



MAYIBUYE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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Journal of the African National Congress

Let us make our country ungovernable

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

For the fascist rulers of our country, in terms of the implementation of its constitutional schemes, things are therefore proceeding according to plan. The domination of our country, by a small band of fanatical racist tyrants is being further refined, reinforced and strengthened.

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

ungovernable? Are we challenging in action, the right of the apartheid regime to rule our country? Can we truly say we have mounted such an offensive that the enemy finds it difficult to stop our forward march to liberation?

ENEMY LOST

We take opportunity once more to salute our so-called Coloured and Indian compatriots for their overwhelming rejection of Botha's apartheid constitution. The enemy lost. We won an history victory. This fact is of major importance to the development of our offensive today and will similarly be of major importance in the further intensification of our struggle tomorrow. The key thing is that in our planning, in our thinking, in our mobilisation we must proceed from the basis that we inflicted a humiliating defeat on our enemy. We registered a victory which Botha and de Klerk themselves had to acknowledge as such.

80 PERCENT

In what did that victory consist? What are its component parts? Of course this victory is characterised by the fact that more than 80% of the "Coloured" and Indian sections of the black people of our country stayed away from Botha's polling booths as a conscious and



Release Mandela campaigners say no to constitution!!



Wits students show their rejection of the apartheid constitution

organised act of rejection of the constitution of the oppressors.

But from the point of view of the future, it is necessary that we analyse and understand properly the implications of this massive boycott of the apartheid elections.

By rejecting the racist constitution, we were rejecting the kind of society which that constitution reflected and seeks to entrench. We were saying no to apartheid society. We were saying we reject white minority rule. We were demonstrating our opposition to the

racial fragmentation of our country, our opposition to the bantustans, to the tricameral parliament, to the Group Areas; we were demonstrating our opposition to the entire apartheid system with its national oppression, its super-exploitation of the black people, its tyrannical fascist rule and its aggression against the people of Southern Africa.

As a conscious political act and in an organised manner, 4 million South Africans joined together to reject everything that Botha stands for, to declare their opposition
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EDITORIAL

THE racist regime has received a stinging slap in the face. All efforts of the Botha-Malan clique to co-opt the Coloured and Indian communities and make them partners in maintaining a system of national oppression and exploitation have been met with a solid wall of resistance by our people.

Despite all efforts to divide, intimidate, entice and herd our people into thinking as racially compartmentalised groups, the resounding mass campaign against the 'tri-cameral parliament' has demonstrated that the different communities of our country think as one people, see our country as an undivided South Africa and are acting in unity.

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

In the midst of the wreckage of his intrigues, Botha is already talking of another 'new dispensation', of some further tinkering aimed at gaining some token credibility. This time a "dispensation" for "urban" Africans.

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

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

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

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

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

We call on all people in all their formations to unite to make any attempt to toast the racial parliament on us a resounding declaration of our resolve to defeat the racist regime.
Forward to Peoples' Power!

The world is with us

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

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

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

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

The government of India, on its behalf, and on behalf of the Non-Aligned Move-

ment, of which it is chairman, condemned the racist ploys to co-opt certain sections of the oppressed people as co-oppressors of the African majority and called on the Coloureds and Indians not to vote on August 22nd and 28th.

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

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

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



Britons protest against Botha's visit in June

A fitting commemoration

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

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

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

VALUABLE PLATFORMS

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

ation of women. It is also clear that we have realised that the correct starting point is for us to create local and regional bodies to mobilise as many women as possible.

To the women's leaders we say: Mobilise and Unite Women for People's Power!

On the international scene the day was celebrated widely and addressed by leaders of the African National Congress Women's Section. There were meetings at the United Nations, in Australia, Scandinavia, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, Britain, America, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and other centres of the world.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC delivered a special message to the women of South Africa on this special day in the Year of the Women. **MAYIBUYE** publishes excerpts of the message below:

On the occasion of the 9th of August, allow us to salute the struggling and

heroic women of our country.

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

Moving from the point that women form a vital element of the liberation forces in our country, our leadership issued this declaration for mobilising our womenfolk into an even more powerful, conscious, united and active force for revolutionary change. We are confident that the Women's Section of the ANC will strive for the attainment of even greater results...

In our country today, the situation is characterised by the ever rising tide of mass revolutionary action against the enemy on all fronts. This is manifested in the militant actions by the workers, the youth and students, the

women, the churches, civic organisations and indeed by all our people in urban and rural areas. Coupled with this upsurge the underground activity of the ANC and the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe have noticeably increased, delivering telling blows against the regime and its instruments of oppression.

COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

As a result of the intensification of the liberation struggle inside the country led by the ANC, the Pretoria regime, supported by its imperialist allies, has launched a concerted counter-offensive whose aim is to isolate the ANC from the people at home and its allies in the region and the rest of the world. The oncoming bogus elections for the tricameral parliament involving our Coloured and Indian communities, form an integral part of the whole strategy of divide and rule. But our people are mobilising and organising to defeat this racist ploy...

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

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

Amandla Ngawethu!





Let us make our country ungovernable

(continued from page 1)

tion to everything that Botha will seek to promote and encourage using his dictatorial powers as President.

OPTION FOR UNITY

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

In essence, our victory therefore consists in the fact that we have managed further to strengthen the mass army of liberation. We have succeeded to mobilise and unite millions of people to reject the legitimacy of the apartheid regime, to unite be-

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

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

It is clear that the enemy, on its side, had prepared for the eventuality that in August, it might suffer a defeat. The enemy knew that victory for us would mean that we would have created better conditions for our forward march. Botha's State Security Council therefore

convened to consider what the apartheid regime should do to stop our advance, what it should do to stop our victories.

The arrest of the leaders of the UDF, on the eve of the "Coloured" elections was intended to deny us the possibility to use the then impending victories as a stepping stone to new successes. The regime stated openly that it feared that a revolutionary situation was beginning to emerge in the country. The military exercises trumpeted by the regime as the largest since the Second World War were also aimed at discouraging the emergence of a revolutionary situation that the police spoke about.

Knowing that the victory would spur us to more victories, Botha's State Security Council issued the directive that all mass struggles should be suppressed by force of arms — hence the blood shed and the lives lost in the townships in the period since we defeated the apartheid regime in August.

The enemy planned its response to our continued offensive and prepared its forces to carry out its plans. But we too, as revolutionaries, as fighters for liberation, must plan how we should continue our offensive knowing full well, that the enemy will, as it must, hit back to stop the emergence and consolidation of the revolutionary situation that Pretoria fears so much. The forces to carry out our offensive are daily demonstrating in action their readiness to march ever forward. They demonstrated this resolve on August 22nd and 28th. They have been displaying this resolve in the African townships. They have been showing their fighting capacity in widespread military operations carried out in Durban, Johannesburg, Roodepoort, Krugersdorp and elsewhere.

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

Botha is a defeated man. His entire apartheid policy is in crisis. His policy of stopping our forward march by force of arms, by terror and extreme repression is producing only one result, the result of inspiring us further into action to remove the Pretoria regime of terrorists and murderers as soon as possible.

Political tricks to divide us — through bantustans, tri-cameral parliament — have failed. Even in the economic sphere, the apartheid regime has produced nothing short of an unmitigated disaster. Botha is aware of this and knows that the apartheid regime has failed in many other areas of this and knows that that the apartheid regime has failed in many other areas as well.

SAVIOURS

With no where to turn, Botha has for the first time in SA history, put a couple of token blacks in his cabinet, traitors to the course of liberation, Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi. It can only be a defeated and desperate man who can rely on the likes of Hendrickse and Rajbansi as his saviours.

But of course Botha relies on the army as his ultimate saviour. All the talk about a democratic system in SA is so much hogwash. But thanks to our struggles, thanks to our refusal to be intimidated by Pretoria's policy of terrorism or to be misled by the deceitful manoeuvres of the racists, the apartheid regime, despite its armed forces, has its back to the wall. All that this regime can do today and in future is to look for ways and means of prolonging its life. It knows that it can no longer seek, as it cannot obtain, an outright victory over the forces of national liberation and democracy in our country.

The racists themselves know that for their movement can only be in one direction, the direction of retreat, the direction of backward movement towards final defeat.

His situation demands that we should use our accumulated strength to move forward, to force the enemy to retreat even faster, to turn that retreat into a rout. The democratic forces must therefore address themselves to the question what we should do to achieve this movement forward.

BOTHA MUST GO!

The first and most important thing that we need to do is to pin on our banners the demand — BOTHA MUST GO!! Botha must go because he does not represent the people of South Africa. His regime is illegitimate and unacceptable even when it has a sprinkling of puppets who have been rejected by the black people. Botha must go because his rule can only mean untold suffering for the majority of the people of our country. Let the call resound throughout our country — the tyrant Botha must go!

We should allow nobody to divert us from this demand. We must reject unequivocally all the lies that are told that Botha is experiencing a change of heart, that this tyrant has suddenly become a reformer and peacemaker. There can be no sharing of interests between us the oppressors. Botha must go! And yet we know that the Botha-Malan regime will not disappear because we say so. It is only through unrelenting, all round political and military struggle that we will force the Botha regime to go. When we say Botha must go we mean that we are no longer prepared to be ruled by a regime that has no authority to govern our country, a regime whose illegal rule we are challenging everyday.

ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT

We must destroy the enemy organs of government.

We must render them ineffective and inoperative.

Indeed, why should we continue to co-operate with or-

gans of government that we have correctly denounced as institutions imposed on us to perpetuate our own oppression. Why should we co-operate with structures created and imposed on us in terms of the constitution we rejected on August 22nd and 28th. It makes no sense that we co-operate with bantustan and community council apartheid structures.

To achieve our goal of forcing Botha to go means that, among other things, and of primary importance we must weaken his capacity to govern us. In rejecting Botha we also reject his puppets. There is no reason why we should allow these puppets to control our daily lives, be it in the bantustans or the black urban townships.

We have accumulated enough organised strength to achieve this objective of making our country ungovernable. We have raised the level of political consciousness among ourselves to the point where we can and must in practice, refuse to submit to the dictates of the Pretoria regime.

In every locality and in all parts of our country, we must fight to ensure that we remove the enemy's organs of government, using all means available to us.

MUZOREWAS

We must continue to isolate the puppets who now sit in Botha's tri-cameral parliament, some of whom serve in his cabinet of repression as Mozorewa did in racist Rhodesia. The same should happen to the puppets who direct the bantustan administrations, and those in the community councils and the new local and provincial structures meant to control the so-called Coloured and Indians.

The accomplishment of these tasks means that we should leave no section of our population unorganised. The struggles we are engaged in require that we should win specific victories in each specific area.

In our continuing assault on the enemy's organs of government, we must use the organised and conscious revolutionary masses to take this next step of intensifying our drive to make our country ungovernable.

ENTIRE PEOPLE

All classes and strata among the oppressed people are adversely affected by the apartheid system and are all victims of Pretoria's oppressive and repressive policies. It is therefore in the interests of all these classes and strata that we defeat the apartheid regime. Accordingly, our offensive against the enemy's organs of self-government has to be carried out by the people in their entirety. This is not a task that should be left to the youth alone or to the workers alone. It requires the involvement of the whole people as a whole.

Initially in this struggle, we should use all means and methods available to use, elaborate various tactics according to the objective situation — all with the aim of paralysing and destroying the enemy's state machinery. This means we must combine both political and military methods of struggle. We have to hit the enemy from all sides, take him by surprise where we can, but otherwise force him into a situation where he finds the country ungovernable.

By these means we will prepare for our next phase of mounting a decisive onslaught to seize power from our oppressors. We must build on the victories we have already scored. We must take advantage of the fact that the enemy is on the retreat. We should further activate into struggle, the millions of our people who are organised and conscious militants of the liberation struggle and prepare the conditions for our final victory.

Both must go!
Forward to a People's government!

USE ALL FORMS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ENEMY

WITH the massive boycott of the apartheid elections and the popular offensive against the racist constitution, the struggle for the seizure of power has taken a giant stride forward. The boycott victory is a result, and forms part of the overall popular offensive.

For it to be effective it must combine in actual struggle all the elements of the people's war, including in particular, the underground leadership of the ANC, mass action and armed struggle. The regime's attempts to suppress the legal democratic movement further emphasises the importance of the underground formation and the armed offensive against the status quo.

BROAD UNDERSTANDING

This broad understanding should guide us in the assessment of the significance of the victory we have scored, and in charting the path ahead. In our anti-election campaign, we unambiguously demonstrated our rejection of the constitutional farce including the regime's bills aimed at reinforcing the bantustan system and so-called 'influx control'. We isolated and ostracised the false leaders who have joined the oppressors as auxiliaries in the perpetuation of white domination. We strengthened our mass organisations and united millions in various forms of action against the illegal regime. Above all, ever stronger signs of a skilful combination of all forms of struggle — especially the armed and mass offensive — continue to emerge.

The attacks of Umkhonto We Sizwe during the boycott campaign have been many and varied. Major and small operations were carried out; many were reported and

distorted; some were never mentioned in the commercial media. These attacks include:

- * Action against the offices of the departments of Community Development, Internal Affairs, Foreign Affairs and the South African Indian Council.
- * Destruction of offices of bantustan administrators in Johannesburg, Durban and Pretoria.
- * Attacks against energy installations including oil depots, against transport and other facilities.
- * Attacks against police and army targets.

This shows that the people's army has indeed entrenched itself among the masses. It lives and survives among the people. In the latest campaign it demonstrated its power to give an effective back-up to mass actions. Its actions have shown that it continues to draw fighters from among the people. But, people's war becomes one in fact only if and when the people in their organised multitudes engage in armed actions.

ORGANISED GROUPS

In this light, the modest but important attempts on the part of some organised groups, and even spontaneous actions by the masses, to confront the enemy in the language he understands best, raise important questions. During the boycott campaign, especially as the "election" days drew nearer, various actions were reported such as attacks against the police in Lenasia, petrol-bombing of polling booths and other enemy installations, and residences and properties of some traitors. These actions have been especially widespread in some African townships, against apartheid instal-



lations and township "councillors". All these reflect the fact that the people have reached the end of their tether. They are no longer prepared to sit idly by as the enemy and his puppets carry out apartheid 'business as usual' despite the rejection of all these institutions by the people.

The popular initiative must be harnessed and canalised; it must be transformed into a conscious and organised offensive — an element of people's war. Fundamental in this direction is the understanding that — violent struggle being a sharp expression of political struggle — the execution of such actions should and must be done by a highly-conscious force among the people, a force that should act under the active guidance of the revolutionary underground. Spontaneous violence and a revolution dovetail only to

the extent that the former is brought in time into the fold of conscious struggle. Beyond this lurks the danger of such violence becoming not only misdirected but also an impediment to the revolution.

The August "election" period has been one of the great nationwide upsurge that involved and continues to draw in all sections of the people. In its width and sense of purpose, the revolt constitutes a resolute challenge against the illegal regime. In fact, the election circus was conducted under a virtual state of emergency and spokesmen of the regime complained that there was a "revolutionary atmosphere" in the country. Be it as it may, the people's patience had long been exhausted. Protest is gradually becoming yesterday's politics, and revolt and insurrection the mood of today — tomorrow's reality.

Herein lies the major significance of the boycott victory and the current mass upsurge. The primary task of the entire democratic movement in the most immediate period is to render the tri-racial parliament, the township council and other apartheid institutions non-functional, to make the country ungovernable! This demands that the people combine in action all elements of people's war.

The order of the day is
**MOBILISE AND MARCH
FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S
POWER!!**



AN HISTORIC CONGRESS

AUGUST 8 – 12, were momentous days in this history of the continuing struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to shape their destiny. Over these days, 6,000 delegates to the 2nd Congress of ZANU debated the future of their Party and country. Present as observers and guests were over 60 foreign delegations, among them were UNIP of Zambia, led by President Kaunda, the FRELIMO Party, led by President Samora Machel, the Botswana Democratic Party, led by President Masire, the Basotho National Party, led by Deputy Secretary General, L. Jonathan and the ANC, led by its President Comrade Oliver Tambo.

Below, MAYIBUYE publishes part of the message of the ANC delivered to this historic second Congress of ZANU-PF by Cde President O.R. Tambo.

Comrade President of ZANU-PF, Comrade Robert Mugabe,

Comrades Heads of Foreign Parties and delegations,

Comrades members of the Central Committee of ZANU-PF,

Your Excellencies, members of the Diplomatic Corps, Distinguished delegates, Comrades and Friends:

"On behalf of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, the leaders, the militants and combatants of our movement, both inside and outside South Africa, on behalf of the workers, the peasants, the women and the youth, the revolutionary intellectuals and progressive religious circles, on behalf of the entire struggling people of our country, we bring revolutionary greetings to this first post-independence Congress of ZANU.

"Today is the 9th August. For South Africa, today is National Women's Day, which is observed internationally. By a remarkable coincidence, the proceedings of this day started with a stirring message from the Women's League – a message delivered on behalf of the women of Zimbabwe by Cde Teurai Ropa Nhongo. It is a message which will reach the women of South Africa. We thank you for that message.

And we say to you, on behalf of your sisters in

South Africa: "Pamberi ne Madzimai!"

"We came to the Congress to reaffirm our mutual solidarity. We are together at this historic moment because we all clearly understand that the destinies of our countries and people are inseparably linked. Our shared experience encompasses a history of common suffering and a common struggle imposed on us by a common enemy. It was, after all, from the conquered territory of our country that the notorious imperialist who foisted his name on this country set out with a column of settlers to conquer Zimbabwe.

"To this very day, the successors of Cecil John Rhodes still use our country as a springboard to carry out aggression not only against Zimbabwe, but all the countries of Southern Africa. . .

"This situation confronts all of us with challenges that we meet have to meet everyday. It imposes on the people of the region of the obligation to answer in struggle, the question: For how long shall we continue to be victims of apartheid domination, colonialism, aggression and destabilisation?"

Recalling the Report of the Central Committee delivered the previous day by Cde Robert Mugabe, President of ZANU-PF, in which we had traced the early days of the history of Zimbabwe,

the formation of ZANU and the path traversed through independence in 1980 to date, President Tambo said, "That struggle and the victories scored in the course of its pursuance, the great victory represented by the delegates present here today, representing the people of Zimbabwe – that struggle and victory have been and continue to be a tremendous contribution to the progress of the struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia. You have refused to be intimidated by the Pretoria regime. You refused to be intimidated during the struggle. You continue to refuse. We hail your resilience.

"You have become our strength: You are our power, and following on your footsteps, we too shall continue to deliver armed blows at the racist enemy. Umkhonto We Sizwe shall never rest. We shall continue to confront the enemy in mass struggles. In action we are calling a halt to white minority rule in South Africa. We are calling a halt to the exploitation of our people. . .

"The only choice we have – the choice we in South Africa and Namibia share with you, the choice we share with the people of Southern Africa and the whole of Africa, the choice that humanity has – is to destroy the apartheid regime, and there shall be peace in our region. This is the lesson of history you taught us".

President Tambo spoke of our people whose eyes were focussed on the Congress because of their sincere desire that we should march forward together, shoulder to shoulder, all 40 million of us on both sides of the Limpopo.

He said there were other forces paying the closest attention to the Congress. But for purposes diametrically opposed to those of ZANU, ours and those of fraternal delegations present at the

Congress. These were the forces that never wanted Zimbabwe to be free and are today trying to blockade Namibia's path to independence. These were the forces that would like to see the people of South Africa perpetually under the domination of apartheid. These were the forces whose hands are dripping with the blood of the people of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia and elsewhere in Southern Africa. Their hands were also dripping with the blood of the people of Palestine, Western Sahara, East Timor, El Salvador, and Grenada.

He added that these forces of imperialist reaction hoped and prayed that the Congress would achieve nothing.

In closing his address President Tambo said "The African National Congress feels greatly honoured to have been invited to take part in this historic Congress. We know that Pretoria will not have been pleased about this.

"For this reason, in particular, we extend our thanks to Comrade President Robert Mugabe, the Central Committee and to the party as a whole for enabling us to be here on this great day. . .

"The racists are living on borrowed time. Our people are uniting in action. They are making the country ungovernable. The workers are mobilising and organising, uniting and taking the offensive. The battle has been joined for the destruction of the criminal system run by Pretoria not only in South Africa, but throughout the region.

"As revolutionaries, as people locked in combat, as comrades-in-arms in the struggle against racism, colonialism and imperialism, as neighbours and as brothers and sisters, we salute all participants at the historic Second Congress of ZANU and we wish the Congress the greatest success.

Pamberi ne ZANU!

SWAZI-ANC COMMUNIQUE

DELEGATIONS representing the government of the Kingdom of Swaziland and the African National Congress led, respectively, by Dr G.M. Msibi, member of the Supreme Council of State (LIQOQO) and Mr Oliver Tambo president of the African National Congress, met in Lusaka, on the 16th and 17 August 1984.

After intensive frank discussions, held in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, characterised by a desire on both sides to resolve some of the problems that have arisen, it was finally agreed to strengthen contact to enable the two sides in future to attend timeously to issues that may arise.

Both parties agreed on the necessity of future meetings which would further examine solutions to the remaining problems.

The delegations further extended their deep gratitude to the United National Independence Party, the government and people of Zambia, and in particular to H.E. President David Kenneth Kaunda who personally contributed to the success of the meeting.

Closer to the community

THE students' struggle against the inferior education system can never be confined to this front only. It is true that for the students, the wickedness of the inferior education system for blacks is the one that affects them most immediately, and therefore, the one apartheid structure the students confront directly.

But because apartheid education helps to maintain and is crucial to the perpetuation of our oppression and exploitation, it is necessary that the struggle against the inferior education system be waged as part of the overall struggle.

This is the correct position that the students have striven to take. There can be no better example of this than the recent example during Pretoria's apartheid elections for the "Coloured" and Indians. The students managed to combine the students struggle with that fought by the people as a whole. At the height of the elections boycott campaign, the ongoing schools struggle became merged with the broader struggle against the racist constitution, for a democratic South Africa.

STALE ACCUSATION

Hundreds of thousands of students refused to go to classes, protesting directly against the racists' constitution, which will further the system of separate education for the different racial groups, with the education for blacks remaining inferior.

As usual, the oppressor regime issued its habitual and stale accusation that the students actions had been engineered by 'outside forces' to disrupt the "election" and the police had thus acted in self-defence.

LESSONS

That lie can deceive no one now! We know that the apartheid regime wants to maintain apartheid at all

costs. It will kill, beat up and arrest those who refuse to tow its line.

As students, we were able to glean a lot of instructive lesson from the boycott campaign. It was clear that a great level of unity was achieved between the different race groups. African, White, "Coloured" and Indian students demonstrated unity in action. From this unity, we have to move forward to more united action.

A greater level of unity between the students and the community at large was also displayed. This has paved the way for the community to be even more involved in the students struggles that have enveloped the country since the beginning of the year.

It became clear during the struggles that with the great number of students participating in the boycott and the potential for the growth of this number, the racists were unable to close the boycotting schools.

OUR POTENTIAL

It is therefore necessary to call those schools and universities that have not yet joined the struggle against inferior education to do so. In this way we will have strengthened ourselves against the fascist regime.

Lastly we have realised our potential to organise country-wide at short notice. We have realised that it is in the offensive that that our capacity to strike is sharpened.

Let us plunge the education system into crisis!!!
MAATLA KE ARONA! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



The spirit of June 16 lives on in the students

Radio Lusaka

Shortwave 31mb, 9605 KHz 7.00 p.m. Daily
10.15-10.45 p.m. Wednesday
9.30-10.00 p.m. Thursday
10.15-10.45 p.m. Friday

Shortwave 25mb, 11880 KHz 8.00-8.45 a.m. Sunday

Radio Luanda

Shortwave 31mb, 9635 KHz and 25mb 7.30 p.m. Monday-Saturday
8.30 p.m. Sunday

Radio Madagascar

Shortwave 40mb, 6135 KHz 7.00-9.00 p.m. Monday-Saturday
7.00-8.00 Sunday

Radio Ethiopia

Shortwave 31mb, 9585 KHz 9.30-10.00 p.m. Daily

Radio Tanzania

Shortwave 31mb, 9750 KHz 8.15 p.m. Monday, Wednesday, Friday
6.15 a.m. Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday