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Message from ANC president OR Tambo

To all Mayibuye readers

Dear Compatriots,

It gives me the warmest pleasure and satisfaction to welcome the first issue of MAYIBUYE, now published legally.

Although attempts to silence the voice of the ANC over the past 30 years have failed, the emergence from the underground of MAYIBUYE, clearly reflects the growing and irresistible strength of the ANC and marks another historical development in our struggle.

It is, therefore, a major victory for all those inside and outside our country who have battled and continue to battle against apartheid.

In this complex and sometimes apparently contradictory period in our history, MAYIBUYE will, I am

sure, contribute to the process of enabling all South Africans, black and white, to discern the views and the aspirations of our Move-

ment and our people for a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic country.

I should like to take this opportunity to extend my warmest, fraternal greetings to all ANC and MDM activists and to the readers of MAYIBUYE, but especially to the struggling masses of our people.

With the launch of MAYIBUYE it must now be clear to everyone that

the ANC has indeed come back.

**A luta continua!
Amandla! Ngawethu!**

**OR Tambo
President, ANC.**



ANC leaders detained

AS MAYIBUYE went to press it was announced that Mac Maharaj, a member of the ANC NEC was detained by the SAP, under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He joins other ANC leaders detained recently such as Billy Nair.

Commenting on these developments, Nelson Mandela said the ANC was gravely concerned and would raise the matter with the government. He reiterated the demand for the repeal of all security legislation.

Maharaj is covered by the amnesty agreed upon at the Groote Schuur summit.

32 people are currently being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Workers' Charter Day

COSATU's Central Executive Committee (CEC) has decided to intensify the Workers' Charter Campaign. August 28 has been declared National Workers' Charter Day.

A special Workers' Charter Conference is to be called in November.

Mandela visits Sebokeng

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and senior ANC members visited the Vaal township of Sebokeng on July 25 to investigate the causes of violence in the area following an Inkatha rally on July 22.

More than 24 people have been killed in Sebokeng since Inka-



Railway workers across the country took action in support of their wage demands recently. In Johannesburg, an estimated 15 000 workers brought traffic to a standstill as they marched to the Transnet headquarters.

tha supporters went on the rampage after the rally.

While the ANC, UDF and Cosatu have been refused permission to hold meetings and marches in the Vaal, Inkatha was given permission for its rally.

Consumer boycotts spread

THE ANC's Eastern Transvaal Region has called a massive consumer boycott to protest against police and vigilante attacks. The boycott, which began on July 27, will be reassessed on August 29.

However, the boycott of eight towns controlled by the extreme right - Nelspruit, White River, Barberton, Witbank, Middelburg, Ermelo, Belfast and Bethal - will only be reassessed on September 11.

At present the Vaal, Bloemfontein, Bultfontein, Marble Hall, Groblersdal and parts of the Northern Cape are affected by consumer boycotts.

Thousands in strike ballots

THE National Union of Mineworkers held a strike ballot among its 23 000 members at 22 collieries. This was after the Chamber of Mines refused to improve its wage offer. Meanwhile the National Union of Metalworkers of SA will conduct a national strike ballot of its members in the steel and engineering sectors from July 29 to August 10.

Squatters relieved

A GROUP of Thornhill squatters who left the Ciskei this week and occupied part of a farm in Whittlesea were granted a reprieve from eviction last week.

More killed in Natal

FIERCE attacks continue against ANC-aligned residents in Nseleni near Empanjeni in Northern Natal. Three Cosatu members have been

killed in the past 10 days and a union organiser's home was burnt to the ground. Meanwhile, the decomposed bodies of three Sayco activists who had disappeared recently were found last week.

W Cape focus on homelessness

THE UDF-affiliated Western Cape United Civic Association's interim committee will be holding a mass rally in District Six within the next two weeks to focus on homelessness. District Six has been standing empty since people were evicted from the land in terms of the Group Areas Act. However, developers have now earmarked the area for expensive housing.

ANC holds report-backs

THE ANC is reporting back to mass democratic movement structures, Azapo, the PAC, churches and the United Municipalities of SA on Nelson Mandela's international tour.

MAYIBUYE greets all our readers in these times of great promise. In a sense, the Chinese curse, "may you live in interesting times", also applies to our journal.

For more than 10 years MAYIBUYE operated as a small underground newsletter of the African National Congress. We could only reach a few people. And our intervention was severely limited by the conditions of illegality. Among those we did reach, we hope that we helped generate discussion and debate around pertinent political issues.

A word of thanks to the underground operatives of the Movement, who risked life and limb to ensure that the voice of the ANC - in its various forms - spreads far and wide. It is thanks partly to them - and mainly to the mass of our people - that we have reached decisive moments in our struggle. It is the irony of our times that those who hounded them for these ideas, today claim some of the policies about transformation as their own.

MAYIBUYE comes in a new format. For convenience, we have designated this as the first issue of Volume 1. But we will continue in the same tradition of identifying questions that will help us move faster to the goal of a

united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

Though it will reflect the broad policy positions of the ANC, the journal is not a mechanical mouthpiece. It is a forum for debate and aims at generating discussion within our ranks and in broader South African society. If each one of us, irrespective of our political

affiliation, certainly has hopes and aspirations, then we should discuss them and act to achieve our desires. No-one else will shape the future for us. For by commission or omission, we shall all help to determine what finally emerges out of the pro-

Continuing a democratic tradition

cesses under way.

In this issue, we deal with a number of current political questions. The central theme, so crucial to the present phase, is that the masses are and must be the central force in the process of transformation. They are the key to the effort to rapidly bring an end to the system of apartheid.

In the same vein, the editorial collective of MAYIBUYE considers it fundamental that we should have constant dialogue with our readers. A one-way process can only be harmful to democracy. We thus invite contributions and letters from ANC members and all our readers, wherever they might be.

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The masses

The masses are central to the struggle for political power and for the transformation of society.

This is the case because they are the victims of the system of apartheid. They are the majority. They are the ones who have the most to gain from national democratic transformation.

The struggle cannot be won by a few creative, skilful and heroic individuals.

It must involve the masses throughout the length and breadth of our country, and at all levels of the political process. It must combine the creativity of the masses with the abilities of the individuals in leadership.

Strategy and tactics

This approach is pivotal to ANC strategy and tactics. It applies to all conditions and to all forms of struggle. Even when the ANC was still banned, underground structures linked the movement with the mass of the people.

We had to ensure, from the difficult conditions of illegality, that the policies of the movement were brought to the widest spectrum of our people, especially the oppressed. We had to ensure the widest possible organisation and mobilisation of the masses, and make them active and direct participants in the struggle for their own liberation.

Our approach to armed struggle is guided by the same principles. Umkhonto we Sizwe is the core of the broader people's army, which relies for its recruits and for its survival on the mass of the people.

Above all, the armed struggle would not develop in scope and depth without the active involvement of the people at all levels of armed activity, including popular combat groups and

The liberation movement must always rely on the mass of the people in order to bring an end to the apartheid system. This becomes even more crucial at this stage of our struggle

various other forms of armed resistance.

In time, the merger between mass and armed activity would develop into a generalised people's war. How does the changed situation affect our approach to this aspect of our struggle? (See Box).

The question of mass involvement arises even more acutely at the present stage of our struggle. As a result of the combined offensive – underground organisation, mass mobilisation, armed struggle and international work – the liberation move-



ment has decisively shifted the balance of power in favour of the forces of transformation.

People's organisations have been unbanned, and some leaders and cadres have been released. Pretoria has been forced to recognise the centrality of the ANC in South African politics. It has conceded that negotiations have to take place with representatives of the majority of the people, and that power relations have somehow to change.

We are therefore entering a period in which negotiations might become a reality. We are faced

are the key



also with the challenge of building an open, mass-based ANC. As a result of our struggles and our sacrifices, the question of political power has been placed high on the agenda.

In all these levels of activity, the democratic movement should rely on the masses of the people. It is their commitment to the cause of liberation, their actions, their creativity and their initiative which will ensure that the transformation we seek will definitely be attained.

The art of leadership consists in the ability to sense the mood

of the people, to identify issues that affect the people most, and to harness the energies of the people to achieve their desired goal.

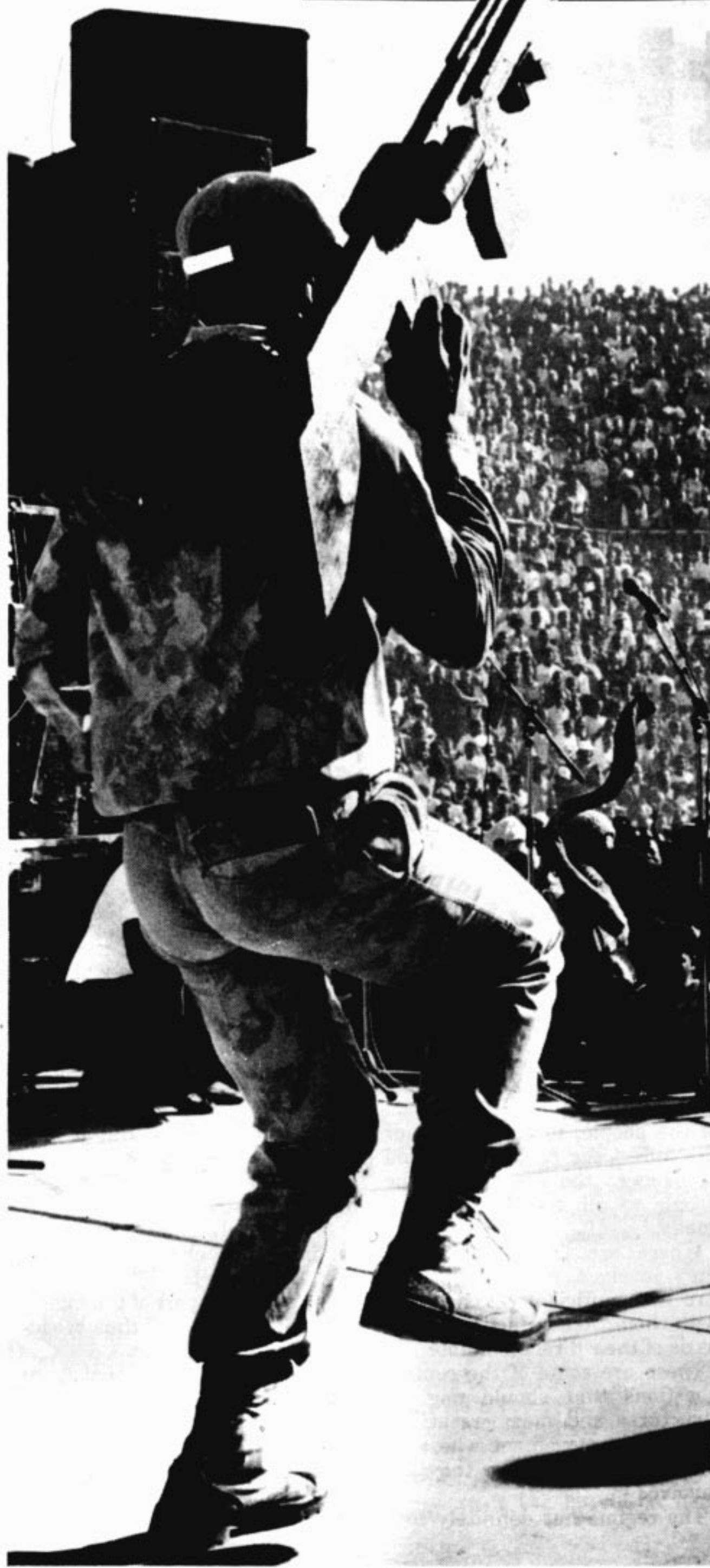
Where are the masses? Are they involved in what we do? Are we sufficiently consulting with them? Are we acting on the basis of their direct mandate?

These are some of the central questions that should nag all structures and members of the democratic movement wherever they are and whatever they are involved in.

The regime has definitely con-

ceded some ground. But it desperately wants to regain the strategic initiative. De Klerk and his administration seek to portray themselves as a force for fundamental change. In this way, they hope to:

- gain the support of the majority of the people and thus broaden their support base;
- win legitimacy for structures of apartheid rule, such as the tri-cameral parliament, as the instruments which should supervise and manage the process of transition;
- co-opt democratic structures



Whither

This is a legitimate question to ask. There is no way in which the changes that have taken place since February 2 would not affect the movement's strategy and tactics.

It is quite true that armed struggle has contributed decisively to these changes. But it is equally true that it has not been an end in itself. The role of armed struggle under given conditions is not sufficient justification to continue with it if the situation has changed.

The forms used in any struggle are determined by existing conditions. It is precisely because the regime consistently responded to peaceful mass struggles in a violent and repressive manner that the armed struggle was embarked upon. Therefore, the fate of armed struggle depends on whether conditions which led to its adoption have so changed as to justify its sus-

→
into becoming joint administrators of the apartheid system; and

- demobilise the people from militant actions aimed at securing fundamental change.

But they are doing all this in a situation in which they have been weakened by struggle. The National Party has been forced to abandon its age-old ideological platform. While it is trying to manage the process of transition, it is clearly not in control of the forces that have been set in motion.

The regime, despite having state power, no longer has absolute and sole control over various institutions and even geographical areas. This applies to a number of townships, some bantustan areas, education, the contest around labour legislation and other fields.

Therefore, our task is not simply to respond to the strategies and tactics of the apartheid rulers. The people have won some commanding heights in the stra-

the armed struggle?

pension.

Certainly, many positive things have happened. But violence against the people continues in various forms. Mis-hack Kunene was recently killed in cold blood by the police at an Alexander township rally to welcome ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo. Before and after him, scores more have been killed in Sebokeng, Welkom and other areas. Meetings and demonstrations have been violently broken up. Detention of democratic activists continues.

At the same time, extreme right-wing groups continue to arm themselves and threaten hell and damnation against the ANC and black people in general. They have carried out numerous violent actions.

It would, therefore, not be correct for the ANC to suspend armed struggle at this juncture. To do so would be to leave the mass of the people -

the real victims of apartheid violence - helpless and undefended. But it would also be wrong for us to preach insurrection and people's war in a situation in which possibilities exist for peaceful transformation. The ANC decided in February that it would only undertake actions of a defensive nature.

Would we not be assisting the peace process by suspending armed struggle unilaterally? Would such a tactic not help De Klerk especially in dealing with the white constituency? The "secret" of it all is that such a possibility is smothered by the reality of another constituency out there: dying from police bullets, choking with teargas ...

Therefore, if there has to be any give and take on this issue, it should be from both sides. If there has to be a new approach, it should be seen and felt by the people on the

ground.

Meanwhile the task of building the people's forces must continue. Our communities must protect themselves from any attacks, be it from the state, the extreme right-wing or hooligans. Marshals must ensure order during rallies and other gatherings. We must win more police and soldiers to the side of the people. And the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe should be expanded. Its cadres must be systematically upgraded.

In the final analysis, the armed struggle can only be abandoned altogether (as distinct from its suspension in a ceasefire) when a new constitution has been democratically adopted. Then the free, united and democratic nation shall build a national army, representative of all the people, and accountable both to society and to the government of the day. ♦



tegic balance.

It is the task of all democratic structures to ensure that all our forces take advantage of the victories we have scored in order to advance the struggle. Mass organisation and mobilisation are, more than ever before, the cutting edge of our struggle.

The conduct of these struggles has to relate to the principal task of the moment: the question of transfer of power to the people as a whole and the transformation of our society. Central to this is the task of building people's power (See article on page

24).

Among the most immediate issues we face is the creation of the atmosphere for free political activity in all parts of the country. All political prisoners must be released. The State of Emergency must be lifted in all areas of the country. Repressive laws must be abolished. Troops must be withdrawn from the townships.

Such an atmosphere will allow organisations the space within which to canvass their ideas among the people and strengthen their structures. It will also

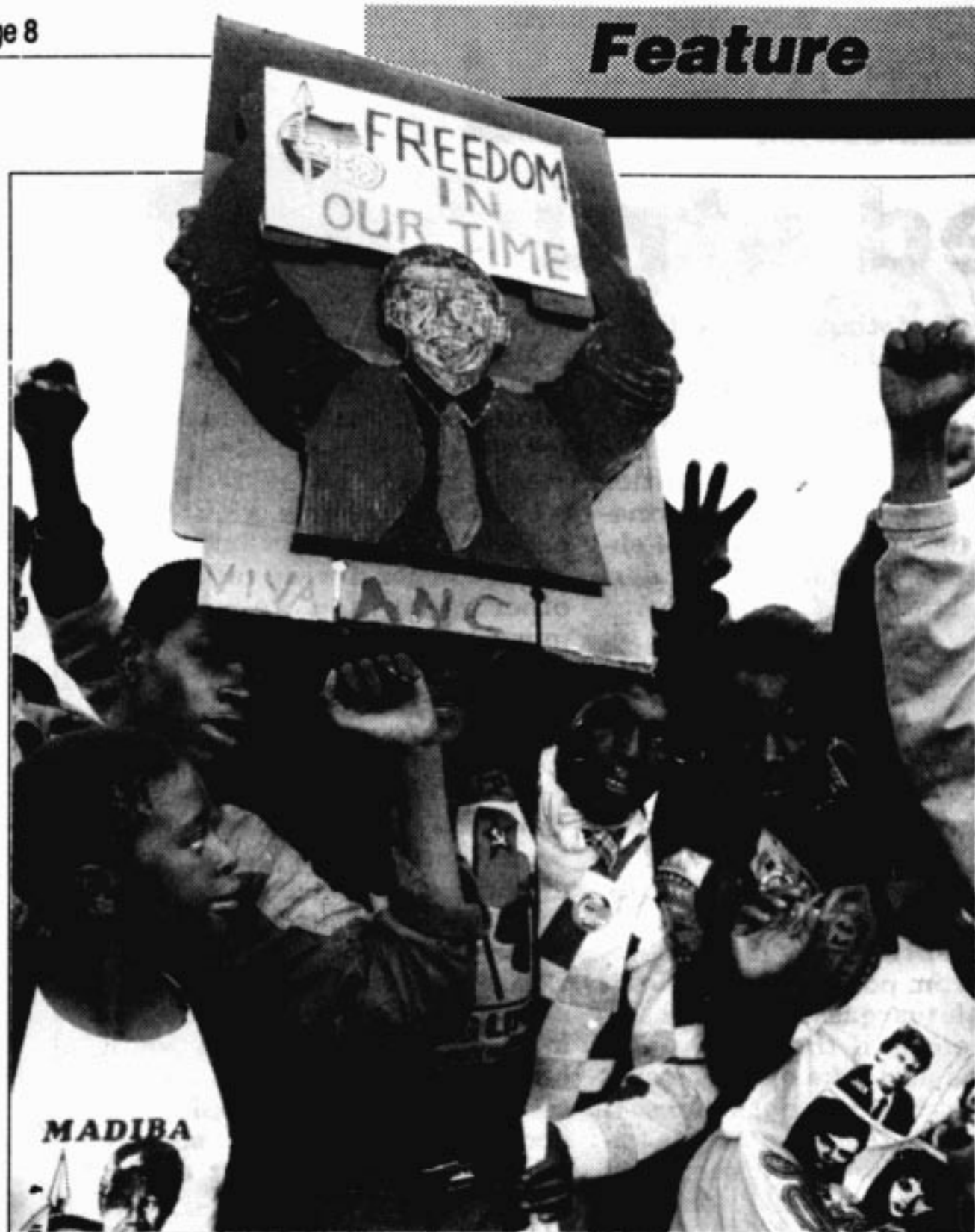
allow the people to wage struggles around their demands without state repression.

But to achieve such an atmosphere requires struggle on all fronts. Further, we have to continue waging mass struggles, even if free political activity has not been created. Like in the Defiance Campaign, we should ourselves create the space within which we can operate.

Our struggles should address the question of the content of transformation as broadly defined in the Freedom Charter. Its interpretation into concrete constitutional forms requires not only the skills of our constitutional experts. What they draft must reflect the demands of the people on the ground.

Above everything else, the process of drafting our constitutional positions must involve the people, along the same lines as the campaign that led to the adoption of the Freedom Charter.

This would entail, among other things, discussions at all levels



During negotiations, the people's representatives must echo the people's demands.

around the Constitutional Guidelines put forward by the movement a few years ago. It is crucial that this process should itself generate mass actions around the demands of the people.

These demands should relate to the fundamental question of power. For example, the struggles around privatisation, a new labour law and higher wages should be seen in the context of the struggle for the democratisation of ownership and control of the economy. The demands for the abolition of the bantustan system and for the rights of agricultural workers touch upon the basic question of a central government of the people and land redistribution.

Mass actions around these issues as well as the refinement of people's demands could then culminate in a representative assembly of the people where the constitutional positions of the democratic movement would be

adopted.

Related to this is the question of sectoral charters of workers, women, the media, cultural workers and others. In discussion as well as in action, the demands of various sectors of society must be put together and become part of the constitutional framework for a future South Africa.

Negotiating mechanisms

It is also crucial that the negotiating mechanisms put forward by the democratic movement form the basis of campaigns of mass action. These would include the demand for an Interim Government to supervise the transitional process and for a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly to negotiate and adopt a future constitution. In the process of negotiations, the people's representatives will have to echo the people's demands.

There will be moments during negotiations when, while remaining firm to our principles, we will have to exercise flexibility in tactics.

The line between the two can at times be blurred. Certain flexible actions could lead to confusion among the people. That is why the movement must always pay particular attention to consultation with the people; report back to them at every stage; and regularly seek their mandate.

Campaigns around the issue of transfer of power, including matters related to negotiations, cannot be divorced from the day-to-day grievances of the people.

Contest for power

It would be wrong for us to talk about the contest for power in the abstract, and at the expense of the struggles against lack of houses, high rents, gutter education, high prices and transport fares.

On the one hand, the struggle for power and social transformation is all about changing relations in our society so as to meet the day-to-day demands of the majority of the people. On the other hand, these demands cannot be fully met without the transfer of power to the people.

This applies equally to the task of building structures of the African National Congress. This has to be undertaken through ongoing campaigns. The branches, regions and other structures must take part in, reinforce and help lead campaigns around people's demands.

Ordinary members of the movement must exercise as much initiative as possible, including in the process of recruitment. They must also take part in local and sectoral mass formations.

To be with the people: this is the principle that should guide all our actions. This also means the ability to draw into active struggle those who do not necessarily agree with all our positions.

We must forge a strong anti-apartheid force to bring about the fundamental transformation of our society. ♦

The world is behind us

Mayibuye: What is your assessment of Mandela's international tour?

TM: One of the important things about the tour was that we visited all the major Western countries and in all these countries met either heads of state or government.

One of the principal results of the visit is that the major Western powers have accepted that the future of South Africa cannot be decided just by the South African government; that the ANC is central to the processes leading to the emergence of a democratic South Africa; and that the ANC is central in that future South Africa.

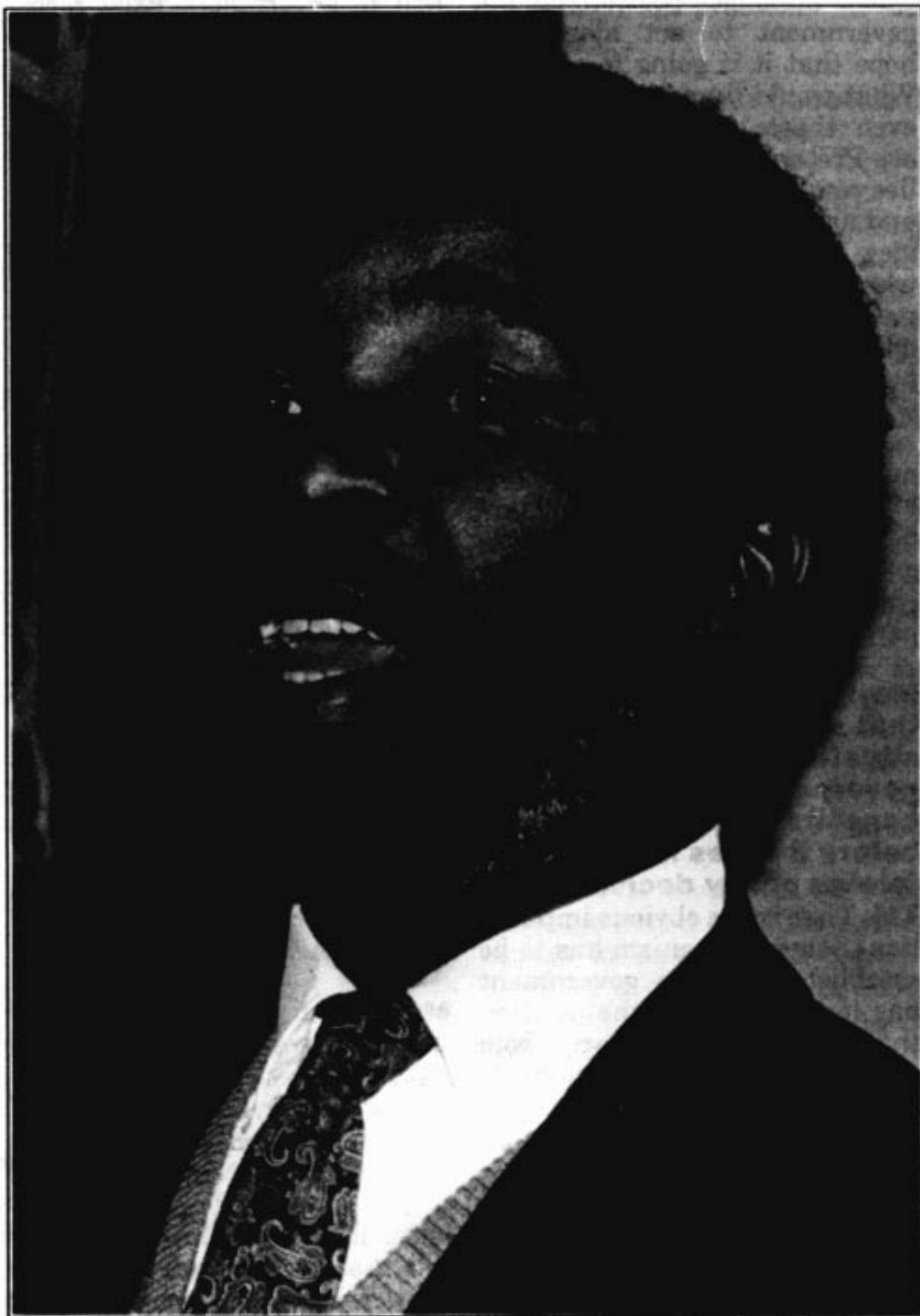
I think we can say with confidence that no major initiative on the South African question will be taken by any of these countries without prior consultation with the ANC.

Mayibuye: Have these governments - in particular the United States, Britain and West Germany - changed their policies towards the ANC?

TM: I think they have changed to the extent that they have accepted that, because they recognise the centrality of the ANC, in the formulation of policy towards South African they will not just refer to the government. They would, as a matter of consistent practice, refer also to the ANC. They have accepted therefore that such is the strength and standing of the ANC within the South African political spectrum that their own policies would be meaningless if they were rejected by the ANC.

Quite clearly there is going to

MAYIBUYE speaks to ANC Secretary for International Affairs Thabo Mbeki about Mandela's recent overseas tour



ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki

be a process of very regular and close communication between these heads of state and government with, for instance, the Deputy President. There was a keenness that that sort of contact ought to be established. So that, if it was necessary that they speak on the phone twice a day, they must be able to do so.

There was an acceptance that the view of the ANC is decisive and needs to be taken into account.

The fundamental implication of this is that it is no longer possible for the South African government to say, these are the foreign policy objectives of South Africa, and we'll go ahead and implement them.

It is no longer possible for the government to act alone and hope that it is going to succeed. What would then happen is that even these governments which are Pretoria's old friends and allies would come back to the ANC and ask for its views. And if the view of the ANC was contrary to what the South African government was saying, I think, in the majority of cases, these Western powers would not go along with what the government proposes.

What this means is that formulation of foreign policy as it affects the country can no longer be the exclusive preserve of the government department of foreign affairs. The ANC has to be part of that.

Mayibuye: Does this mean that we can foresee a situation in which the government increasingly consults with the ANC before it takes major foreign policy decisions?

TM: That is the obvious implication. Some mechanism has to be established. If the government has indeed come to the position that we must move away from the system of apartheid towards a democratic South Africa, it ought to follow that the conduct of foreign policy, even now, would have that objective of reinforcing the process leading towards a democratic transformation.

It therefore ought to be logical

that the government would want to act together with all the forces that represent that process of transformation.

In practical terms, these Western countries which we visited would, as a matter of consistent policy, be interested to hear what the view of the ANC is on any particular matter. And, if the view of the ANC was so diametrically opposed to that of the government, in all likelihood these government would not move.

Mayibuye: Can the same be said of the British government?

TM: This would be true of the British government as well. The British government itself recognises the importance and centrality of the ANC. It recognises that it has to deal with the ANC. It cannot formulate a policy on South Africa and hope that that policy is going to succeed if the ANC is opposed to it.

This might be just a matter of recognition of practical realities, responding to a situation that is given, about which nothing can be done. It is probably a little bit more than that.

Certainly the message that came across from our meeting with Mrs Thatcher and with the Foreign Secretary was quite clear: first of all a very strong statement against apartheid and in favour of a speedy abolition of this system; secondly, a very strong statement towards making some contribution by the British government to that process of ending apartheid; and finally, a statement that to achieve that purpose, the British government would be very keen to have close communication with the ANC.

Mayibuye: Would all this affect the status of our representation in all these countries?

TM: It doesn't affect the status in the sense that anything would happen to upgrade people to ambassadorial status or anything like that. But the need for representatives to interact with host governments will increase. And

the quality of the input of these representatives clearly has to improve.

Mayibuye: How would you assess the impact of Mandela as a personality - as distinct from the movement and the people in general?

TM: It's a combination of all these things. The way that the Deputy President was received was an extraordinary thing. The mass of ordinary people were very deeply moved. Everywhere we went, in public meetings, people would actually break down and cry. This is because they understood the suffering that he and other political prisoners had gone through. They appreciated the absence of bitterness, a very generous attitude towards FW de Klerk and his colleagues and the constructive attitude towards the problems facing our country.

It reflected itself also in relation to leaders of governments. People appreciated the fact that he speaks frankly. He does not tailor his sails to the wind. He represents positions of the movement honestly and clearly, even in circumstances where such views might be unpopular.

You would understand that you are dealing not so much with a party politician but with a statesman on whose shoulders rests very grave responsibilities. Therefore, the fact of a Mandela was an important element in the positions that governments decided to take with regard to the South African question.

Also very important was the recognition that we are dealing with an individual who is a leader of an organisation. There is very great respect for the ANC. The interaction of these government leaders with members of the ANC delegation was very healthy.

There are arrangements for contact, for instance at the foreign minister level. So there is also a response to the ANC; an understanding of the place and seriousness of the ANC. There is genuine and serious respect for the views that the ANC repre-



Nelson Mandela meets British premier Margaret Thatcher: "The British government itself recognises the importance and centrality of the ANC."

sents, including the important element that the ANC is demonstrably the most powerful political force in the country.

There is also an understanding that you not only have a personality of the stature of Mandela or other leaders of the ANC. You not only have an ANC that is strong and clear in its views. But it is also an ANC that enjoys mass support – which is a clear political factor. Therefore, all of these factors brought together, convinced these countries – which were not in the past necessarily our friends – that they are dealing with a serious force. They realise that they have a credible and good partner in the ANC, in working towards the resolution of problems in our country.

Mayibuye: Is this because we have changed our policies, for instance with regard to the economy?

TM: I don't think we are talking about changes in policy. But the positions of the ANC with regard to a mixed economy (that we raise the issue of nationalisation, not out of ideological positions, but because we have to address real practical problems that face us); a commitment to a multi-party democracy - issues of this kind would make the right impression on these Western governments. But I wouldn't describe this as a change of ANC policy. There has been, over the past few years, an effort to elaborate general principles of the ANC. The notion of a mixed economy is not new. It is in the Freedom Charter; but it had not been elaborated.

But it is also true that the message that the ANC is putting across in terms of its perspectives on a post-apartheid South Africa is a message which elements in the governments of the Western countries disagree with. We explained all our positions. They stated theirs. And we may not agree. But, in the end, they respect the ANC for stating what it thinks and what it believes. They respect the ANC for the concern it expresses for improving the conditions of life of all

the people.

I can't remember any occasion when there was a serious challenge to the broad policy of the movement. There is a lot of debate about how to get there. But there is general acceptance of the broad perspectives that the ANC is putting forward. There is also an understanding that, whatever the involvement of the world in South Africa, there would be respect for the notion that it was our right to take those positions with regard to our own destiny.

Mayibuye: These Western governments have in the past been opposed to our struggle. Is there no danger today that they could derail it in defence of their vested interests?

TM: An important point was made throughout the visit: that one of the aims of our struggle is to ensure that the people of South Africa have the right and possibility to determine their own destiny. And to the extent that people supported the struggle against apartheid, they were supporting us in fighting for the exercise of that right to determine our destiny. Therefore you couldn't have a position in which the rest of the world would want to impose its view on us; claiming that, because they support us, they would like to intervene in a manner that would reduce our capacity to determine that future.

I remember the statement that the Deputy President made very sharply at the joint houses of Congress in the US. He said that a democratic South Africa would like to have relations with the United States, including economic relations.

But then he went on to say that we do not want relations of dependency. We do not want a relationship of donor and beneficiary. We can't say we are struggling for our liberation, and end up in a relationship which is one of dependency on somebody else.

The fact that the Western governments recognise that the ANC occupies a central place in

the South African political spectrum, does not present any danger of the movement thereby losing something of our independence as a political formation, in return for good relations with these governments.

Mayibuye: And the issue of sanctions?

TM: A question that is raised a number of times is the formulation that appears in the UN Declaration on South Africa: that sanctions will only be reviewed when profound and irreversible changes have taken place in South Africa. People then ask the question, specifically what is meant by these profound and irreversible changes!

In the Harare Declaration that definition has been given: that sanctions will only be lifted at the point when a democratic constitution has been agreed upon. The UN Declaration puts it in the broader context. Our response to this question is based on the Harare Declaration.

But we have also said that this is a matter which should be left to the people of South Africa. The ANC, the government and other political forces are engaged in a process of change. We will arrive at a point when these forces will determine that profound and irreversible changes have taken place.

Therefore, to look for a specific definition is to some extent wrong. Because you are dealing with a dynamic process. And there will surely come a time when we as South Africans will reach the conclusion that we are well set on the way towards the creation of a democratic South Africa. The rest of the world should then depend on the opinion that comes from South Africans: the ANC, the government and other political forces.

Mayibuye: Can you give any broad indication of what would have to happen for us to say that the process has become irreversible?

TM: The point has to be made all the time that sanctions were imposed in order to put pressure

so that we get rid of the apartheid system. That was the purpose of sanctions. And they remain a valid instrument for the attainment of that objective. Of course the issue is very much in discussion. For example, even before you get to the stage where you have a democratic constitution, oughtn't something happen to give De Klerk something in hand!

It is not like you are dealing with a mathematical equation. You are dealing with a political process.

Everybody recognises the threat that is posed to this process by the white right-wing. No one knows what this right-wing is going to do tomorrow or the day after.

Now, if we said we shall address the issue of sanctions when we have reached stage so and so in our discussions with the government and yet the following day there was an intervention from this armed right-wing, which reverses this whole process; obviously it would have been wrong to have taken a decision to get rid of sanctions.

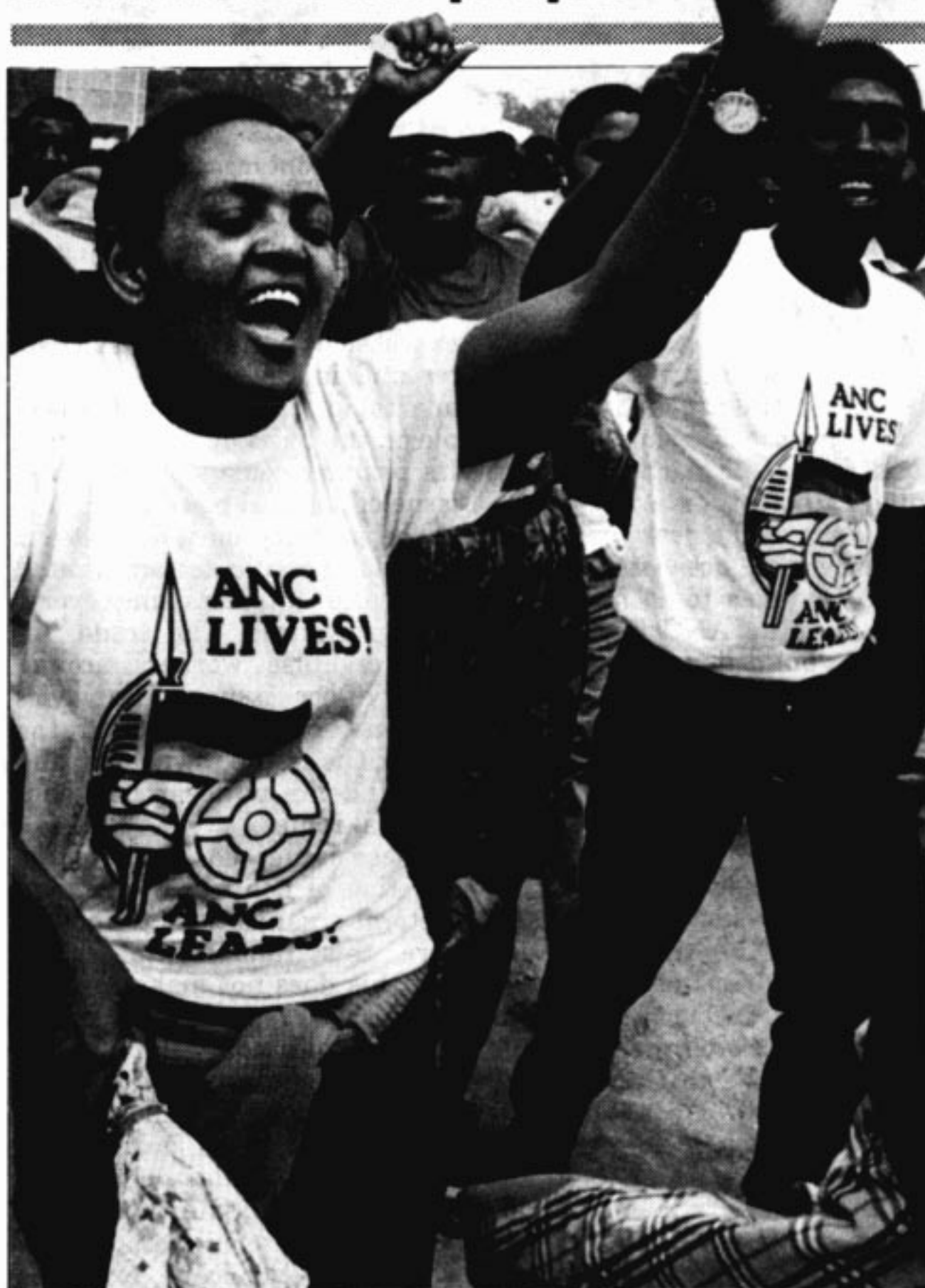
Therefore it has to be a political decision which must be based on a sound, serious assessment of where the political process has reached. The ANC itself is very interested in ending sanctions as quickly as possible. We are by no means after the destruction of the South African economy. But sanctions must end as a consequence of progress achieved in ending the apartheid system. We want to move quickly on the issue of ending apartheid so that we can move quickly on the issue of ending sanctions.

Mayibuye: Would this apply to the sports and cultural boycott?

TM: Yes it does. It is all part of the package for the isolation of the apartheid system. But the ending of this isolation has to be seen as a process. We are not looking for a particular day on which sanctions or boycotts will come to an end. It has to be a graduated process relating to the ending of apartheid. ♦

Building the ANC

Building the ANC into a formidable organisation must be linked to the activities of the people



ANC supporters arrive at a rally in Johannesburg. The challenge is to transform general enthusiasm for the ANC into active, disciplined and loyal membership.

The unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations has created a new set of conditions which give rise to new tasks.

The key organisational task in the new conditions is the building of the ANC into a formidable mass political organisation. The ANC must be able to unite and lead all anti-apartheid forces for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

When building the ANC, we should draw from the experience of mass organisations over the years. The central feature here is that unity, leadership and mass following arise and develop in action.

We need to locate the building of the ANC within the programmes, campaigns and activities of our people. ANC members must take active part and play a leadership role in these campaigns.

We must mobilise the masses around programmes like "Peace in Natal" and consolidate the ANC in the process. During the stayaways, meetings and marches, the building of the ANC should feature prominently.

More Workers

The campaign around the Labour Relations Act should be a catalyst drawing more and more workers into the ANC. In the bantustans, the heroic battles of our people against corruption and for a united South Africa offers great opportunities for our people to join the ANC.

Local programmes like rent, anti-crime activities and cultural events should be turned into recruitment drives for the movement.

We should also link up local campaigns to national demands. Our people must see how their fight against puppet bodies at local level fits into the demand for a non-racial vote and the constituent assembly.

In their everyday struggles, our people see themselves as members of the ANC. The challenge for us is to transform this general enthusiasm into active,



Residents march to celebrate the unbanning of the ANC.

disciplined and loyal membership.

To this end, the process of recruitment and the role of activists and organisations is crucial.

The recruitment campaign should also utilise the available infrastructure of the mass democratic movement. The youth, women's, civic, workers', and student organisations should take part in the recruitment campaign. We must remember however, that the ANC transcends the confines of the MDM.

The recruitment campaign should not be restricted to activists and organisations belonging to UDF, Cosatu, Sayco and other fraternal bodies. The recruiters may or may not belong to MDM structures. This is very important because those people who may not have belonged to MDM formations, for whatever reasons, may feel that the ANC belongs to them as well.

The ANC should be able to unite not only existing activists but also new elements into our ranks.

Nevertheless, we need to stress that MDM organisations should play an active role in the recruitment campaign. In meetings of civics, women, youth, students and workers, attention

should be paid to the building of the ANC. Each organisation should discuss how it is going to take part in the recruitment drive, how its structures, like street and block committees as well as shopsteward councils, could help build the ANC.

Organisations should form task forces for each township, village, hostel or compound. The work of the task force is to organise more activists who will move from door to door, explaining what the ANC is, why we need to build it and where and how people can join.

Discussion sessions

Constant briefing and discussion sessions about the ANC should be held to adequately prepare activists. Regular meetings should be held in every area where recruiters and the task forces report back about problems and progress.

We need to distinguish between the ANC as a mass political organisation and other mass organisations like the trade unions, civics and student organisations.

The ANC mobilises and organises all the oppressed people together with all democratic and peace-loving people of our coun-

try. It represents the combined interests of the oppressed majority and of South Africans in general.

These interests find concrete expression in the Freedom Charter and in the struggle against apartheid. The ANC unites people on the basis of these policies. Its primary consideration is the issue of political power.

The primary mass formations organise specific sectors around particular interests and everyday grievances. The trade unions organise workers around factory-floor issues. The civics organise residents around the conditions in the townships; and the students unite around educational issues.

These issues do relate to the question of political power, and sectoral organisations cannot ignore this fundamental issue. But this does not make sectoral organisations political movements or parties.

These organisations do not require that a person holds particular political views, belong to or support a particular political organisation to qualify for membership. It is enough that a person shares the same problems and ideals of that sector to qualify as a member.

It is crucial that these organi-

sations concentrate on building their sectors into formidable formations that win victories and defend, at all times, the interests of their members. It is important that they remain autonomous and independent.

The above is of crucial importance because mass formations allow active participation even to those people who fear or, for other reasons, do not want direct political involvement. In this way, they not only broaden the unity of our people against apartheid but also give substance to people's power. Though these formations are independent of the ANC, they share with it a common goal – a better life in a free and democratic South Africa.

Sectoral Interests

Even the sectoral interests will only find real fulfilment once the transfer of power to the majority is achieved. This is the basis on which the ANC establishes close working relationships with these mass formations.

The goals pursued by the ANC and the mass formations do not contradict, nor are they inconsistent with, one another. They compliment and reinforce one another. Democracy involves participation of our people at all levels of their lives. People's power finds concrete expression in this multi-faceted participation. It is, therefore, necessary and correct for our people to be members of those organisations that struggle for a better life, be they sectoral or political.

Workers should be members of trade unions to struggle for better working conditions. They should also be civic members to improve their living conditions. Above all, they should join the ANC to struggle for a non-racial South Africa.

Just as one person can be a member of the church, a "society" or stokvel, and a football team – all at the same time. Therefore, ANC structures cannot take the place of sectoral organisations nor organs of people's power such as street and village committees.

Some practical questions

At its meeting in June, the NEC/ILC reviewed progress in the process of building the ANC. Having received reports from the regions, the meeting emphasised the importance of ANC structures at all levels taking part in mass actions, and developing into "a political centre" in all areas. ANC structures must operate on the basis of consistent democracy and, in this respect, become a model for the mass of the people.

On the recruitment campaign, the meeting resolved that local structures should exercise as much initiative as possible, and adopt methods suited for the areas and sectors they are dealing with. It was also underlined that the recruitment drive should be freed from undue officialdom: ordinary members

should themselves take part

in the process of recruitment. At the same time, ways have to be found to ensure the sharing of experiences among the various localities and regions.

Regarding membership fees, the meeting resolved that:

- the R12 joining fee is at the same time a membership subscription fee for the given year, and would have to be renewed annually;
- pensioners, invalids and the unemployed would be exempted from compulsory payment of R12, but may make contributions in cash or in kind;
- students will be expected to pay the full fee.

Members can pay their fees in

monthly instalments if they so desire.

In the process of building ANC structures, many other questions have arisen, which need discussion and resolution. These relate, in particular, to democratic participation within ANC local structures, ensuring members' active participation in movement work, and co-

ordination among local structures.

While the minimum of 100 people per branch has been set, do we need to have a ceiling? Should large branches be sub-divided into "blocks", etc, in order to ensure effective and wide participation in meetings?

Should branches have sub-committees to deal with propaganda and publicity, political education, organisation

and fund-raising? How would speciali-

sation affect the obligation of all members to take part in all these activities? What happens to areas where membership is still less than 100: should they form themselves into collectives; do they link up with a neighbouring "parent branch"? Should neighbouring branches link up with one another, e.g. into sub-regions/zones in order to share experiences and co-ordinate campaigns?

MAYIBUYE welcomes your views on all these issues. Resolutions of the NEC/ILC meeting have been passed on to all the regions, and they should form the basis for discussion in all our structures.



Signing up new members in Port Elizabeth.

Membership of the ANC is open to every South African above the age of 18. A member must be committed to the realisation of the ideals of the Freedom Charter as well as the strategies and tactics employed by the ANC. Everybody who joins the ANC should be disciplined and active within the ranks of the movement.

The struggle against apartheid demands the unity of all the oppressed people together with all people who reject apartheid and desire the birth of a non-racial democracy.

This struggle is carried out at different levels of life, by different forces. It is pursued in different ways and forms: at the factory floor, in the rural areas against bantustans, in the townships against high rents and by women of all walks of life against discrimination, war and repression.

Transfer of power

All these struggles are part and parcel of the struggle against apartheid for the transfer of power to the majority. The ANC has the task of bringing together and leading all these struggles and different forces. In this way, their combined forces create the necessary mass political power capable of destroying apartheid.

The ANC, together with all democratic forces, bears the historic responsibility of always looking for ways that create common ground and platforms that allow these forces to act together. It must create conditions that encourage also those forces that today are moving away from apartheid to come closer to our perspective.

These common platforms and programmes can either be around particular issues or relate to our long-term goals. In this way the ANC strives to build alliances, bringing all anti-apartheid forces into a coalition. Today it faces the task of uniting all people who love this country and work for the democratic future in a patriotic front. ♦

The voice of women

MAYIBUYE spoke to the head of the ANC's Women's Section, Gertrude Shope, about plans to relaunch the ANC Women's League.

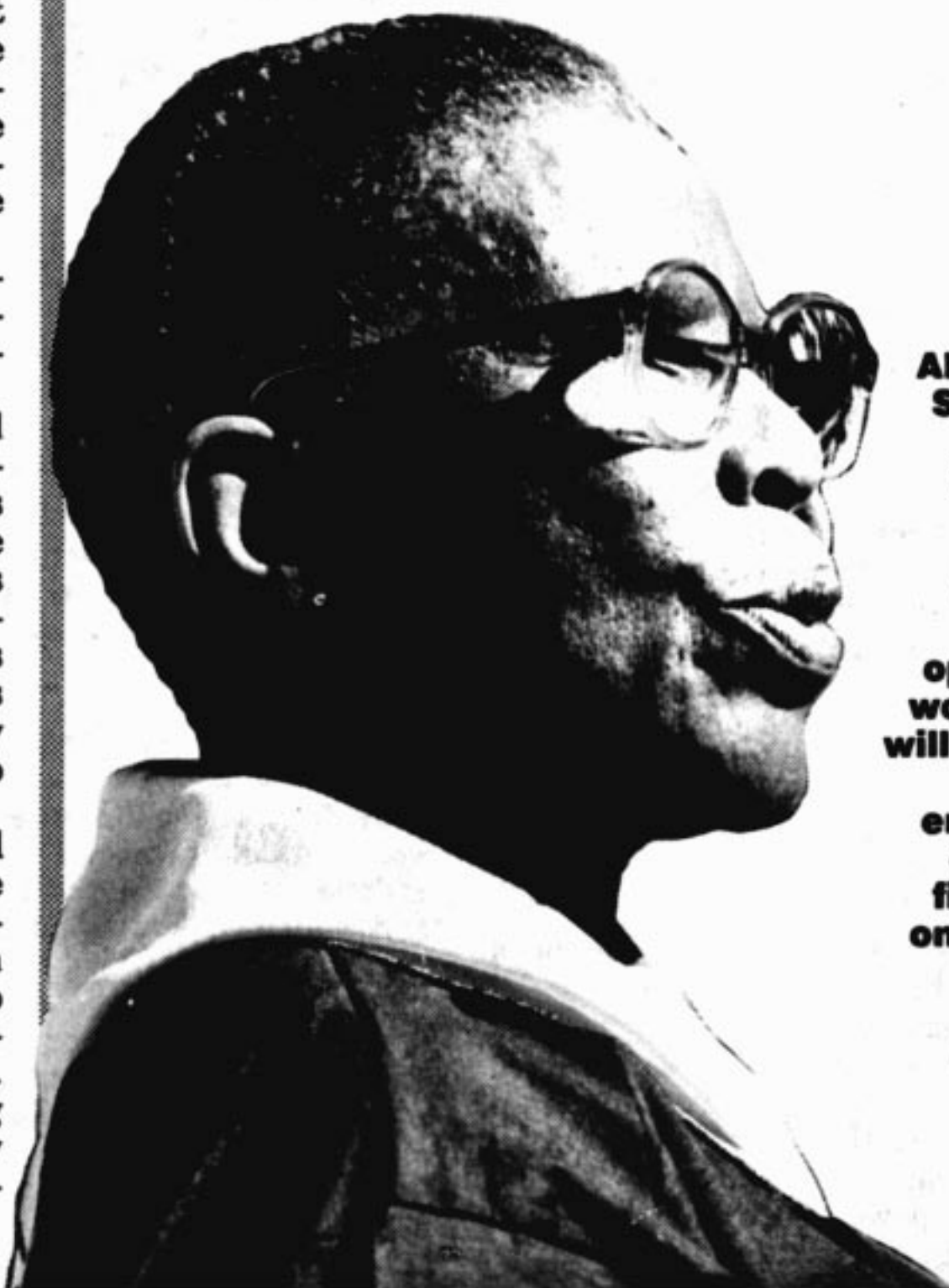
On 9 August 1990, the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) will be relaunched.

The activities will start with a press conference on August 9, culminating in a festival and rally on August 12 in Durban.

The ANC Women's League will be the public voice of women who support the ANC from all over South Africa.

We spoke to Gertrude Shope to find out more about the Women's League. Gertrude heads the ANC Women's Section.

"We know that we have a very short time in which to prepare



ANC Women's Section head Gertrude Shope: "The Women's League will address the tripple oppression of women. And it will ensure that the emancipation of women is firmly placed on the agenda of the liberation movement."

for the launch," Gertrude said.

"The launch is a duty which was put on us at a workshop held in Lusaka at the end of April. This workshop was attended by women from South Africa and the ANC Women's Section. So we will be working very hard to reach all the women in every corner of South Africa.

To facilitate work around the launch of the Women's League inside the country, a National Women Internal Leadership Core was appointed. Albertina Sisulu, Sister Bernard Ncube, Mrs Gcina, Thandi Modise and Ray Simons were chosen. In June they were joined by a task force of ANC Women's Section leaders.

Regions

"We have decided to send these women to the 14 different regions of the ANC", Gertrude said.

"Their task will be to inform women in the different regions about the launch. They must let the women know that we want them to join the ANC and ANC Women's League".

"There are many reasons why women should join the ANC Women's League," Gertrude told us.

"The Women's League will address the triple oppression of women. And it will ensure that the emancipation of women is firmly placed on the agenda of the liberation movement."

But that's not all. "There's so much to be done," Gertrude explained. "The task of women is very broad. We must educate the women politically. They must know what is happening around them. Women must also know these laws oppress them. If they don't know the laws, how can they change them?"

"At the beginning of the year we had a women's conference in Amsterdam. It was called the Malibongwe Conference and hundreds of women from South Africa attended it.

"We discussed the issue of developing women. We realised that women in the countryside were the ones who suffer most.

They are the women who are never given a chance to develop themselves. So we decided to launch a Malibongwe Trust Fund for women living in the rural areas."

Gertrude thinks that working with women in the rural areas will be one of the important tasks of the ANC Women's League.

"Until our sisters in the rural areas are developed, we'll still have an imbalance in society", she said. We asked Gertrude how women can join the ANC Women's League.

"Firstly, you have to a members of the ANC before you can become a member of the ANC Women's League," she explained. "We won't be issuing women with membership cards. Women who are Women's League members will have a Women's League stamp on their ANC membership cards."

The Women's League will be structured along similar lines as the ANC. There will be 14 regions, with the regions divided into zones and branches. Once there are 20 women who belong to the ANC in a township or particular area, they can form a Women's League branch.

Women's Charter

"We're very excited about the launch," Gertrude said. "At the launch we will discuss the kinds of campaigns that the Women's League should embark on. It's so much better to involve lots of women in discussions around a programme of action.

"But there is one thing that we will be raising at the launch — the Women's Charter. We want the Women's Charter to be mass-based in its orientation, just like the Freedom Charter. We want women to go door to door to collect the demands of women in South Africa.

"Many women have said the ANC's constitutional guidelines only have a few lines on the emancipation of women. The Women's Charter is one way of making sure that women's demands are heard and that women's rights are guaranteed in a

future South Africa.

"To do this, women must lead the campaign for a Charter of Women's Rights. They must spell out the issues that affect women. And, once this Charter has been compiled, it should be attached to the constitution of the ANC."

We asked Gertrude if a national leadership would be elected at the launch. "No there won't be elections at the launch," she replied.

Elections

"Elections will take place later, at the first Women's League conference, which we plan to have in October. By then we hope to have established Women's League branches in the country."

The ANC Women's League will have the daunting task of uniting and drawing in women from all over the country. Women will have to work very hard to set up branches before the ANC's planned December conference.

"Women are unified by the things that affect them," Gertrude said. "So, if you want to unify women, you take up issues that affect them. Issues like housing and education affect most women. Look at all the squatter camps in South Africa.

"And, if you look at the fight against the DET for decent education, you'll see that women are involved in the forefront."

Gertrude thinks that the issue of women's rights is something that women have to take very seriously and fight for. She spoke passionately about the sexism and oppression that women have to face. She feels strongly that women in the Women's League must take the lead in creating a non-sexist South Africa.

The Women's League must give women the confidence and power to take up leadership positions in the democratic movement. The women must move the ANC to adopt policies and forms of organising that ensure the active participation of women in the struggle. ♦

The struggle for national liberation is gaining momentum by the day. All forces against apartheid are asserting themselves within the broad liberation alliance.

The working class, as the vital force of our struggle, is becoming mature and articulate. Black workers are not only subjected to brutal exploitation at the hands of the bosses but suffer from white domination. Historical conditions under which workers find themselves dictate that they articulate their political and economic aspirations.

Organised workers under Cosatu adopted a resolution at their Third National Congress on the Workers' Charter, which will contain their immediate and long-term interests.

Cosatu has launched a Workers' Charter Campaign to ensure active participation from all the toiling masses in the process that will lead to the final document. Discussions, workshops and other actions are under way. This campaign will culminate in the Workers' Charter Congress, where the final document will be adopted.

The Workers' Charter has to develop in the process of struggle against oppression and exploitation. Divisions sown by the enemies of the oppressed along the lines of race, colour, nationality and creed have to be bridged and eliminated through struggle to realise workers' objectives. All workers – organised and unorganised, across race and colour barriers – have a duty to be active in articulating their demands.

There are short-term demands which workers can win in the present phase of our struggle, mainly in the workplace. The long-term, national demands on political and economic issues can only be realised in a non-racial democratic society.

The advance of people's demands as embodied in the Freedom Charter are thus to be complemented by the Workers' Charter.

The immediate objectives of the national democratic revolution will create the conditions in

Charting workers' rights

A contribution from a trade unionist



which it will be possible for the working class to lead society to a higher social system, free from exploitation of person by person.

It is in this sense that the campaign has a direct link with the national liberation of the entire oppressed masses. It is in actual struggle for their rights that workers' political consciousness can be raised and the struggle advanced.

A democratic people's constitution has to ensure the protection of workers' rights. Other demands which cannot be guaranteed by the constitution could be protected by laws governing industrial relations.

It is imperative for workers to help shape the Constitutional Guidelines with a view to making sure that their basic rights are protected. Workers have to

start now in identifying rights which have to be protected by the constitution. In doing this, international legal principles regulating labour relations have to be taken into account. The International Labour Organisation conventions are a case in point.

In an attempt to make a contribution to this debate, the SACP and SACTU produced draft Charters for discussion by the workers. Both drafts emphasise political and economic demands of the working class.

The realisation of a non-racial democratic state along the lines indicated in the Freedom Charter will serve as a basis for workers to enjoy most of their rights. It is absolutely essential for workers to study these drafts critically in order to enrich the content of the campaign. ♦



Workers and youth celebrate the unbanning of the SACP in streets of Johannesburg.

Launching the Party

After more than 40 years, the SACP emerges from the underground and launches itself as a mass legal party. MAYIBUYE spoke to a member of the Party's Interim Leadership Group about the challenges ahead

Mayibuye: After 40 years in the underground the SACP will be re-emerging, what is the significance of this event?

SACP: We believe it's a great victory for all patriotic and democratic forces in our country – non-communist and communist alike. As we said at the time, the banning of our Party in 1950 was not just an attack on communism, which had grown into a strong political current within our country. It was also the opening of a massive attack on the entire liberation movement. Our banning was the forerunner of the banning of many other organisations a decade later.

The unbanning of the SACP and ANC comes about as part of a general strategic retreat by the apartheid regime. Leading circles in the regime had hoped they could unban the ANC with-

out also unbanning the SACP. It is a tribute to the unity of the ANC and the broader MDM that it was simply impossible for the regime to do this.

Mayibuye: Will the Party be publicly revealing its entire membership, including its leadership?

SACP: We're adopting an approach that is relatively similar to that of the ANC. Our objective is very much to build a large party, whose members are proud to acknowledge their communist affiliation. By the time of our first internal national conference scheduled for July 1991, we hope that all our leadership structures, from the branch committee, through the district committee, up to the national level, will be fully elected and public.

But, for the moment, we believe it is unwise to disclose our entire underground membership. The democratisation process in South Africa has hardly begun. It's no secret that the ultra-right, and De Klerk's own cabinet, regard the Party as the greatest enemy.

Mayibuye: How will the building of a large SACP affect the ANC, and our

NEC charts th

The National Executive Committee (NEC) of the African National Congress met in full plenary session on the 23rd and 24th July, 1990, chaired by the Deputy President, Nelson Mandela. It discussed a wide-ranging agenda and adopted a number of decisions affecting the present situation and the future course of our struggle for liberation.

The NEC reaffirmed the urgent necessity to move forward as speedily as possible towards a negotiated transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy. It reiterated the commitment of the ANC to make its contribution to the realisation of this objective. It observed that, regardless of any problems that might have arisen, this process remains on course.

It welcomed the initiative taken by the Deputy President of the organisation which has resulted in the agreement that the next meeting between the ANC and the Government should take place on August 6, 1990.

Having agreed to the proposal of the government concerning the size of the respective delegations at this meeting, the following were designated to represent the ANC at the August 6th meeting:

Nelson Mandela
Alfred Nzo
Joe Slovo
Joe Modise
Thabo Mbeki

Among others, this delegation will present proposals concerning the removal of the remaining obstacles to negotiations, the suspension of armed actions and steps that should be taken to initiate the process leading to the elaboration and adoption of a democratic constitution.

The meeting expressed its serious concern at the continuing detention of people under the



Above: ANC president Oliver Tambo, photographed in London recently. The ANC NEC sent Tambo its best wishes for a speedy recovery and an early return to South Africa. Right: ANC NEC members Nelson Mandela, Alfred Nzo and Joe Slovo arrive in Cape Town for talks with the government in May. The three, along with Joe Modise and Thabo Mbeki, will represent the ANC at a further meeting with the government on August 6.

provisions of the Internal Security Act. Such actions seriously undermine the efforts to create a climate conducive to negotiations and demonstrate that very little has changed with respect to the civil liberties of the citizens of our country. Such arrests should stop and those detained should be released immediately and unconditionally.

The NEC repudiated with contempt the hysteria, fuelled by press leaks by unnamed sources, regarding a so-called "communist insurrectionary plot" as well as the wild and unfounded speculations about splits and tensions within the ANC and its leading bodies.

The NEC also expressed its



grave concern at the increase in white right-wing violence. The government has an urgent obligation to act on this matter and to be seen to be taking such action, to end what amounts to the open commission of criminal acts.

The situation in Sebokeng also requires immediate attention. It is important that senior government representatives enter into discussions with the democratic organizations in this area to find a comprehensive solution to the conflict that has arisen. The NEC urges the government to act on this matter without delay.

The NEC also discussed the intolerable situation that obtains in Natal in depth. Convinced

way forward



that new efforts are required to end the carnage in this area, it appointed a committee to pay special and continuous attention to this issue. The following were appointed to serve on this committee:

John Nkadimeng
Getrude Shope
Jacob Zuma
Thabo Mbeki

The NEC also discussed the grave crisis afflicting the whole system of black education. To address this issue, the ANC will hold consultations with various formations of the democratic movement on the 27th July, 1990. The meeting was also of the view that this matter is of such gravity that it merits attention at the highest level of

government. Steps would therefore have to be taken to secure government intervention at this level.

The NEC also discussed various organisational matters pertaining to the ANC, including progress achieved in its reconstruction as a legal organisation, preparations for the National Conference and arrangements for the return of people in exile.

It re-emphasised the need to move with greater speed to establish local and regional structures of the movement. It also undertook to step up the efforts relating to preparations for the conference, which will be the first to be held on South African soil for 30 years. It also resolved to strengthen the organisational

structures charged with the task of preparing for the repatriation of those of our people who are in exile.

The meeting also endorsed the creation of a Coordinating Committee of the ANC, the SACP and COSATU.

The NEC congratulated Deputy President Nelson Mandela and his delegation on the magnificent achievements they scored during their six-week international tour.

A report of the proceedings of the meeting will be conveyed to President Oliver Tambo to whom the NEC sent its best wishes for a speedy recovery and an early return to South Africa.

JULY 25, 1990.



SACP leaders Raymond Mhlaba, Joe Slovo and Mac Maharaj.

Continued from Page 19

tripartite alliance with Cosatu? Are there not possibly areas of unnecessary overlap where scarce resources, especially of person-power, will be over-extended?

SACP: The Party is very conscious that the priority organisational task at present is the building of a massive ANC, with strong branches in every corner of our country. The SACP, as in the past, expects all its members to be active in the ANC.

But the SACP also has a specific role. Our country has special objective and subjective features. There is a large, industrial working class of some 6 million. Uniquely for Africa, this large working class is actually the largest class force in our country.

This working class has a strong class consciousness, and large numbers of workers see socialism as the preferred direction for the medium-term liberation and development of our country.

If we are to do justice to these objective and subjective features, then we need a powerful mass ANC within which the working class remains the leading social force. But we also need an inde-

pendent SACP, a Party of this working class.

We believe that the new conditions offer possibilities for a great qualitative development of our tripartite alliance. This involves the strengthening of all three components, the ANC, SACP and Cosatu; respect for their organisational independence; and building around the specific potential of each of the different components.

Mayibuye: What do you see as the specific contribution of the SACP to the alliance?

SACP: While building a relatively large party over the next year, we will be placing considerable attention also on quality membership. This means two important things.

We will put great stress on activism among our members. This activism will not be confined to purely Party work. We will expect Party members to be setting an example of hard work, discipline and seriousness in all fraternal organisations.

The Party will also be placing emphasis on cadre development, on inner Party political education. Here, too, we expect important spin-offs for the entire national liberation movement.

Mayibuye: The bosses and the regime are presently trying to sell the idea to the world that the struggle in South Africa is really a struggle between socialism and the free market. As a socialist party, how do you react to this ruling bloc offensive?

SACP: The ruling bloc is trying to regain positions internationally and locally. It is, after all, racial oppression that has led to its isolation.

But the effects of three centuries of national oppression, of land dispossession, of enforced cheap labour, of colonial subjection of the majority – none of these suddenly disappeared on February 2 with the unbanning of our organisation and with other concessions made by De Klerk. The roots of national oppression run deep and they remain in place.

The SACP is firmly of the conviction that we must strengthen the broad front against apartheid.

This remains the key strategic task. At the same time, we are determined to maintain and strengthen socialism as a powerful current within the broad national liberation movement. ♦

No place for hooliganism

On more than one occasion there have been outbreaks of violence between forces of the ANC or sympathetic to the ANC and other sectors of the anti-apartheid movement, such as PAC and Black Consciousness supporters.

It may be that some or many of these incidents derive from provocation on the part of these other forces or that our people acted in self-defence. But it nevertheless remains true that a number of our supporters and members do not allow these other forces to put their views across and to try to win support.

The ANC believes that it will win overwhelming backing from the people of South Africa because its policies are morally right. It engages in strategies and tactics that will ensure victory. That is not the view of all sections of the oppressed. We must convince these people of the correctness of our views. If we cannot convince them, it is nevertheless their right to propagate their views.

We have no reason to try to convert them to our position through violence.

It is also necessary to recognise that we sometimes have something to learn from the views of other groups.

There has in the past been a tendency in our ranks to accept views without thinking them through, merely because they emanate from the leadership.

We have not only to know the policies of the ANC, but to think about them and discuss them. As a member one has a duty to be acquainted with policies; but one also has the right to try to develop or modify them, through the appropriate decision-making bodies.

This year's national conference will provide the opportunity for ordinary members to canvass opinion in their branches and try to get them to agree to resolutions that can be put to the conference.

The question of our relationship with other anti-apartheid groupings is not merely an element of the code of conduct and discipline that is required of our membership. If we wish to defeat apartheid, that can only be done if we act as a united, well-directed force.

There is no place for hooliganism. It is important that our actions be directed to the real enemy and that, instead of short-sighted violence, we do all that we can to build unity, even if this is on a limited basis, between ourselves and other organisations of the oppressed. ♦

We need a lasting solution

The issue of inter-organisational conflict has been the subject of intense and vigorous discussion by scholars and laymen alike, victims and perpetrators, activists and the masses in general.

However, the cause as well as the solution to this problem cannot be arrived at by simply and mechanically referring to "discipline and tolerance". Instead, one must, first and foremost, look at the problem against the background of the entire history of apartheid misrule.

Apartheid has denied the majority of our people basic democratic rights such as the freedom of expression, association and speech.

These rights have always been enjoyed by the apartheid state and its supporters. It is important to note that the state is nevertheless intolerant of other people's views and opinions, particularly those of the oppressed. This is the undemocratic environment in which all organisations, including the National Party itself, have developed.

These undemocratic conditions have given rise to a sub-culture of intolerance. Its victims are the entire political community of South Africa. Organisations of the oppressed are as not immune from this trend.

The Conservative Party and its allies, the AWB and others, are as much intolerant of the Democratic Party as they are of us. The state's intolerance has the longest history. Not only has it imprisoned and detained people with different views and opinions; it has also killed and maimed.

Democratic organisations are the only force that can bring about change and democracy through education and the practice of democratic principles. Secondly, attempts to quell the fires should not only involve the upper echelons of our structures.

Ordinary members of our organisations and communities, who have the practical experience of problems on the ground should be drawn in.

There have been instances where provocative slogans against our leaders have led to violent conflict. So too do attempts to discourage people from active struggle. These and other concrete problems need to be addressed concretely.

In trying to quell inter-communal and inter-organisational conflict, special consideration must be given to state manipulation. At times the enemy manifests itself under the cloak of anti-apartheid organisations. The problem is as much a sociological as it is a political one. ♦

Two contributors debate the burning question of discipline and tolerance

BUILDING people's power is one of the most central challenges facing the liberation movement today. It constitutes the critical element in the task of shifting the balance of power in favour of the forces of transformation.

The challenge we face is not entirely new. During the Pondoland Revolt three decades ago, the people destroyed Bantu Local Authority structures and set up Organs of People's Power (OPP's) in the form of *Intaba*. But this phenomenon became more consistent and nation-wide in character during the 1984-1987 mass revolt, with the emergence of street, area and village-committees.

Yet, we have to face up to this challenge within a new political terrain. The first salvos on the path of negotiations have been fired. Some elements of free political activity have been created - primarily as a result of all-round struggle. Therefore, the manner in which we carry out "old tasks" will be somewhat affected. At the same time, new challenges, new dangers and new questions have arisen.

Transfer of power

Our strategic aim remains the transfer of power to the people as a whole and the transformation of our country into a united, non-racial and democratic society. While the actual form that such a transfer will take is not a question of principle, there are certain basic issues which remain unchanged.

For a start, the transfer of power entails some form of compulsion on the part of the forces of transformation. The powers-that-be shall never bow out of the stage voluntarily. Secondly, the masses are central to any fundamental transformation. It does not matter what forms of struggle are being pursued; the forces which stand to gain from the national democratic revolution must take part directly, if victory is to be attained. Thirdly, the question whether power will be transferred, and the content of transformation depends pri-

Building people's power

The challenge of building people's power remains central in ensuring the transfer of power to the people.

marily on the balance of forces among the contending parties.

What then do we mean by people's power? This is outlined in broad terms in the Freedom Charter and the Constitutional Guidelines. Central to this are issues such as a non-racial vote and a united, non-racial and democratic state, including organs of justice, security and the army, and the redistribution of the wealth and the land.

Organs of civil society

But it is quite clear from the experience of other countries that democracy has to be more than just formal. We have to seriously address mechanisms such as delegation of powers to lower governmental organs, control of the bureaucracy and the role of organs of civil society in the running of the country.

In addition to formal government, the trade union movement, students' organisations, sports organisations and others should take active part in the running of workplaces, institu-

tions of learning, sports matters - to quote but a few examples. While remaining autonomous, they should take an active part in determining policy. The campaign to draft Charters by various sectors of society is fundamental to this.

Therefore, at the core of the concept of political power - *in the narrow sense* - are such issues as political control and authority; the capacity to legislate, execute and administer; as well as relevant justice, security and armed forces to secure such power. *In the broad sense*, political power also entails the strength of political and sectoral organisations such as the ANC, SACP, UDF and Cosatu. But their strength would not, on its own, constitute people's power.

The contest for political power today is reflected primarily in the following factors: In rural areas, a number of bantustan structures have collapsed and administrations sympathetic to the liberation movement have taken over.

In the Eastern Cape and other



Part of the crowd at an ANC rally: people's power relates to the strength of political and sectoral organisations. But this, on its own, does not constitute people's power.

areas, community councillors are resigning in their hundreds. In their place, people's committees are being set up.

Within the South African Police, Prison Services and the army, there are signs of discontent and even active protest, especially among blacks. On the other hand, the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is growing

steadily and enjoys the support of the majority of the people.

On the education front, the Department of Education and Training (DET) has completely failed to solve the crisis and its authority has almost completely collapsed. On the factory floor, organised workers are asserting themselves in relation to the drafting of labour legislation by

the central government.

These are some of the more obvious manifestations of people's power.

But there are other new developments. In some bantustans and community councils, the forces in administration have not resigned nor are they really sympathetic. Yet some of them have come to the liberation movement for advice; asserting that they accept the authority of the ANC.

At another level, it is an open secret that the most senior leaders of the ANC are in constant touch with leaders of the regime. On many issues, the government desperately seeks to be seen to be consulting with Nelson Mandela and other leaders.

Are these developments an expression of people's power that we should deepen? Or are they dangerous and murky waters that we should steer away from? Should the democratic movement take over the administration of bantustans and councils?

Begs the question

In relation to the bantustans, it is perhaps to beg the question to ask whether the liberation movement should "take them over". Let us look at a hypothetical situation: If, for instance, Enos Mabuza of the KaNgwane bantustan and his entire cabinet were to apply for membership of the ANC (assuming that they are not already!) and the assessment of local ANC structures was that they met all the requirements, we would certainly not refuse them membership.

It would be foolhardy to demand that they resign, given what would result from their resignation in terms of the regime's control of the area. Therefore, if they became members of the ANC, the KaNgwane bantustan would *technically be under the control of movement members*.

But this would not necessarily mean that there is people's power in the KaNgwane area. Central to the concept of people's power is mass involvement and the existence of grassroots organs of

What is dual power?

Dual Power, as commonly used, implies a relatively equal balance of power among contending parties in a conflict. In revolutionary struggles, it would therefore entail the existence of people's power, separate and parallel to another power – that of the existing, oppressive state.

In other words, there would be two powers within a given country, both with the capacity to defend themselves on all fronts; but at that given moment, unable to defeat each other. Dual Power, therefore, does not mean joint administration between the contending forces.

This concept was used by Lenin after the February 1917 revolution in old Russia. The Russian king had been overthrown, and a Provisional Government, representing the interests of employers, had been set up. But, parallel to this government were Soviets (Councils) of workers and peasants, including a large segment of the army.

Owing to weaknesses in political understanding among the people, the Soviets trusted that the Provisional Government would solve their problems. They did not use their strength to topple this government. But the Provisional Government, on the other hand, was unable to act against the people. It could not survive a single day without this "unreasoning trust" of the masses. It was a power without force, Lenin said; and the Soviets were a force without power.

Lenin characterised this situation as an interlocking of two "dictatorships": that of the employers and that of the workers and peasants. This was a transitional phase in the revolutions' develop-

ment, he said, and it would definitely not last long. The problem was resolved – after many stormy events – with the Socialist Revolution in October/November of the same year.

This approach cannot be transplanted to all struggles. It could be argued that other revolutions did have their moments of relatively equal strength between the major forces in conflict.

For example, the existence of liberated zones as well as intensified revolts in other rural and urban areas in the Vietnamese and Nicaraguan struggles; and the precarious balance during the transitional process in Zimbabwe, could be characterised as moments of Dual Power.

Therefore, it would not be accurate to characterise our situation, at this given moment, as one of Dual Power. While the people's forces have increased their strength a thousand-fold in struggle, they do not as yet match the power of the apartheid state.

Much more needs to be done in the area of building OPP's, strengthening the people's military forces, building people's organisations, intensifying mass actions and consolidating international support.

It would be dangerous for us to overestimate our strength.

Do we then strive for Dual Power? Certainly not. What we need to do is to build people's power on all fronts and move rapidly to a people's national government. If, in the process, a discernible moment of Dual Power comes, our task will be to immediately turn it into a people's victory.

We cannot make Dual Power our strategic objective.

people's power. The question is not simply "taking over up there". The issue is how to build people's power in the localities and even at regional level; how to ensure mass democratic participation in the running of people's lives. Any regional administration that would be defined as an expression of people's power should be an expression of people's democratic control from the lowest to the highest level. And this means more than just "consultation" with the people.

It means their direct involvement in the running of their own lives. Further, an organ of people's power has to be an organ of struggle against the apartheid system. In other words, the functionaries within it, the resources that it controls and the programme it follows should all be part of the all-round struggle against the apartheid system.

This approach should not be confused with the general task of broadening the front of forces opposed to apartheid. At this level, we are engaging many forces, including those in the bantustans and community councils, to at least keep them away from the regime. At most, we seek to win them over to the ranks of the liberation movement.

Anti-apartheid forces

There are a host of things that such forces would need to do before they can be accepted broadly as anti-apartheid forces; the basic among which would be how they relate to democratic structures and the people in general on the ground. (For details on this, see article on Bantustans on page 36).

How do negotiations relate to the issue of building people's forces? The stage we have reached today is a result of struggle on all fronts – a certain balance of forces within the country and internationally, which forced the regime to take a few steps in the direction of negotiations. But this is not necessarily the balance of forces that would force the other side to negotiate in good faith; a bal-



A mass march in Johannesburg popularises people's power.

ance of forces that would lead to the resolution of the conflict.

The regime is capable of taking counter-action to avert revolutionary transformation. During critical moments in Africa's struggle for independence, one official of the British Colonial Office explained the colonial counter-strategy thus:

"In the African countries...nationalist movements are bound to grow steadily more powerful...The intelligent thing is for governments to recognise this early, and by skilful anticipation to try and guide the energies of nationalists into constructive channels and to secure their co-operation in a programme of steady but not headlong advance". Sir Andrew Cohen, quoted by Jack Woddis in "Africa - The Lion Awakes".

This is a real danger in our situation too. While not creating the false alarm that the regime has got free space within which to manoeuvre, we should not at the same time undermine its capacity to derail the struggle.

FW de Klerk and his administration seek to redefine the terrain of contest. By portraying themselves as a force for change,

they want to gain legitimacy among the majority of the people and thus broaden their power base. In relation to the issue of power, in particular, they desperately seek to co-opt the democratic movement and make it part of the administration of apartheid under a new guise.

At the same time, the regime has gone all out to defend the unpopular bantustan structures and councils. JMC's and other such structures are still operational, under a new name. Pretoria has also been directly involved in fomenting conflict within our communities, in an attempt to prevent the emergence of people's structures, or to weaken those that exist.

But we would be extremely foolish if we simply sat down paralysed by fear; believing that we are sitting ducks prone to manipulation and repression by some cunning apartheid enemy. What we need to look at creatively is the space we have conquered in struggle; to broaden this space; and boldly seek new ways of using it to build people's power.

Our basic condition for negotiations to start is that there

should be free political activity. Such an atmosphere is also one in which the people - at their own initiative, as distinct from formal agreements - have the space to run their own lives. It is one in which we can strengthen grassroots structures of all kinds; use our political appeal to win over administrative and security forces from the apartheid camp; and strengthen such people's forces as marshalls and anti-crime/self-defence units. In other words, an atmosphere of free political activity would not subtract from, but add to, the effort to build people's power. It all depends on whether we take advantage of it.

The mechanisms towards the adoption of the constitution should also be approached in this context. Central to this is continuing mass struggles and mass organisation as the necessary cutting edge of the liberation movement. But how then do we address the question of joint administration and the Interim Government?

There is no gainsaying the fact that the transitional process cannot be supervised by one party to the conflict, let alone the

apartheid regime. This can only be handled fairly and effectively by a force enjoying the confidence and respect of the whole political spectrum within the country. The primary – but not the only – forces on the side of the people will most certainly be the ANC and its allies.

The work of the Interim Government will include ensuring that harassment, intimidation of any kind, interference with people's structures, etc. does not take place. Therefore, there will be some level of joint supervision and administration.

But isn't there a serious danger that we might find ourselves drawn into activity that could in the long run only discredit the liberation movement?

Apartheid still exists and the state is still relatively intact. Any involvement in the administration of apartheid structures can only put us in the firing line for ills we are not responsible for; and turn the liberation movement into some kind of fire brigade in defence of apartheid.

On the other hand, if the Interim Government lacks sovereignty, the whole process could be reversed. Therefore, we need to clearly define the powers and the role of the Interim Government, as well as the political and legal set-up which will prevail during the transitional process.

In working out our approach, we should not allow our past-practices and political culture to blind us to new possibilities and new openings.

We should not shy away from capturing political beach-heads if such an approach will help shift the balance of forces and take us forward. At the same time, we should not be so attracted to De Klerk's open door that we find ourselves within the prison of apartheid co-option.

Our emphasis at all times should be to build the power of the people in all areas of life and move as rapidly as possible to the transfer of power and the transformation of our society. It is in this context that the issue of dual power should be addressed. (See article, "What is

Dual Power").

In building OPPs, we should draw a great deal from both the positive and negative experiences of the 1984-1987 revolt. What are these lessons?

● **The people's power movement must be national in character.** It should not be confined to a few areas. Neither should it exist only in the ghettos, otherwise it would lend itself to encirclement by the forces of repression. Workers' "siyalala la" (sleep-in) strikes and campaigns for non-racial and democratic City Councils are some of the creative ways of taking this struggle to the white areas. Central to the whole campaign is the issue of a clearly defined national programme of action.

● **People's control should go beyond the residential areas.** We must strive for people's power in all spheres of life. This would include struggles around labour legislation and for the democratisation of the economy. It also entails the building of people's media forces: the strengthening of alternative media, contesting the terrain occupied by the mainstream media, and campaigns for the democratic control of public media corporations. In the field of education, we have to move from protest to the introduction of people's control.

● **OPP's are organs of struggle.** People's committees can only survive in struggle. In other words, street and village committees should engage the people in campaigns around problems that affect them as well as the central question of state power. Without this, they will become talking shops, and lose the support of the people. They shall also face the danger of being co-opted into the administration of the apartheid system. The broad questions of administration of communities where OPP's exist; how we relate to government structures, for instance at all-city level; and whether we should use funds from apartheid structures; etc. – all these need to be discussed democratically and our approach guided by the fact that every-

thing we do should advance the struggle.

● **The people's power movement entails higher forms of struggle.** It demands discipline and responsibility. For example, during moments of direct contest for power, actions aimed at the occupation and control of establishments are the most effective. Therefore, burning and looting are not necessarily "militant and revolutionary".

Where there are attempts to democratise an educational institution on the part of the administration, it would be erroneous for the democratic forces to rely primarily on boycotts when conflicts arise.

● **OPP's must have the capacity to defend themselves.** This includes campaigns of mass action, as well as the development of relevant self-defence structures and their systematic upgrading. We should also strive to win to our side as many soldiers and police as possible.

● **People's power is democratic in essence.** OPP's can only be worthy of the name if they involve the overwhelming majority of the people. They should operate on a democratic basis and involve both the young and the old, irrespective of their political affiliation. A united community approach should be striven for on all issues.

● **Political organisations have a role to play in OPP's.** But their specific function cannot be decreed. They have to win the confidence of the people by democratically canvassing their ideas within people's committees. Nor should the setting up of ANC structures, for example, take the place of building OPP's. Discipline and tolerance are crucial to this. In general, what needs particular attention is systematic political education and cadre development.

These are some of the more general tasks we face. Detailed discussion in the course of practical work will help clarify these and other questions. The basic challenge is to move rapidly to the transfer of power to the majority of the people.



Delegates at Sayco's national congress earlier this year.

Young lions plan youth league launch

THE young lions from all corners of our country will converge on April 6 1991 at an unspecified venue to launch the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL). This is a day on which Solomon Mahlangu was butchered by the Apartheid regime.

To commemorate this day, branches and regions will meet to launch the ANCYL. The building of the ANC has left many young people, especially those under the age of 18 years, with no sense of belonging. The ANCYL will set out to recruit and mobilise youth from the age of 14 years to 30 years.

The recent meeting of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) and the ANC Youth Section emerged with a common perspective on how the ANCYL is to be established.

This perspective is shared by the broad student movement – the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), South African National Students Congress (Sansco) and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

The basic perspective on which youth formations agree is the need to build a strong ANC Youth League. The ANCYL must be mass in character. It must accommodate the working, unemployed, peasant and student youth. The ANCYL must be broader than the ANC youth section and Sayco. It must attract thousands of ordinary young people, including those who have not been members of Sayco, Sansco, Nusas or Cosas.

The ANCYL will be non-racial in content and in character. It must recruit both black and white youth. A special emphasis will be made at recruiting the Afrikaner youth.

The ANCYL must and will be under the overall

political leadership of the ANC in that it will subscribe to its policies and programmes. At the same time, it will be organisationally autonomous from the ANC in that it will have its own decision-making structures at local, regional and national level.

Membership of the ANCYL

Both the ANC Youth Section and Sayco agree that the ANCYL and Sayco cannot, in the long-run, co-exist, says Febe Potgieter, assistant education officer of Sayco.

Sayco members are eagerly waiting to be told when to join the ANCYL, she pointed out.

The membership of the ANCYL, like that of the ANC, will be on an individual basis. The youth league will be open to all young people who accept its policies and programmes.

ANCYL members may come from Cosas, Nusas, Sansco, Sayco or any other organisation. On this basis, the ANCYL will be broader than any existing youth formation.

A simple merger of the ANC youth section and Sayco is not the answer, says Jackie Selebi. Sayco will have to make a call to its members and the youth in general to join and strengthen the ANCYL. The general congress of Sayco has already made this call. The youth must join as individuals, not as blocs or branches of Sayco by merely changing the name to that of the ANCYL. The ANCYL will not inherit existing structures.

Student organisations must maintain their separate identities

The specific conditions at schools and at tertiary level require a specific form of organisation. A student organisation is the appropriate forum in which students address and discuss their problems. Both now and during the process of reconstruction, student organisations will be needed to defend and advance the interests of students.

Presently, both Sansco and Nusas are working to establish a single, non-racial student organisation. Students who wish to join the ANCYL will be accepted. However, the ANCYL is not a student organisation. The youth league will respect and encourage the autonomy of student organisations. The student organisations and the ANCYL will have to work out a programme of action, that is joint campaigns.

The process of establishing the Youth League

Both Sayco and the ANCYL agreed to set up a national co-ordinating committee that will guide the process of establishing the youth league. This task force will be comprised of members of the ANC youth section, Sayco, Cosas, Sansco, Nusas and other people who may be appointed to the interim committee.

Sayco and the ANC youth section have already agreed on an interim constitution, manifesto and code of conduct. The youth league will be divided into the existing 14 regions of the ANC.

The task of the co-ordinating committee is to popularise and educate the youth about the policies and programmes of the movement. This committee will consult widely broadly with as many formations as possible. Task forces/co-ordinating committees will exist at national and regional level. The committee will also oversee the establishment of branches of the ANCYL.

The Youth League must be built in struggle

The building of the ANCYL must not be passive and lifeless. Its building must be linked to mass struggles on the ground. Organisation and struggle must not be counter-posed. To build a fighting organisation we need campaigns around which we can involve youth in militant mass action for people's power.

The process of negotiations

must have the stamp of the masses, and the youth must also play a role as a key component of the liberation movement.

Youth formations have agreed to develop a programme of mass action which will involve campaigns around specific issues affecting the youth and the society at large. This is the context in which the ANCYL will be built. The elements of the programme of mass action involves:

- an anti-crime campaign;
- building and establishing organs of people's power, for example, street committees and defence units;
- the "jobs for all" campaign;
- a campaign for mass participation of young people in sport;
- a literacy campaign under the slogan, "Literacy for power". This will involve youth teaching people in the urban and rural areas to read and write. This will be in keeping with the slogan, "Each one teach one". It will enable the people to run the country.

The ANCYL declares and commits itself to promoting peace in Natal by working towards the cessation of hostilities in the region.

Forward to a broad youth front

The ANCYL, together with the student organisations, will work towards a broader youth front which will embrace youth formations who are committed to the dismantling of apartheid and the creation of a climate for genuine negotiations. This broad coalition of youth forces must be informed by the needs of the youth, now and in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The youth must start to think about its position and needs in a democratic South Africa. The elaboration of these needs does not rest solely with the ANCYL, but with a range of democratic youth forces.

**Forward to the
ANC Youth League!
Roar Young
Lions, Roar!**

Since the ANC was unbanned, its economic policy has been widely debated. In this process people have become locked into debating the pro's and con's of nationalisation.

This is a debate which has suited the state and big business. It has allowed them to ignore the history and present-day reality of the systematic economic deprivation of blacks.

As Gavin Relly said in his recent speech at the Carleton Conference: "Let us not dwell on the past".

Relly can afford not to dwell on the past, because that past has made him rich and powerful. This is not the case for the majority of South Africans, who have suffered and still suffer as

a result of that past.

The African National Congress seeks to address the needs and aspirations of this majority. It is precisely the reality of historical injustice against the oppressed people that will establish the framework within which the ANC will formulate its economic policy.

There are three central problem areas which the ANC believes need to be addressed in working out economic policy.

1. The economic deprivation of blacks

For most of this century, the South African Government has been the agent of the systematic economic deprivation of the black majority.

The 1913 Land Act specified that blacks could not own land outside certain reserves. This limited the majority of the population to less than 14 percent of the land. It effectively wiped out black farmers who had been prospering on the land, by forcing them into the poverty of the overcrowded reserves.

The state employed highly repressive measures to ensure that black workers were a cheap supply of labour to the urban areas, and that they returned to the reserves as soon as their work was done.

The state used three main techniques to prevent black urbanisation: the pass laws; the limitation on housing construction; and the outright destruction of black communities. Each of these tactics cruelly disrupted the lives of black South Africans and directly contributed to their impoverishment.

Black workers were further discriminated against by barriers to their upward mobility. Job reservation laws kept blacks out of skilled and managerial positions.

These laws were reinforced by the education policies of the state, which effectively ensured that whites were protected and gained preferential access to more highly-skilled, better-paid jobs in the economy.

Black entrepreneurs also face obstacles. Section 43A of the Community Development Act still prohibits blacks from obtaining licenses to trade in white areas.

All of this has been compounded by the lack of meaningful political rights for blacks. This has effectively limited the channels to challenge this discrimination. It has also resulted in a persistent bias in the allocation of government expenditure in favour of whites.

This situation has resulted in South Africa having among the most unequal distribution of wealth and income in the world: 5% of the population own 88% of the personally-owned wealth. Whites own 87% of the land. Whites own 95% of the means of production. On average, each

Priority: to deal with poverty

The central concern of any economic policy should be how to meet the needs of South Africa's oppressed and deprived millions.



Demonstrators in Cape Town highlight the fact that many people in South Africa do not have enough food.

white person earns 10 times more than each black person. Over half of all black households receive an income below what is known as "the poverty datum line" – the minimum income required to keep alive and healthy.

2. Widespread poverty

This systematic discrimination against blacks resulted in a second area which requires our immediate attention. And that is the enormous poverty in which many people live.

People do not have enough housing – 7.4 million urban African residents live in 46600 small housing units – an average of 16 inhabitants per unit. In addition to this overcrowding, some people do not have any shelter at all and are forced to live in temporary shacks.

People do not have enough food. Thousands of South African babies die annually of malnutrition and associated diseases. Two million children are growing up stunted from lack of calories.

This is all happening in one of the few countries that is rich enough to be able to export food.

People do not have enough education. According to the 1980 census, 33% of Africans over the age of 15 are illiterate, while a further 30% have less than a Std 4 education.

There are not enough jobs. Over three million people (perhaps double this according to some estimates) are unemployed. This unemployment is concentrated amongst the youth, who suffer terribly as a result.

3. The economic crisis in South Africa

In addition to the problems of deprivation of blacks and widespread poverty, a democratic government will have to deal with the fact that these problems are getting worse and not better. The economy is not growing fast enough to meet the needs of the people.

There is massive unemployment and the prices of goods are going up all the time. The busi-

ness sector is not building new factories and providing more jobs.

The reasons for this slowdown in the growth of the economy are many and complex and will be dealt with in future articles in this column.

4. How does the ANC propose to deal with these problems?

The ANC does not have an economic blueprint. It is formulating its economic policy on the basis of ongoing discussion and consultation with key sectors.

There are, however, two policy documents that indicate the spirit that will guide the formulation of ANC economic policy: The Freedom Charter and The Constitutional Guidelines.

An examination of the economic clauses of these two documents makes it clear that the ANC wants to undo the social and economic effects of decades of racial domination. This implies that the new government must be able to take action to overcome the gross inequalities and deprivation that have resulted from apartheid.

There is also a stress on the need to meet the basic needs of the people:

- to provide education;
- to provide employment and to provide for the unemployed;
- to provide health care to all;
- to provide adequate roads, electricity, transport, etc. for all; and
- to provide for the aged, the orphans and the disabled.

The point at issue, therefore, is not a conflict between "nationalisation" and "free enterprise", as the state and big business want us to believe. It is not so much the parting of ways between "Marxists" and "free marketers". The central concern is how to meet the needs of the oppressed and deprived millions of South Africans. And it is clear that this task cannot be left to the market alone. Some form of state intervention will be crucial. The ANC could never accept a system that leaves intact the ills of apartheid. ♦

Developments which have taken place in South Africa since February 2, are of great significance not only for South Africans but for all the people of southern Africa.

The 1980s were for most countries of sub-Saharan Africa a "lost decade" of economic retrogression and declining living standards.

Various factors were responsible for this state of affairs. But, in southern Africa, one of the most important was destabilisation by the apartheid regime.

UNICEF has estimated that at least 1,3 million Angolans and Mozambicans died between 1980 as a direct or indirect result of Pretoria-sponsored wars of destabilisation.

The losses suffered by the economies of the SADCC member states as a result of destabilisation have been calculated at US\$60,5 billion over the same period – an amount greater than three times the combined external debt of the nine.

The people of the entire region are thus eagerly awaiting the eradication of the principal cause of instability in southern Africa – apartheid.

At the same time, it is important to recognise that the struggles of the peoples and states of the region contributed significantly towards creating the circumstances within which the changes evident since February 2 have taken place.

Securocrats

The change associated with FW de Klerk took place against a background in which the militaristic strategies promoted by PW Botha's securocrats had been shown to be incapable of providing any way out of the deepening crisis of apartheid.

One of the most important blows suffered by Pretoria's militarists was in Angola.

The battles at Cuito Cuana-vale and elsewhere in southern Angola in late 1987 and 1988 produced an important shift in the military balance in the sub-continent. This led directly to the initiation in May 1988 of the

Awaiting an end to both apartheid and dependence

The De Klerk era's implications for the Southern African region.

negotiations which culminated in the withdrawal of SADF forces from Angola and independence for Namibia.

At the same time, Pretoria began to confront a situation in which its known involvement in armed banditry in Mozambique and in hit squad activity elsewhere threatened to increase its international isolation.

This was precisely at a moment when the cumulative effects of sanctions dictated a need for a major effort to reduce that isolation.

All of this took place against the background of continuing failure to produce a viable political solution in the face of the growing pressure from the national liberation and mass democratic movements inside the country.

Partial backdown

By mid-1988 even the most hardline militarists within the regime were compelled to contemplate the need for some adjustment in the content, particularly of regional policy. Even before the rise to power of FW de Klerk, a trend towards a partial backdown from the escalating cycle of militaristic aggression had become evident.

This was coupled with a blatant attempt to try to capitalise on contacts established with African states and socialist countries in a renewed attempt to

use Africa as the gateway out of international isolation.

The period since De Klerk's take over as state president has seen some consolidation of these trends. Considerable attention has been devoted to increasing economic ties with the region and the continent.

Economic focus

The economic and diplomatic focus of current policy has meant continuing to adopt a less aggressive stance towards the region.

Namibia finally became independent on March 21 and South African involvement with Unita and Renamo has become somewhat less overt.

But De Klerk's leadership has not seen the end of all forms of South African involvement with armed banditry in the region.

The March 16 edition of the "Weekly Mail" published the results of several months' investigative journalism into continuing links between Renamo and the SADF.

This revealed a picture "... in which private businessmen and farmers are used to carry out the logistics to support Renamo with extensive back-up from elements in the military".

The same article spoke of a secret camp near Phalaborwa, named Skietog, which continued to house "black soldiers" speaking Portuguese and Shona.

In mid-May, Mozambican government forces seized a Renamo camp at Ngungwe, near the Kruger National Park. This camp, located less than 2 kilometres from the South African border, was described as the major transit base for arms from South Africa destined for Renamo groups operating in the three southern provinces.

Journalists said that a dirt track had been constructed from the camp to the border. The fact remains that the South African government has not heeded the call made by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to introduce legislation to make provision of support to Renamo a punishable offence.

Whatever the reason for this, the partial nature of the break from the patterns of the past has highlighted a point made repeatedly by the Frontline states and the SADCC: lasting peace and real development in southern Africa depend on the elimination of apartheid.

But, while this is a necessary condition, ending apartheid will not in itself be sufficient to guarantee that the present patterns of South African domination of the region are replaced by new mutually-beneficial relations of economic inter-dependence.

Domination

A democratic South Africa should relate to the sub-continent, not simply as a market for its goods. It will have to be seriously involved in co-operative projects aimed at addressing a number of pressing problems confronted by our neighbours as a result of existing patterns of domination and dependence.

One of the recommendations of the consultative workshop of ANC and COSATU economists held in Harare between April and May was that a non-racial democratic South Africa should "... actively seek to promote regional economic co-operation in ways that would not be exploitative and will correct imbalances in current relationships". ♦

Organisation and resistance in the bantustans has been growing at a breathtaking pace. Through mass action, the people have begun the process of dismantling what was once thought to be a strong pillar of apartheid. The masses have been the motive force, every inch of the way, in all the developments in these areas.

The change in administration in Transkei, Ciskei and Venda, as well as the short-lived soldiers' uprising in Bophuthatswana, have brought into sharp focus the issue of reincorporation of these satellites into South Africa.

In all but two areas, the administrators have declared their support for the dismantling of the hated bantustan structures. Most of them have shifted their political support away from the regime, towards the ANC.

Over the years, successive apartheid regimes carefully nurtured the bantustan system. The main intention was to frustrate the demand for a non-racial democracy in a unitary South Africa. It was also intended to fragment the unity of the oppressed people in the fight against apartheid. To this end, some African collaborators were found.

Liberation movement

Because of the weakening of the liberation movement in the 1960s, these structures were created without much open resistance. This led the architects of apartheid to believe that the bantustan system would help ensure lasting white domination.

Money was laundered in the millions. Amidst stark mass poverty and misery, lived the servants of apartheid in riches. Even those who went into the system with a pinch of patriotic sentiment started to lose their heads.

To the yearning of the masses for land, jobs and political rights, the tyrants had a ready answer: the gun and the baton, imprisonment and torture, the armed battalions and the vigilantes.

All seemed well. But like all

Eroding a pillar of apartheid

Mass action has brought the bantustan system to its knees. The task now is to deepen the victories scored so far and further narrow the base of the apartheid regime.



Bantustan leaders Bantu Holomisa (above left), Oupa Gqoza (top right) and Lucas Mangope (above right).

fairy tales, the grand apartheid final solution had to end. The conjurers and the spell-bound had to wake up from their slumber. And the grave-diggers that apartheid created have gone to work in earnest. But the earth is not very tender and it will not yield easily.

The apartheid regime is hell-bent on defending the bantustan structures, at least as one of the bargaining chips in negotiations. From deployment of armed force

in places like Gazankulu, to sweet political talk, the regime is still trying desperately to win political allies.

The main task currently facing the ANC is to deepen the positive changes currently sweeping through the bantustans. Democratic forces need to decisively transform the situation of un-governability into the creation of permanent structures of popular rule. The creation of "the new" should take the place of the re-



Celebrations in the streets of Bisho, Ciskei, after the coup in March this year.

jection of "what is". In doing this, we need to be alive to the concrete conditions and the tactical variations in these areas.

Most bantustan leaders have identified with the ANC in the unfolding political process. This strategic shift is important.

We must continue to deny the regime allies from among the oppressed people. The base of the apartheid regime must be narrowed.

It is with this orientation that

the ANC and the mass democratic movement (MDM) have been meeting with a number of bantustan leaders. The meetings centred around issues that could form the basis for our possible co-operation.

Among the minimum requirements the bantustan leaders have to meet are:

- The acceptance of a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa free of bantustans.

- The creation in these areas of

an atmosphere of free political activity, including:

- the right of people to form and join organisations of their choice, and to take part in mass activity;

- a code of conduct for the police and army not to act against the people;

- disbanding of all vigilante groups;

- removal of all repressive legislation; and

- consultations with local democratic structures to address the grievances of the people.

Under discussion has also been the issue of the mechanisms and content of the negotiating process.

Clear commitment

In these meetings, all the bantustan leaders made a clear commitment to achieve these objectives. But while pronouncements are themselves important, the acid test is what happens on the ground.

For these individuals to be accepted by the people, they have to act in the interests of the people, and be seen to do so.

Meeting the ANC - and making public declarations - is not enough.

There are those among these leaders who have, in word and in deed, identified themselves with the cause of the struggling people. Others have taken the first few steps but are still struggling to shed their old skins. Yet others have said one thing and implemented another. The latter have even gone on record misrepresenting the views of the ANC: for example, boldly stating that they were given the mandate by the ANC to "deal with trouble-makers".

Such statements are of course way off the mark, and should be dismissed with the contempt they deserve. But they emphasise one important fact: that, in as much as the present changes are a result of struggle, it is these struggles that will ensure that the people's demands are met.

The delicate effort to narrow the base of the apartheid regime



Bantustan leaders pose for a photograph after their meeting with the ANC.

through high-profile meetings must have as its foundation popular struggles on the ground.

Further, it is essential that information on concrete developments – which scarcely appears in the media – should be made public.

In the meetings between ANC national structures and the bantustan leaders, regional representatives of the ANC should take part. Where the issues under discussion do not require their presence, briefings should be promptly given to structures on the ground.

The critical challenge of the moment in all these areas is for the masses to take full advantage of the space won in struggle and advance to a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

This demands mass actions around our demands for land, jobs, housing, proper education and all the other rights that the people deserve.

Our central target in these actions should be the apartheid state, which is responsible for the squalor we find ourselves in today. Those among these leaders who genuinely seek an end to the apartheid system will take part in various ways in such campaigns.

But there are many other issues which fall under the bantu-

stan administrations. Repression, where it exists; immediate educational issues; the control of the structure and content of media facilities in their hands; usage of resources at their disposal – all these and other issues need to be addressed directly with these leaders.

A combination of mass action and consultation with the bantustan leaders concerned are the forms of struggle needed.

Strengthening organisation

But we should be clear about the fact that, no matter how sympathetic some of these leaders might be, this does not mean that we should abandon our task of strengthening people's organisations and structures. Rather we should use the favourable conditions to strengthen village and township committees and our self-defence units.

We must forge these committees into strong regional people's committees. Our efforts must also be directed at organising and educating the police and soldiers to join the people's ranks. Civil servants, magistrates and prosecutors must not be left out. In other words, we must creatively see to the emergence of our own kind of "liberated zones".

A special place in these areas

is occupied by the chiefs. All along, the apartheid regime has trampled on their toes, insulted our traditions, and used force, blackmail and financial rewards to turn these traditional leaders into servants of apartheid.

This has been challenged, and the entire "bantustan authorities" system is collapsing as more and more chiefs join Contralesa.

Their place is in the front ranks of struggle against the oppressors of our people. This is the honourable mantle left them by the fighter-kings and chiefs of past centuries.

In Bophuthatswana and Kwa-Zulu, in particular, where repression is the order of the day, we have to combine all forms of struggle to deal the bantustan system a deadly blow.

All these challenges require strong ANC, trade union, youth, women's, civic and other structures in the rural areas and bantustans in particular. The democratic movement must pay sufficient attention to these areas, where more than half the African population lives. We have to deliberately channel resources to these areas, and, in this regard, overcome weaknesses of the past.

Our victory in the whole of South Africa will depend to a large measure on what we do in the rural areas. ♦

Education within the black community is in a state of near-collapse. Apartheid education is in deep crisis.

State repression has not quelled the education struggle. The demands for a non-racial democratic education system, with democratic community, students' and teachers' organisations, remain on the agenda.

Central to this struggle is the insistence that it is the prerogative of the community to run what is, after all, a community concern.

The government's loss of control over "black education" reflects its inability to govern the black community in general. The struggles of the past decades have culminated in a situation in which the majority of South Africans refuse to be governed by the apartheid regime.

Some changes

The government is now embarking on some changes to the educational system. This in itself represents a victory for the people. At the same time, it poses the challenge for us to deepen our efforts from protest to the exercise of power. The situation demands the maximum use of the retreat being made by the government.

People's power on the education front reflects itself in the self-assertion of students and teachers, and the greater involvement of the community. Various tactics and forms of struggle have been used: chalk-downs and marches, sit-ins and boycotts.

However, the situation has also been characterised by certain short-comings preventing us from taking advantage of our achievements.

The most glaring of these is the absence of co-ordination among the different sectors. We thus sometimes have teachers wanting to conduct classes when students intend on going on a boycott; or even students turning up for classes when teachers embark on a chalk-down. This highlights the need for a clear programme for the education

From protest to power

Strategic priorities in the education struggle

struggle.

It also reflects weaknesses in organisation. The secondary school students' movement is the most hard hit. All efforts need to be put into ensuring that the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) emerges as a powerful movement with clear perspectives. The same applies to the united teachers' organisation. Above all, our educational structures must be rooted firmly within the community they are meant to serve.

The ANC has been emphasising that the collapse of apartheid education must not mean the collapse of education in general. The process of equipping ourselves must go on. For this we need to unite around our key demands such as:

- a single educational system run by the people themselves;
- allocation of resources in an equitable manner; and
- recognition of teachers' unions, Students Representative Councils (SRC) and Parents, Teachers and Student Associations (PTSA) as school management structures.

Next school year

It is the task of society as a whole – especially those who stand for the abolition of apartheid – to see to it that by the next school year, at the latest, all these demands are addressed. This is in addition to those that need immediate attention if the 1990 school year is to have any meaning for education among blacks.

There is also the real danger that the attitude we have displayed towards apartheid education can be adopted towards education in general. Activists report the collapse in morale

among students and teachers. It needs to be emphasised that, even in the process of struggle, the primary responsibility of teachers and students is to teach and to learn.

We cannot afford to have a generation of illiterates. The democratic future we are striving for requires skills which can meet the needs of our society. Waging struggle to change the educational system, and acquiring these skills are our dual and complementary tasks. This demands also that we use forms of struggle which do not undermine our future.

The tactic of boycott should be used selectively and with clear objectives.

Half-hearted

The measures announced by the government are obviously half-hearted. Talk about allocation of the small resources referred to sounds hollow against the backdrop of obvious and deliberate inequalities. Talk about community involvement is meaningless if the old undemocratic structures are being maintained and promoted.

The government's muddled approach is understandable. It has never been in their interest to have blacks educated.

But we need to build on the successes we have scored. Where we have forced the regime to open the operational space and even to allocate additional funds, we must democratically decide whether or not to use these funds; and if so, how to ensure popular control and accountability. All the immediate steps we take must be related to our strategic demands. We should at all times avoid taking the easy road. ♦



Brian Mazibuko and Bhoyi Ngema in a scene from "Township Fever".

Ngema's play has made a deep impression on those who saw it. It has been a sensation for most accomplished theatre-goers and to those who are new to the Market Theatre.

But different people find the play sensational for different reasons.

It is probably unrivalled in its entertainment value. Yet its other merits may be questioned.

The play talks about love and commitment. It traces the experience of a young man, who is so fond of his music that he prefers playing his guitar to finding a job. But he so deeply loves his fiancée that he takes a job to raise money to marry her. But his aims are frustrated by the tragic situation that follows the unfair dismissal of a fellow employee by the South African Transport Services (SATS).

The workers demand the reinstatement of their comrade. SATS responds in a disdainful and confrontational manner. The workers, having consulted through their union, Sarhwi, go on strike to press for their demand. Both their grievances and representatives are ignored.

SATS, the police and right-wing vigilantes mount a violent campaign to break the strike and destroy Sarhwi. Many workers are killed and others wounded in the violent conflict that follows.

A number of scabs are killed during these conflicts. Four Sarhwi members are convicted of their murder and sentenced to death. The play closes with an appeal for the four "victims" to be saved from the gallows.

The scenes relating to the strike are based on the real life strike of 1987.

The story is told through song and dance in the Broadway musical form. In this form the various events are arranged into flashy and amusing images. The subject matter is treated in a disjointed, superficial and comical manner.

The story is turned into a series of practical jokes; and the strike's image is harmed by fitting its events into the Broadway framework.

Flashy but superficial

Mbongeni Ngema's play, "Township Fever", has high entertainment value with flashy and amusing images. But it deals with the 1987 railway strike in a superficial and negative manner.

The union leadership is portrayed as being removed from the situation of the workers. It is shown as taking irrelevant decisions which do not benefit the workers. The shopstewards are represented as lackeys of the faceless "people in the small room upstairs".

This negative image is reinforced with the refrain, in song, that "politicians are corrupt...this situation is a mess... hamba (away with the situation in) Pietermaritzburg!". We must therefore believe that the strikers and the masses in Natal are just pawns in the power game played by all politicians.

The overall moral condemnation of how ordinary people are victimised by powerful forces, including corrupt politicians, is not well-supported by the scanty detail of events in the play.

The circumstances of the individual events are distorted by the comical framework.

Similarly, the play does not deal with the dilemma facing workers who cannot air their grievances through their union because the state and employers

are determined to suppress it.

Is the portrayal of life before the strike as an uninterrupted festival, accurate? What about the male workers who, missing their wives, are made to express this feeling through obscene and downright sexist images and songs like "amathulusi omkami" (my wife's tools i.e. slang for genitals)? What about the ethnic prejudice invoked by the stereotype character named Kiriman (a derogatory term for Shangaan/Tsonga/Nyasa-speaking persons)?

If all these are a reflection of what happens among some social collectives, then it could be argued that the play helps to identify ills that society as a whole should address. The question is whether the play contributes to this process!

The play does not, even for the sake of accuracy, deal with the gains made through the strike. Nor does it weigh these accurately against the price paid by the workers for those gains.

In general, all the characters are in one way or the other made into half-witted and naive individuals.

Of course, the other extreme would be equally bad, namely, creating superhuman heroes.

For all the above reasons, it is unlikely that the play can adequately handle the complex Sarhwi strike within the present framework.

However, there are many aspects of the play that can be developed. The idea itself – to relate the lives and struggles of ordinary workers – is a welcome one.

The play's prospects of entertaining an audience that will only notice the kaleidoscope of dance and song are great.

WHERE YOU CAN CONTACT THE ANC

ANC NATIONAL OFFICE

PO Box 61884
Marshalltown 2307
Johannesburg
Phone: 834-5301/8
Fax: 834-1019

PWV REGION

PO Box 8299
Johannesburg 2000
Phone: 29-6066
Fax: 29-6067

NATAL MIDLANDS

PO Box 1443
Pietermaritzburg 3200
Phone: (0331) 946559
Fax: (0331) 427612

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

The Indian Centre
Pietersburg
Phone: (01521) 914215
Fax: (01521) 213872

NORTHERN CAPE

PO Box 2385
Kimberley 8300
Phone: (0531) 812578
Fax: (0531) 812583

EASTERN TRANSVAAL

PO Box 2824
Nelspruit 1200
Phone: (01311) 53864
Fax: (01311) 27782

WESTERN CAPE

PO Box 2306
Cape Town
Phone: (021) 4176806
Fax: (021) 4034483

SOUTHERN OFS

3271 King Street
Bochabela
Bloemfontein 9323
Phone: (051) 326513

EASTERN CAPE

Standard House
3rd Floor, 344 Main Street
Port Elizabeth 6000
Phone: (041) 443289
Fax: (041) 564337

NORTHERN OFS

PO Box 669
Odendaalsrus
Phone: (0171) 41994
Fax: (0171) 74421

BORDER REGION

PO Box 39
Fort Hare 5701
Phone: (0404) 31842

SOUTHERN NATAL

Ecumenical Centre
Room 29
20 St Andrews Street
Durban 4000
Phone: (031) 301-5551
Fax: (031) 301-6611

TRANSKEI

28 York Road
Umtata
Phone: (0471) 24671

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