never been any press freedom in South Africa in the real sense, but this time, the mad generals have taken their suppression of press freedom to extremes.

As a result of these measures, any news of people's struggle can only be heard from Goebbels-inspired Bureau of Information. Like their Nazi mentors, the South African fascists do not even allow their allies and supporters to know the truth about what is happening in the country.

Misinformation has taken the place of information. Figures of murders committed by security police and soldiers, including those committed by their running dogs, the vigilantes, are attributed to the democratic forces. The liars in the Union Buildings determine which questions are going to lead to 'subversive' reporting and therefore may not be answered. Questions are based on the briefing of the Bureau of Misinformation. Everything therefore is stagemanaged to suit the interests of the dominating clique.

What is striking is that in the midst of all these measures,



reactionary organisations such as Inkatha and other vigilante groups are having a field day besmirching the image of the democratic organisations and attempting to prettify their images. They are allowed to produce leaflets and pamphlets as they please. They also produce forged leaflets alleging to come from democratic organisations. Of course, these contain nothing but lies. Airplanes and helicopters scatter pamphlets urging the people to obey laws of Pretoria.

As if their support for the reactionary black organisations, and groups is not enough, the ruling circles have allowed groups like Inkatha to hold rallies and continue their diatribe against the ANC, COSATU and UDF. More than that, they encourage their marauding impi and vigilantes to seek out members of these democratic organisations and other opponents of the systems and kill them. Yet church-goers have been arrested for peacefully observing one of the most tragic days in the history of our country – June 16.

Despite all these attempts we are not cowed. We are determined to march forward to our strategic goal – the seizure of power. We have been forced into operating secretly and this has affected our speed of work. But we are now in a better situation than we were in the 1960's when our organisation, the ANC, was banned. We are acquiring experience in working in underground conditions.

This gained experience must be used for expanding our area of operation, to include as many cadres as possible and by ensuring that every area has an effective underground structure for carrying out our work.

The Bureau of Misinformation by its selection of news on the state of emergency seeks to throw us into disarray and confusion. It is therefore urgent for us to further expand the work of our underground structures in producing our propaganda. It is of utmost importance that we produce our position papers on all the issues that crop up during the state of emergency. This will ensure that the people understand the democratic movement's thinking and hold similar positions on all issues.

For any movement fighting a ruthless enemy like the South African regime, it is imperative to give urgent attention to the creation of underground information production units. These must operate in such a way that even when the enemy clamps down on our 'legal' information production units, the 'illegal' ones continue to produce.

These units will also be used for reproducing all ANC information and its distribution. In many areas such units exist but the present state of emergency has shown the urgency with which we should create such units all over the country. They can be formed in an office – secretly using company's photo-copier, roneo machine, printer or typewriter.

Collectives which are in a financial position to buy roneo machines or photo-copiers can do tremendous work. Communities can be organised to donate materially to buy a community machine which will also be used to produce our information for the mobilisation of the people into action.

We have already demonstrated our resourcefulness under the state of emergency. Let us respond now and shatter the enemy's illusion that the state of emergency will silence us. Let us do our own reporting – tell the truth to our people and the world about the monstrous deeds of the racist murderous regime in the different parts of the country.

This is a challenge to the democratic movement of our country. We have the power to fulfill this task.

STRUGGLE AGAINST PASSES CONTINUES

AN EXTRACT FROM THE STATEMENT OF THE ANC WOMEN'S SECTION — 9th AUGUST, 1986.

Women Unite Against Fascist Terror for National Liberation, Equality and Peace!

On the occasion of August 9th, the International Day of Solidarity with the struggling Women of South Africa and Namibia, South Africa Women's Day, the African National Congress Women's Section salutes the daring and courageous women of our country who are daily engaged in bitter struggle against all forms of apartheid colonialism. We dip our banner to the fallen heroines in the course of the liberation struggle and vow to pick up their weapons, to continue fighting until victory is won and the people seize power.

We take this opportunity to greet our fellow sisters in Namibia under SWAPO Women's Council and pledge to intensify the struggle against our common enemy until we rid our countries of the scourge of racism and apartheid.

This year, in the midst of stepped up state of terror, we mark the 30th Anniversary of August 9th — a day when the women of South Africa, black and white, marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria — the citadel of apartheid — to protest against the hated pass laws.

As we mark the 30th Anniversary of the anti-pass struggle, let us once more boldly confront the issue of this badge of slavery — the pass laws. We must not be misled by the enemy's promise to abolish influx control and introduce what it calls orderly urbanisation. Nor must we be taken by the regime's tactics of a so-called common citizenship. The Botha regime has no intention whatsoever to see the black majority live in our country as equals with whites. Its main concern, and that of its allies is to maintain white domination.

On August 9th this year, the cry must ring out through the length and breadth of our country — "Away with passes". This is an immense offensive which must spread to every corner of our country, encompassing cities, towns and the country-side. It must involve both men and women alike and produce the most formidable, united and sustained mass action to destroy once and for all, the pass laws, influx control and our forcible removal to the Bantustans.

Our capability to act in unity has been demonstrated by the might of the workers under their trade union movement, Cosatu who are presently leading gigantic strikes in protest against detention of people's leaders and the imposition of the state of emergency. This powerful organisation of the workers contingent reflects a dynamic, sophisticated method of continuing the struggle even when the enemy had attempted to make it impossible. No amount of terror, detention, arrest, harassment and killings can deter the people's courage to continue fighting for freedom.



Women in the forward trenches of our struggle.

As women, our role in the struggle particularly during this state of emergency has become more crucial in uniting all the oppressed women of our country for the further advancement of our struggle. The need has risen at this hour to organise women in their greatest numbers from all corners of our country and together form a united national women's organisation.

On this day, let us reaffirm our commitment never to rest until we win for ourselves and our children fundamental freedoms and human dignity. In the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our People's Army, as declared by our vanguard organisation, the ANC, the armed units and the masses of our people are charged to advance, attack and give the enemy no quarter.

The progressive world and all democratic forces are fully behind us. Their support was demonstrated in Nairobi at the World Conference of Women to mark the end of the UN Decade for Women. We salute all these women and progressive people who continue to make tireless efforts in the struggle to rid Southern Africa and the world of the scourge of apartheid.

In this International Year of Peace declared by the United Nations, the African National Congress Women's Section calls for an intensification of the campaign for sanctions. The racist regime should be stopped in their destabilisation campaign against Angola, the frontline states and other neighbouring countries. These countries continue to bear the brunt of apartheid aggression and need the support of all progressive mankind. We salute their courage and resolute stand and dip our banners for those citizens of the frontline states who lost their lives.

Finally, we do not forget our comrades and friends in the Palestine Liberation Organisation who are fighting to return to their homeland and the right to self-determination; the Polisario Front, the women and the people of Nicaragua facing the threat of US aggression against their country, and all those in the struggle against fascism, racism and all forms of foreign domination.

In conclusion, August 9th is the day when we rededicate ourselves to the struggle, drawing inspiration from women like Lilian Ngoyi, Ruth First, Jeanette Schoon, Victoria Mxenge and others who died in the struggle against apartheid for the liberation of our motherland and peace in Africa and the world.



"I see a very bright future ... These things happening around us, detentions, deaths in detention, are the kickings of a dying horse."

**Victoria
Nonyamezelo
Mxenge**

From KwaNdebele Victory To People's Power

Panel discussion from *Radio Freedom* conducted by Comrade Tom Sebina with Comrades Thabo Mbeki, Peter Mayibuye and Freddie Dlamini.

All are members of the Department of Information and Publicity of the African National Congress.

MODERATOR:

Tonight we are having comrades Thabo Mbeki, Freddie Dlamini and Peter Mayibuye discussing the question of KwaNdebele rejecting 'independence'.

Now as we all remember, there has been wide-spread turmoil and fighting in KwaNdebele. Many people have lost their lives and there has been a lot of destruction of their property. It was part of the process of fighting against the bantustan system and it is for the first time that the people in a particular bantustan have forced the puppet rulers to withdraw the offer of so-called independence.

Comrade Freddie, what do you think of this development?

Answer: As you said, the case of KwaNdebele is a special case in that for the first time the puppets in the bantustans have had to shelve their plans to impose 'independence' on the people. It is not that it is only in KwaNdebele that the people have fought hard to try and reverse this case. But in KwaNdebele the situation was slightly different in that it found the people more organised and poised to act than they had been before. This is because of the experience they have gained in the last few years. Even then, we must state that for the other bantustans which are supposed to be independent today – the Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana – it has not been easy for the puppets. Today, they also rule by force because the people rejected them and the 'independence' was forced on the people.

But the people in KwaNdebele, particularly, the people's resolve that the 'independence' be reversed, was such that at the time when this was shelved, it was the only thing that the puppet regime could do to try and stave-off a complete collapse of the whole administration in the area – the Legislative Assembly, Cabinet and everything. The demands of the people were such that it was no longer possible for them to go on and try to impose 'independence' on the people. I think that there are two other factors we must bear in mind with regard to what is for us the national liberation movement of South Africa, a historic victory.



First, one recalls that, at the beginning of this year, when Comrade President Oliver Tambo presented our statement on the 8th January, this is one of the important calls that were made. He said that it was necessary for us to act together to destroy this particular bantustan to ensure that the regime did not push our people into the so-called independence. The response is, as has been said, an extra-ordinary one. I think the second important thing is that this campaign in the KwaNdebele area is part of the offensive that we have seen throughout the country largely restricted to the urban areas of making apartheid unworkable, of making the country ungovernable. Here was one particular outstanding example of apartheid at work. The attempt by the Botha regime to push our people into this so-called independence and a very mighty struggle, therefore, of people responding to that call – to stop the so-called independence of this area – to make even the bantustans ungovernable, to destroy the puppet organs of government.

I think this also makes this victory very important because in practice, on the ground, it demonstrated unity in action of our people in both town and the countryside.

MODERATOR

I agree that this particular case has been a great victory for our people and there is no doubt that the struggle is effectively taking root in many of the bantustans. There have been reports of clashes between the liberation forces and the forces of the puppet regimes there. What should our people expect from the people of KwaNdebele after this victory?

Answer: Even before we come to deal with that question, we should also look at what are the specific factors which led to this victory in KwaNdebele.

As Comrade Thabo has already pointed out, the main reason behind this has been the mass activity of the people which has been so massive as to make the whole area of KwaNdebele ungovernable and almost leading to the collapse of the bantustan structure as such.

Secondly, there are other specific lessons that we have to look at to realise that it is possible, even in the other bantustans, to make that situation ungovernable and lead to the collapse of the bantustan system.

To quote a few examples, just before the announcement by the Legislative Assembly that they are no longer going to accept the so-called independence, there had been a strike for more than two weeks by civil servants in KwaNdebele. This shows that the civil servants in the other bantustans too can play a very important role in ensuring that the structures of the apartheid regime do not operate. This means that they should join the masses of the people in the other bantustans and assist them in whatever way they can as they are better placed to contribute to the collapse of its functioning.

Another factor is that because S'khosana and his gang did not represent the people, they therefore did not have a mass base. They also did not have the support of the traditional structures of KwaNdebele. For that reason therefore they could not get the support of the people in the rural areas who pay allegiance to these chiefs.

This is another lesson for us. That the chiefs in the traditional

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structures have got an important role to play in challenging the apartheid system. It is a challenge to all the chiefs, to all the people in the traditional structures in other bantustans, to realise that their place is with the mass of the people to challenge the regime and not to become paid agents of the apartheid system.

MODERATOR

These developments came at a time when the ruling Nationalist Party was having an extraordinary congress in Durban, where again the regime's leaders made the statement about 'change' or 'reform', especially the announcement that there are going to be elections that will lead to the establishment of a National Statutory Council. Learning from the past, this seems yet another manoeuvre, an attempt to make us fight another apartheid structure. How should we view or respond to these developments at the present moment?

Answer: I think we should begin perhaps with the question you have asked previously, that of what the people of KwaNdebele should do at the present moment. I think it is not just enough that the puppets have said that they are shelving their 'independence', dismantling the Imbokodo and so on. Specific demands have been made — that the cabinet should resign, that 'independence' should be rejected, detainees released and so on. I think the people of KwaNdebele should go on to press for these demands, and like the rest of the people in the country, strive towards making the country ungovernable and specifically in the area they live in, completely destroy the apartheid structure that has been created there.

It is not enough that these people have shelved 'independence' because it is obvious that they may be thinking of participating in the National Council which has been referred to in the racist congress in Natal. So, the people should fight on until the whole structure is destroyed in KwaNdebele. As in other places, people's committees should be created for local administration to make sure that the defeated clique does not come back into power.

And specifically on the National Statutory Council, it is clear that it is yet another of the apartheid structures that are coming up, created by the Botha regime, trying to weaken the thrust of the people and what they have achieved. They are creating this structure because it is important for them to keep these collaborators within a certain structure that will make them a bit acceptable to the people. But already the National Council has been rejected and they are trying to lure the people into it by introducing new words such as "the first elections in which Africans will vote on a national scale". But this is not enough. We need a national campaign to fight participation within the National Council and make sure that no one participates, that in fact, it is still-born.

I think that in the context of what Freddie was saying, and what Peter was saying before that, one of the most important lessons of the struggle in KwaNdebele is that all sections of our people in this area got mobilised. Civil servants, traditional chiefs, the youth in large numbers, the ordinary working class in the area united at the right time. The struggle was conducted both by political and military means. All the social groups of our entire people united against a clique that has been bought by the Pretoria regime at a particularly important time, because the regime has been trying to put across a notion that there is conflict between the older and younger generations. That as a result of this the phenomenon of vigilantes like Imbo-

kodo has appeared; that conservatives, traditionalists are opposing the youth who are rebels. The victory in KwaNdebele shows, in fact, that the Imbokodo had nothing with being traditional but was part of the state structure of the regime.

The positions that the youth took were the same as those that their parents, workers and civil servants took. So, in the aftermath of what is an important victory, but still a partial victory, it is necessary that the unity of all the forces should be maintained around a very clear programme which must aim not only at stopping this 'independence' of KwaNdebele but completely defeating this apartheid structure in this area. Therefore, in the perspective of what must happen in the KwaNdebele area, there is a need to keep the unity of the people around a definite, clear view of what we are trying to do. We want to destroy these puppet structures entirely.

I think that given the importance of this victory and given this particular moment we are in our struggle, the rest of the country has a great responsibility to support the people of KwaNdebele. Other struggles must, of course, intensify in the other bantustans but the people must draw the necessary lessons from the KwaNdebele struggle. But as a national liberation movement, we must all of us in the country, unite to act in support of the KwaNdebele people.

It should be expected that the regime is going to act with a great deal of viciousness towards the people of KwaNdebele because its schemes have been sabotaged and undermined by this determined offensive both in the military and political fields. Therefore, it is absolutely important that the rest of the country acts together with them to build from this victory that has been scored.

To add briefly to what the comrades have been saying, in fact, when the announcement was made that the Legislative Assembly is no more going to accept the so-called independence, the first question that one was faced with was whether these people are not just making a temporary retreat to have some breathing space in order to come back full force against the mass of the people. But the answer to the question lies in the mass of the people themselves. This means that the people must not just say we have achieved a victory and now we must rest. The important thing is that the unity of the people must be maintained and the offensive against the bantustan structures must be intensified.

We shall remember that in May this year the ANC issued another "Call to the Nation" and the title of that call was *From Ungovernability to People's Power*. This applies not only to the townships and the urban areas but to the rural areas too. It means that where we have created a situation of ungovernability, where we have battered the structures of the regime that they are beginning to collapse, we must go ahead to establish committees of our own, the rudimentary organs of people's power.

To a great extent the admission by the ruling clique in KwaNdebele that they cannot accept the so-called independence is a great retreat on their part. Therefore, the mass of the people must pursue them in the direction of ensuring that the bantustan structure in its entirety collapses. They must ensure that at local level — Ekangala and other local areas — the people's committees that emerge are spread all over KwaNdebele as part of the overall offensive of the mass of the people both in the rural and urban areas. This will ensure the collapse of the whole administrative structure of the apartheid system. This is one important direction in which we should channel the actions of the people.

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MODERATOR

I would like to pursue the point of people's power. From some reports that have come from some of these bantustans one hears that, for instance, Mangope has publicly said that there are rudimentary structures which have come into existence in Bophuthatswana. One description used was "comrades' committees". Even Sebe in the Ciskei has complained about such structures springing up in his bantustan. Of course, these structures played an important part in influencing the development of events in KwaNdebele. Shouldn't we address ourselves at this moment to the role to be played by these people's committees, street committees, village committees, etc., developing this to a nation-wide concept?

Answer: To start off Comrade Tom, what we can say is that the emergence of these rudimentary organs of people's power is not peculiar to this level of struggle today, not peculiar to this particular period, but as President O.R. Tambo pointed out in the January 8 message of 1984, structures like these have emerged in the past in places like Pondoland in 1960 during what is called the Pondoland Revolt. What happened there is that the masses of the people challenged the regulations and laws of the regime and smashed the organs of rule of the regime and in their place started to institute their own organs -- what was called Intaba.

The Intaba ultimately acted like an organ of government in Pondoland. So, this example goes to show that in the urban areas and the rural areas, organs of popular power have emerged in our history. Now, with the present uprising, the same situation has arisen where the people, in attacking the regime, go to the extent of smashing these organs and institutions and substitute them with their own organs. It has happened in many areas of the country, in some cases in an acute manner as in Lebowa.

Here, the youth and the mass of the people have gone ahead to force MP's of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly to resign. They have also forced some chiefs to resign from the tribal authority and to join the village committees of the people, which village committees have become organs of rule of the people in these villages. But the most important thing is that these organs which have emerged do not play the role of merely supervising the day to day lives of the people like services, etc., but that they are viewed as organs of struggle or organs of people's war or organs of insurrection. That is why we find in areas like Steelpoort, in Sekhukhuniland, that there is a great campaign of mobilisation of the workers, e.g. farm workers go on strike demanding higher wages. There are all sorts of actions by the youth attacking farmers in the Steelpoort area. There are many more actions which have made it impossible for farmers to produce and sell their produce in the area. This shows that the role of these organs is not merely to run the lives of the people but to act as organs of struggle. It is very important to highlight this because most of the time emphasis is being laid on the existence of these organs in the townships. Experience has shown that these organs can exist and do exist in both rural and urban areas. The people in the rural areas should be encouraged to form them as organs of struggle against the bantustan system.

I think that is a very important point Comrade Tom, about the need for us always and continuously to keep our focus on our strategic task which is to seize power from the regime. Naturally, we have to go through very many phases and periods to get to that point. But the point that Peter has made is a

very good one -- victories that we have scored resulting in the organs of government of the apartheid regime and their replacement by organs of people's power should for us be steps towards organising ourselves better. They must be steps to unite ourselves and spread people's war and therefore to set up those units which must conduct such a military struggle and so on.

I think what is also important is what was mentioned in our January 8 statement this year, and in the past years, about the creation of mass insurrectionary bases in the country. The situation in some areas has developed to such a level that it is possible for us to further advance our struggle e.g. for MK to act in these areas. In the particular case of KwaNdebele, there was a case of Piet Ntuli, the so-called minister of Home Affairs and boss of Imbokodo who was killed by a bomb in his car. The manner in which this happened in an area with tight security, showed that it was possible for the people to use their organisational skills and give relative safety to the people involved in the operation to reach such a person.

As our call in January made it clear, we should do everything to expand these bases, not only in the urban areas as it has happened in the Eastern Cape, Durban, Soweto, etc., but also in the rural areas themselves. The people should form revolutionary bases for the further advancement of the struggle. I think this has happened in KwaNdebele as Comrade Thabo and Peter have been saying.

Lebowa for instance is in turmoil. There was a case in Bophuthatswana where cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe engaged some of these bantustan forces right in the presence of our people, with the people watching the actual combat of our forces with the forces of the bantustan system.

I also think that as we create the people's committees to mobilise the people into daily action directed towards the overthrow of the bantustan regimes and making the whole country governable, we should bear in mind that armed struggle is an important element of our struggle and in all areas it should be able to root itself and our cadres who are operating in these areas should be able to move freely and be able to go back to the people and be sheltered and kept by them.

MODERATOR

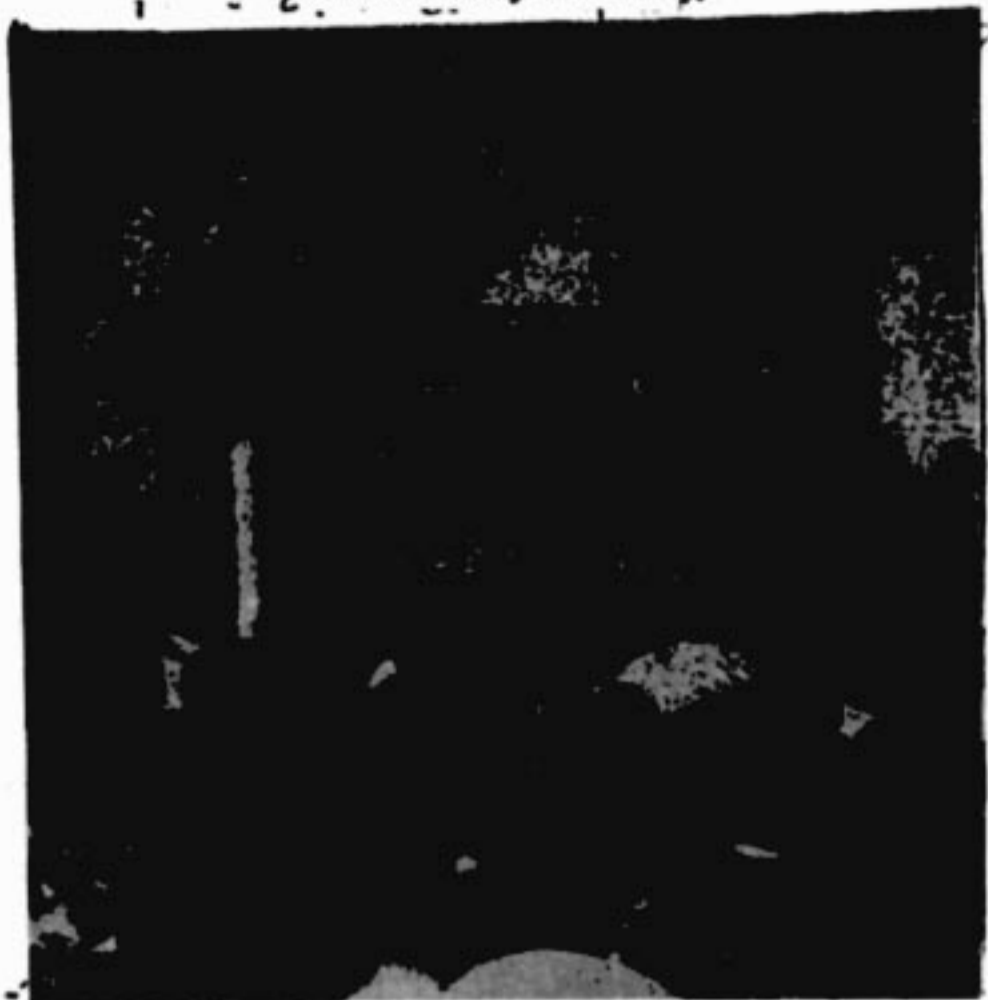
One other thing that comes to my mind after the events in KwaNdebele is the fear or the threat that a similar situation as that which happened in Crossroads might arise, where the regime actually went in alongside with the vigilantes or Witdoeke as they call them in Crossroads. If the Imbokodo of KwaNdebele is not completely destroyed, there is this danger that they may be used in the same manner as the Witdoeke were used in Crossroads. What would we advise our people in KwaNdebele to do to get rid of this threat?

Answer: I would say that the comparison you draw is a very important one. In the first instance, the retreat of the Pretoria regime and its puppets on the question of 'independence' is the sign of the defeat of the kind of manoeuvre that has been carried out in Crossroads. The death of Piet Ntuli and the entire campaign throughout the KwaNdebele area has in fact resulted in the defeat of the Witdoeke of KwaNdebele. Because of the united strength of the people and the possibility of carrying out combat action on a mass scale and on a more professional basis, the regime has been defeated.

But the regime is not going to give up and say it is defeated and therefore it must throw up its hands in the air and let anything and everything happen in the KwaNdebele area. I think

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that the experience that we have gained in the KwaNdebele area confirms very sharply the importance of people's war, the ability to ourselves to act as a military force.

Our movement makes the call quite correctly that those black people who are serving in the instruments of repression of the regime should resign. Some outstanding patriots have resigned. But I think it should be said that there are certain elements in our society that are corrupt in the real meaning of the term. Take the case of Ntuli, a criminal, and even his friends and bosses were complaining that he has been involved in car thefts and things like that.

You look at all the people who are commanding similar sorts of groupings. For example, in Natal, under the wing of Inkatha there are commanders of such groupings with long criminal records of rape, murder, house-breaking and theft, grievous bodily harm and all sorts of crimes.

Now, these are elements which are corrupt, which in all sorts of ways are people who cannot be corrected. So, what do you do against forces like that? You have to fight them! Whatever remnants of Imbokodo there are in the KwaNdebele area who are of that kind i.e. ordinary criminals who can be bought to kill their grandmothers, against such forces any political appeal cannot work. So, the people have to strengthen their own capacity to resist and fight against such units which the enemy uses for money.

To add very briefly, in fact in the calls that have been made by the movement on the whole question of organs of people's power, there has been an emphasis made on the fact that for these organs of power to survive and develop they have to have the capacity to defend themselves and to advance the struggle in general. That is the importance of the formation of self-defence units in the various localities. It is necessary for people to create their own units to ensure the protection of the democratic leadership, their security as a community and maximum vigilance so that the enemy does not find it easy to operate in those areas.

It is important to form units in an organised manner that can start by using very rudimentary weapons and develop to higher levels. In the whole process of development of people's war, it is necessary for people to be organised to ward-off attacks from such forces as vigilantes. Of course, on their

own these cannot be sufficient, as Comrades Thabo and Freddie were saying. One of the main reasons for the victory in KwaNdebele has been the ability of Umkhonto we Sizwe to make its serious and effective input into actions that are taking place in the area. Therefore in addition to the initiative of the people in organising themselves to ward-off attacks from forces such as vigilantes, SAP, SADF and so on, it is necessary for MK to register its presence and find ways of adding some strength to the activities of the people.

MODERATOR

Do you still have something to say?

Answer: What I would say is that the lesson for the whole democratic movement has been very instructive. And as we were saying in the last part by Comrade Thabo and Peter, there can be no over-emphases of the fact that mass political action by the people, combined with actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe are essential for our victory, as was seen in a very effective stay-away combined with some military action.

The other lesson is that when we act in one area we are bound to influence the situation in another. Already, when the struggle in KwaNdebele gained momentum, we witnessed certain upheavals in certain areas where there had been relative quietness for some time. In Bophuthatswana there erupted a great upheaval that embarrassed the so-called moderate regime which has always tried to present itself as not so involved in these repressive measures. It was exposed to be no different from that of the Ciskei, Transkei or Venda which have always terrorised our people. Stemming from this, our call to the people in the so-called independent bantustans should be together with those of the other bantustans, to unite their forces and fight for the complete destruction of the bantustan system which is very important in the strategy of the regime for its apartheid rule.

We should always encourage that certain elements within these bantustans as was seen in KwaNdebele before the 'independence' issue was shelved, begin to question their commitment to the so-called independence and the bantustan system.

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Dompas Surfaces in the Schools as I.D.'s

THE EDUCATION of the Black majority is still a burning issue among the students, teachers, parents and democratic organisations throughout our country. Since its imposition on our people in 1954 the struggle against Bantu Education has intensified and assume national proportions. It has become one of the major issues in our fight against the whole system of racial discrimination and economic bondage.

When the schools were due to reopen the racist authorities introduced 'identity cards', the new system of registration and restrictions on people entering the school premises. With these new measures the Department of Education and Training (DET) hopes to crush the resistance to apartheid education system. Like all our oppressors, the DET authorities look for problems of education for Blacks outside the education milieu and blames 'outsiders' in the name of agitators for all the unrest in Black institutions of learning. Yet the root cause for all this lies in the very system of Bantu Education.

In essence what do these new draconian measures mean? Firstly, the introduction of identities to students should be seen as an extension of that hateful badge of slavery, i.e. the 'Dompas'. It is also a means of trying to split the ranks of the students and victimise their leaders. Secondly, it means only those that the racist authorities feel are not 'agitators' will be allowed to register and study. Thirdly, it means that schools are no longer properties of the community since the general populace will be barred from entering the school premises without the newly introduced means of identification. And above all, the authority of the racists will be further entrenched, through the deployment of the police and the army in and around the schools. Quite obviously such an atmosphere cannot be conducive to the conducting of normal classes. It is only under conditions of fascist dictatorship that you get such extreme measures.

With the militarisation of Black schools the DET, has flagrantly violated the principles and norms of the learning process. No pupils or students can absorb anything, if they are surrounded by aggressive police and army forces, under the continuous threats of teargas, birdshots, live and rubber bullets and vicious dogs.

Steeled by their practical experience in the struggle, our students and parents immediately saw through these new measures. Within a day or two of the introduction of these identities, our fighting youth rejected them and even started burning them.

These desperate actions of the enemy have no place in our society and will never mislead nor deter us from the revolution. The entire democratic students organisations should unite against these draconian measures. We urge the National Education Crisis Committee, the entire democratic movement and the workers organisations to support the actions of our students in their rejection of these identities.

With the active support of the revolutionary masses of our country led by our vanguard, the African National Congress and our People's Army, supported also by the democratic peoples the world over, our students' resolve to put into practice the People's Education is a reality within reach. The DET should be given no space nor time to breathe until our aims are realised.

In this regard, a question of primary concern to us all is that of education. We have stated our stand on this issue in clear unequivocal terms. What we want is one democratic, non-racial, free and compulsory system of education. The broad principles underlying that alternative system of education are contained in the Freedom Charter.

ANC PRESS STATEMENT

5th August 1986

THATCHER APPEASES RACISM

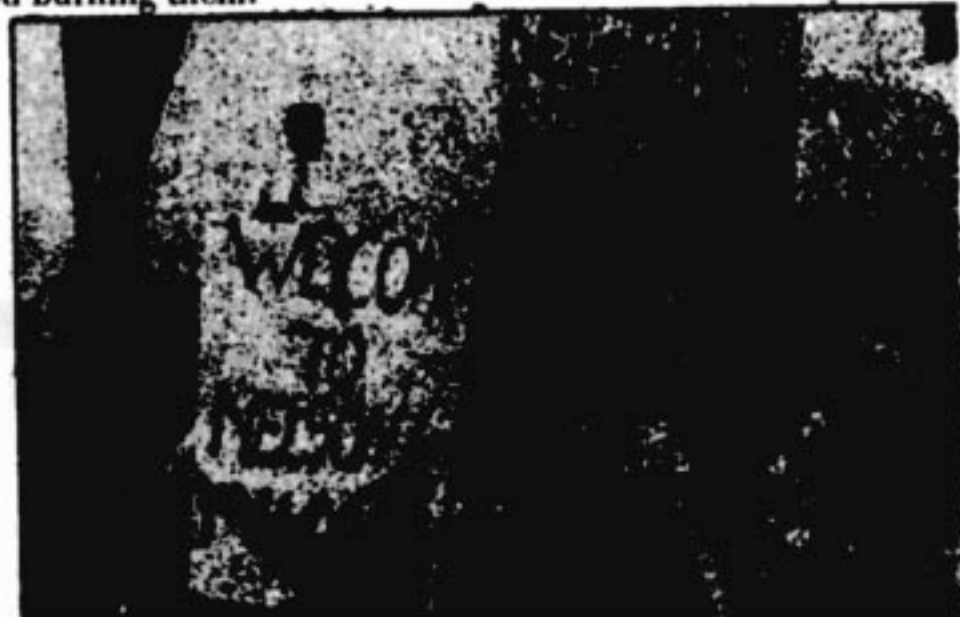
THE African National Congress congratulates the six Commonwealth Heads of Government on their decision to impose further sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

The deteriorating situation in South Africa, with the regime's violence and brutality against the population reaching new extremes behind a cloak of censorship requires the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. However the commitment of these Heads of Government and their refusal to be dragooned into making gestures which could only serve to buttress Botha's intransigence is a source of encouragement to us.

Prime Minister Thatcher has confirmed her government's determination to continue to support the Pretoria regime. It is clear that the British Government is not in the least concerned about the daily killings of our people in South Africa. It sees nothing wrong with the continued occupation of Namibia or Pretoria's aggression against the independent states of Southern Africa.

The cornerstone of Mrs Thatcher's policy towards Southern Africa is the appeasement of racism. She tries to disguise this with hypocritical expressions of concern about the jobs and stomachs of the oppressed majority while assuring Botha that her government will do nothing to stop his murderous campaign of terror throughout Southern Africa. The ANC appeals to all governments, especially those in the commonwealth, to impose the agreed measures immediately. We hope that the decision to secure "concerted international action in the coming months" will lead to the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council.

ALFRED NZO.
Secretary General.



SPEAK THE TRUTH FROM THE PULPIT

THE CLAIM of the white minority regime that it is the defender of Christianity and religious freedom in South Africa, lies buried under the voluminous heap of its evil deeds in this so-called defence.

Under the state of emergency and other undemocratic decrees and police powers, freedom to preach or worship have been violated as never before. The so-called defenders have become the persecutors of religious communities as long as these use their pulpit to speak the truth and demand justice and peace for all in our land.

Priests languish in the detention camps of the regime; religious worshippers have been collected from the churches and locked away; peaceful meetings where readings of the Koran were being conducted in remembrance of June 16 were tear-gassed; priests have been deported while others were whipped; religious objectors to the unjust war of the regime have been detained and treated like traitors; helicopters have been used against a religious centre in which a large number of black children were given sanctuary. The number of evil deeds committed in the last two months is long and ghastly.

The religious community, especially its leaders, has an immense and urgent responsibility to respond to this situation. Not only has the regime violated the people's rights to worship but the right to life has been completely denied to those who oppose the inhuman apartheid system.

In the January statement of the ANC to the people of South Africa, we urged that the religious community, inspired by their own faiths must, as an important sector among our people, further enhance its contribution to the struggle to end the apartheid system and to create a society in which the right to life will be respected.

The millions of believers in our country are faced with a challenge to defend their right to their beliefs. And, we have seen that rather than grant that right, the barbarous regime has continued to erode it until we have nothing left. It is clear that apartheid does not tolerate any opposition to evil, rather, it would have our leaders behave like the pretenders in the HNK and other racist churches.

For all the believers in our country, the time to act is now. Black and white, we must do our part in destroying this evil system that claims its authority from God even though the world religious community has long declared apartheid a heresy.

Our vision for the future of religion has long been spelt in our beacon for the future - the Freedom Charter - which states: "The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children." The apartheid system is an anti-thesis to these noble objectives.

The regime continues to claim that violence is unjustified against itself. The right to violence belongs to the state. But,



we the oppressed masses and democratic-minded whites who seek justice and peace in our land have a responsibility to bring to an end this violent rule. We should and must, resolve to become part of all those who have decided to respond to violence with violence in defence of the right of the people to life and freedom.

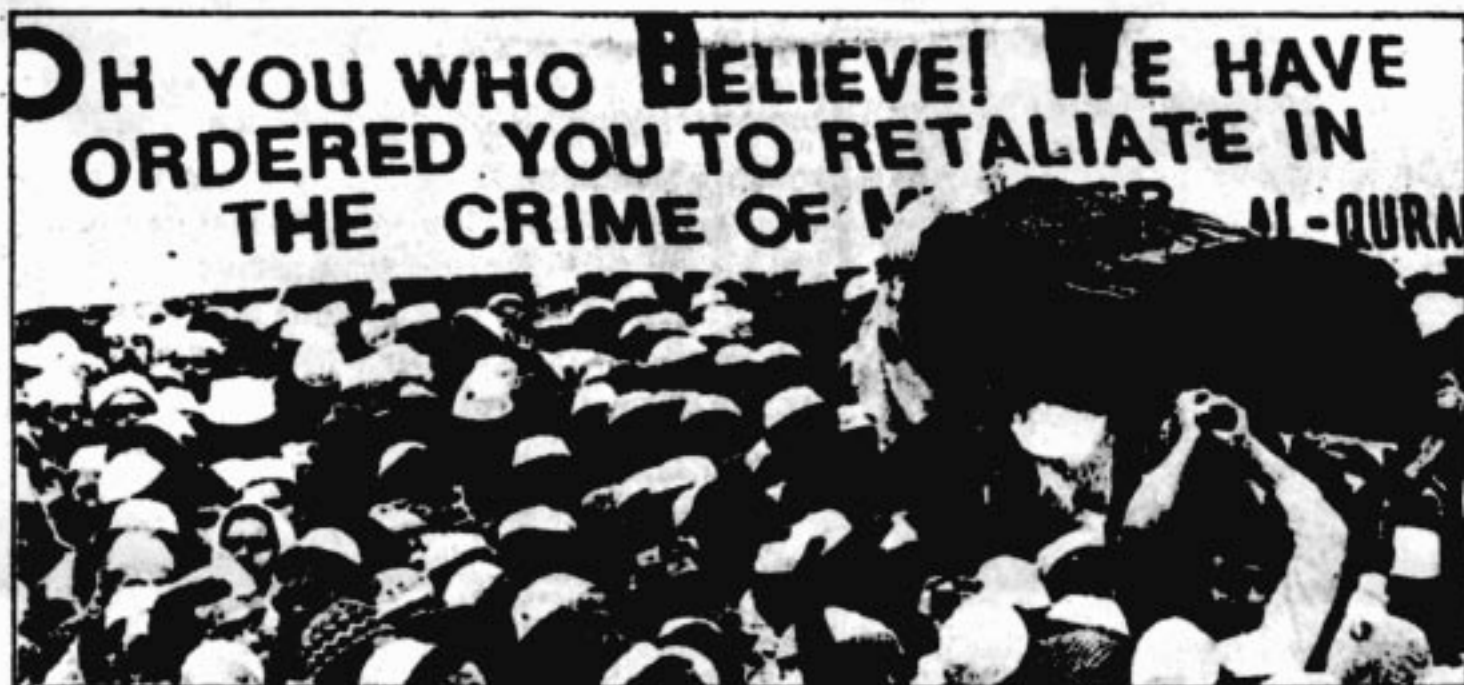
Christians, Muslims, Jews, Hindus and people of other faiths must work resolutely and consistently to involve the whole religious community in the struggle to destroy the apartheid regime.

As is stated in the Kairos Document: "... the Church cannot collaborate with tyranny. It cannot or should not do anything that appears to give legitimacy to a morally illegitimate regime. Secondly, the Church should not only pray for a change of government, it should also mobilise its members in every parish to begin to think and work and plan for a change of government in South Africa ... and finally, the moral illegitimacy of the apartheid regime means that the Church will have to be involved at times in civil disobedience. A Church that takes its responsibilities seriously in these circumstances will sometimes have to confront and to disobey the state to obey God."

Many people in our country are religious and it is therefore the task of the religious leaders to guide us, not as a force separate from the liberation forces, but as an integral part of the national liberation movement.

To our religious community the African National Congress says:

- Organise, unite and act for the end of apartheid!
- Pray for the end of apartheid!
- Freedom is at hand!
- Now is the time to act!



On the banner of this Cape Town funeral the word behind the coffin is 'murder'.

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These forces should decide at this moment not only to say that they reject 'independence' but must come out directly onto the side of the people against the bantustan system.

MODERATOR

I think that it is clear for most of our people involved in the liberation struggle that the struggle has been widening, not only in the so-called South Africa without the bantustans but also in the 'independent' ones. There are lot of reports from right in the north in Venda, up to the Eastern Cape, both in the Ciskei and the Transkei, of upheavals. But let us look at it from the side that there has been a state of emergency from June 12. How do we address ourselves to this phenomenon that has developed since the state of emergency was declared?

Answer: I think it is one of the interesting features of the situation at home. It is the extent at which the 'enemy' underestimates, in the first instance, the resolve of our people to free themselves. It is the extent at which it underestimates the level of organisation among our people and overestimates its strength. The question you have asked earlier of what Heunis announced in the Federal Congress of the racists ruling party about possible elections to elect people to serve in the so-called Statutory Council is the reflection of the same thing that, so late in the day, they should continue to believe that there is anybody with any credibility whatsoever who is going to be elected into some puppet body.

It is a complete refusal to understand the level of struggle that we have reached. Of course, this is not peculiar to the apartheid regime. All oppressors almost proceed from this position that they can hold on to power forever. Smith in Rhodesia thought that Rhodesia would last for thousand years. Hitler also thought that fascism would last for a thousand years. The Botha regime is no different.

But the fact of the matter, I think is that it is very important that we should, whereas the enemy, underestimates our strength and overestimates his own, move objectively from the position that power is within our grasp. That is based on our strength. It is based on our level of commitment, on our understanding of the strategic and tactical tasks that we have to accomplish to reach our goal of liberation.

The response to the state of emergency and everything that the regime has done has been very good starting with the massive observance of June 16. It is very important that we should pay a great deal of attention to the strengthening of the organisational structures which must take us forward, whether in the form of organs of people's power, mass democratic organisations, military combat units, underground structures of the ANC etc. All these organised structures are what we need to able us to move forward. It was clear that with the arrests that took place during this state of emergency, the regime was trying to smash our organised base to make it impossible for us to move forward, to deny us of organisers, leadership of organisations, etc.

But the enemy failed because it consistently underestimates our strength and capacity to withstand repression. But in the end, that capacity to withstand repression has got to be based on the existence of organised forces of various kinds throughout the country which are able to mobilise the people and to move them forward.

I think that is an important task. It is a task that faces the KwaNdebele people. The consolidation of the victory in KwaNdebele and the further movement forward has got to depend on the birth and the growth, development, strengthening and consolidation of all these democratic structures which are in contact with the people and are able to move the people forward.

Thank you Comrades Thabo, Peter and Freddie.



On the 30th July 1986, the South African Communist Party marked its 65th Anniversary. It distributed this sticker inside the country.

