

MARCH 1986



SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa

1986

THE YEAR OF

OF

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE PEOPLE'S ARMY



SECHABA

MARCH 1986

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EDITORIAL

THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID DEEPENS

P W Botha, the racist President, made his Rubicon II speech. He was incoherent. This had nothing to do with his thought processes. It was a crisis situation — a crisis of apartheid. Botha's tone indicated that.

He tried to lure the bankers, investors and Black puppets. He talked a language nobody could understand — even some of his supporters were confused and disappointed. Even Gatsha Buthelezi got confused in the process. He was not confused by the speech, which he regarded as a "courageous break from the past." Later, he started wondering whether there was, in fact, "any break from the past." He was referring to the reaction of P W Botha to the remarks (called "outbursts") made by Pik Botha, the racist Foreign Minister, that South Africa might have a Black president in future, provided that "minority rights" were protected.

Pik Botha was not talking the language of the Freedom Charter, which guarantees national rights under conditions of equality and through "democratic organs of self-government." The ANC does not talk of "power-sharing" but of the seizure of power by the people; of people's power. No "power-sharing" with the racists.

This was not Gatsha's problem or query, since he saw himself as the "future Black president." Pik Botha was referring to. P W Botha shattered Gatsha's dreams. In an arrogant, racist and paternalistic manner (at which Gatsha Buthelezi did not protest) Botha remarked:

"Chief Minister Buthelezi knows from experience that my door is at all times open to him to discuss any matter on which he wants clarification ..."

Can it ever be the other way round? Gatsha is silent on this issue.

Whilst this was going on Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert resigned his post as leader of the opposition in Parliament because of the regime's intransigence and insincerity about reforms and its attitude to (and presentation of a false picture of) the ANC. Hell was let loose. There was pandemonium.

This was compounded by rumours about the release of Nelson Mandela. Winnie Mandela says:

"It is quite obvious the Government is thinking along

the lines of releasing him. They want to release him. The problem is just when."

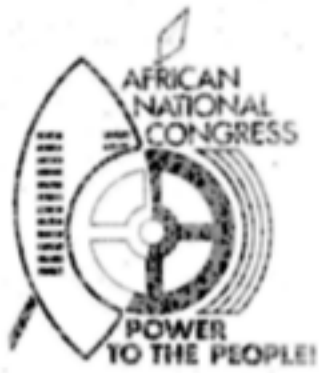
The problem seems to be broader than that. They don't know what reason to give for his release — especially after they have failed with all the conditions they attached to his release. The *Guardian* of February 10th let the cat out of the bag:

"South Africa's security chiefs fear that if Mr Mandela is released in South Africa it could ignite a spontaneous, uncontrolled wave of political fervour among the Black South Africans. But while security chiefs are nervous about the impact of the release on the more than 24 million Black people, the Government is anxious to avoid at all costs the death in gaol of the 67-year-old Black leader."

How cynical can they be! How sadistic! How inhuman! They are not interested in the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners — they want to use his release (or even his prestige) to preserve the system of apartheid.

Whilst all this was going on, the people — far from the corridors of power — were taking their own decisions, doing their own things! The students at Iziphathele High School in Clermont near Pinetown in Natal forced the principal and his deputy to quit, and renamed the school, "Oliver Tambo High School." It was also reported that a group of Lamontville residents (also in Natal) marched to the local police station and opened fire, challenging the cops to a gun battle. Stones, grenades and petrol bombs were thrown at the cops. Police cars were burned.

This is only in Durban. If one considers that 11 000 people were detained under the state of emergency and that the people are demanding the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the end of the state of emergency, the withdrawal of troops from the African residential areas, the unbanning of the ANC and its allies, the repeal of all undemocratic laws — in short, the dismantling of apartheid — the return of all those who have been forced into exile and the implementation of the Freedom Charter — the crisis which is seen in South Africa today is a tip of an iceberg.



ATTACK! ADVANCE! GIVE THE ENEMY NO QUARTER!

January 8th Message of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, delivered by President OR Tambo.

Compatriots,

As the New Year begins, and on the occasion of the 74th anniversary of your vanguard movement, the African National Congress, we extend to you our warm revolutionary greetings. We salute you also in the name of the people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We speak to you fully aware of the immense responsibility that rests on all of us to make the apartheid system of oppression and exploitation, repression and aggression a thing of the past. It is our singular honour that we have been charged with the serious responsibility to point the way forward in the coming period. We approach this task with the same seriousness that has inspired you as you launched countless heroic mass battles during the year that has just ended.

The message of that year, the Year of the Cadre, is simple and yet momentous. It is that the end of the criminal system of apartheid is in sight. Nearly four decades of illegal rule by the heirs of Hitler is coming to a close and with it, centuries of colonial and racist White minority domination. There is nothing that the Pretoria regime can do that can change this historic outcome of our struggle.

Our uninterrupted forward march has thrown the apartheid system into an enormous general crisis. A central feature of this crisis is the rebellion of millions of our people against the criminal system. Even the most stubborn racist can now see that we are no longer prepared to live as slaves and are determined to liberate ourselves whatever the price we have to pay in human lives.

Realising that power is slipping out of its hands, the Botha regime could not rule in the old way any longer. Hence it has adopted new and more brutal ways of governing our country to save itself from destruction. These include the proclamation of martial law, handing over ad-

ministration of large areas of our country to the murderous army and police, the use of secret death squads, the assassination of our leaders, massacres, mass arrests, stringent control of the press, continuing external aggression and the murder of our people outside our country.

White Power Bloc Divided

Despite these extraordinary measures designed to safeguard racist rule and reassure the White minority, the reality is that the White power bloc has never been as divided as it is today. Conflict, indecision and fear of the revolution within this bloc has extended to within the ranks of Botha's own cabinet.

An important part of the crisis afflicting the racist system is the gathering collapse of the apartheid economy. We, the oppressed and exploited, know the bitter meaning of this crisis. We know the harsh reality of retrenchment, unemployment, a galloping cost of living and banishment to the Bantustans and resettlement camps.

Now, the burden of the economic crisis brought about by the apartheid system is beginning to weigh heavily on the Whites as well. White unemployment is increasing. Many conscripts return to civilian life without jobs and with no prospect of employment. Thousands of small and medium businesses have collapsed. Individual bankruptcies have multiplied without stop.

Completely unable to deal with this enormous general crisis, Botha has increasingly lost contact with reality. Illusions are taking the place of facts. The hollow dreams of a tyrant appear to him to be the very essence of policy. Botha relies on bombast and bluster to hide the fact that he is no more than a fleeting shadow on the world stage.

Initiative in Our Hands

The Botha regime has lost the strategic initiative. That initiative is now in our hands. The racist regime has no policy and can have no policy, either to save the apartheid system from sinking deeper into crisis or to extricate this system from that crisis. Its political programme has been reduced to a shambles. Its ideological platform has collapsed. All it can do now is to react to events from day to day, without any consistent plan and without any overall objectives, except to keep itself in power for as long as possible.

It can no longer guarantee a bright future for the White social forces on which it rests. At the same time, the Botha regime is confronted with our mass revolt. Botha knows that the masses of our people will not stand by passively while he tries out one apartheid experiment or another. We shall not abandon our forward march, allow ourselves to be diverted from our goal of one person one vote in a united South Africa, or in any way co-operate with the Botha regime in the execution of programmes aimed at the perpetuation of the apartheid system.

Taken together, these factors signify that strategically the enemy is on the defensive. The critical point is that any counter-offensive the oppressors may launch to gain some tactical advances will, at the same time, only result in further worsening their strategic position.

The fact that the Botha regime has lost the strategic initiative, and is therefore on the defensive all along the line, is of decisive importance for the further advance of our struggle. We have forced the racists into this position through consistent struggle both inside and outside our country. This is an inspiring victory of historic significance.

The principal conclusion we should draw from this situation is that through our sacrifices, we have prepared the conditions for us further to transform the situation to that position when it will be possible for us to seize power from the enemy. Thus the central task facing the entire democratic movement is that we retain the initiative until we have emancipated our country.

Fight with a Clear Purpose

We must achieve this by going on the offensive on all fronts, continuously and boldly. We have to fight with a clear purpose in mind, with a definite perspective of our strategic and tactical

goals, so that we can deploy and utilise our forces to the best advantage. Victory demands that we also continue to work for the maximum unity of all our fighting contingents and the democratic movement as well as a co-ordinated approach towards the four pillars of our struggle.

Our strategic goal must be to shift the balance of strength decisively in favour of our struggle, through the further ripening of the revolutionary situation beyond the point where the regime is not able to rule in the old way to the stage where it is in fact unable to govern. Thus, we must continue to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. In the attack we must aim further to weaken the Botha regime drastically, to sap its strength, to take away from it even the capacity to launch a limited counter-offensive.

Simultaneously, while on the march, we must build our forces into an ever more formidable united mass army of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to deliver, and actually delivering, bigger blows at every stage and fighting as a conscious force with its eyes firmly fixed on the goal of the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people.

The central focus of our continuous offensive has to be the imposition of the will of the democratic majority over the racist minority, however desperate and stubborn the resistance of this minority.

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

Our Fighting Youth

We take this opportunity to salute our students, who have continued to march forward in unity and in an uninterrupted and organised offensive, undeterred by the illegal banning of their organisation, COSAS. This achievement is a victory of the entire democratic and revolutionary movement of our country and is worthy of the young lions of the struggle that our students and working youth have become.

This year, we shall be observing the 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. We shall therefore cast our minds back on a period dur-

ing which thousands of our youth were killed and maimed in the struggle for a democratic system of education in a democratic country. A whole generation is growing up and has known nothing but daily violence meted out in the streets by the armed killers of the apartheid regime.

To honour and pay everlasting tribute to the thousands of our students and working youth whose blood has drenched our Motherland, in the struggle for freedom and in recognition of their resolve to march forward to victory, we declare June 16th South Africa Youth Day. We are confident that our youth and students, through the length and breadth of our country, will prove themselves worthy of this national honour.

We owe these young lions of our struggle, and the nation as a whole, an obligation to institute an alternative system of education during this year, the 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. We held an important national conference on this question in Johannesburg and adopted decisions that are of singular significance to the entire democratic movement and to us as a people.

Above everything else, what we shall need in order to realise the programme of action we set ourselves is the maximum unity of the students, teachers and parents and of the entire democratic movement, including the community and student organisations, the trade unions, the youth and women's movement, religious, and all cultural and sports organisations. United in action, we have the ability to win our struggle for an alternative system of education, to secure the release of all student leaders and activists imprisoned by the Pretoria regime, to force the lifting of the ban on COSAS and to win all the other demands that we have agreed upon.

Of great importance also is the need for us to ensure that we have a strong, organised youth and student movement reaching into all schools and all areas of our country, capable of continuing to organise all our youth to act with the same discipline and unity, on a national scale, that we have seen in the past. We must continue to work for the establishment of a national youth organisation. To win our demands, we must be organised.

Unity of the Working Class

We also seize this occasion especially to welcome most warmly the formation of the Congress of

South African Trade Unions. We extend to its leaders, its affiliated unions and to the membership of those unions the revolutionary greetings of the ANC leadership, inside and outside prison and inside and outside our country, as well as those of our entire membership:

The struggle to form one democratic trade union centre has been hard and protracted. Many comrades have spent countless hours working to achieve the result that was consummated with the formation of COSATU. We all acted in this manner convinced of the need for the unity of the working class of our country, of the imperative to defend and advance the interests of this class and of the necessity for the organised, united and conscious workers to remain in the front ranks, and as an integral part of the mass army of revolution that is today shaking the apartheid system to its very foundations. The formation of COSATU has therefore added enormously to the strength of the democratic movement as a whole and is a victory which this movement must defend at all costs.

We appeal to those democratic trade unions which still remain outside the fold of COSATU to reconsider their positions. We are convinced of the maturity and honesty of both their leaders and members. Accordingly we are certain that at this critical moment in the history of an entire people and region, they will find a way to overcome all obstacles that bar their way to joining COSATU.

Many problems remain to be solved to fashion the new trade union Congress into the instrument of working class and national liberation that the delegates visualised at the founding conference in Durban. These include the transformation of the general unions into industrial unions, and the organisation of the unorganised and the unemployed. These are important tasks whose accomplishment rests on the shoulders both of COSATU and the democratic movement as a whole.

Workers' Anniversaries

Fellow Workers: During the year 1986, we shall mark two historic anniversaries. These are the 40th anniversary of the great mineworkers' strike of 1946 and the 100th anniversary of May Day — international workers' solidarity day.

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the great miners' strike, we call upon the entire

democratic forces and especially the trade union movement, to draw on the revolutionary traditions of the African mineworkers' strike of 1946 and the 100th anniversary of May Day — international workers' solidarity day.

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the great miners' strike, we call upon the entire democratic forces and especially the trade union movement, to draw on the revolutionary traditions of the African mineworkers in order to enhance the contribution of the workers to the cause of national and social emancipation.

It is totally unacceptable that up to its 100th anniversary, May Day in South Africa has remained an ordinary working day. We therefore fully support the workers' demand that from 1986 onwards, May Day should become a fully paid public holiday. Our entire democratic movement must support the organised trade union movement in the struggle to realise this demand.

That outstanding product of the creative initiative of the masses of our struggling people, the United Democratic Front, has borne the brunt of the futile terrorist onslaught of the Botha-Malan-Coetzee regime to defeat our mass offensive and to suppress our democratic organisations. To this day, the threat of prohibition hangs over the UDF. Yet we are convinced that, having more than survived the assassination and imprisonment of its leaders, the cold-blooded murder of its followers, the banning of its meetings and so on, the UDF will overcome all attempts by the enemy to wipe it out of existence. Practice has more than amply demonstrated that the struggling masses of our country need the UDF as an instrument to maintain, advance and deepen our united action.

Tribute to Heroes, Leaders and Martyrs

We salute all its leaders, its affiliated organisations, its members and its followers. We hail all those of its leaders and activists who are in prison and those who are facing trumped-up charges which include treason, murder and public violence. We call on our people to stand by these patriots.

We pay homage to the outstanding leaders and others of our people who were murdered this past year by the death squads, the army, the police and the hangmen of the apartheid regime. Among these are Victoria Mxenge, Matthew Goniwe, Andries Raditsela, Ben Moloise, Samuel



Martha Mahlangu, mother of Solomon Mahlangu appeals for the "mothers of the country to unite" at the funeral of the victims of the Mamelodi massacre.

Tshikudo, Bathandwa Nondo, Mohammed-Allie Razak, Mita Ngobeni, Siphon Mutsi, Ian Zamisa, Nelly Madonsela, Lizo Ngcana, Daniel Mabenyane, Mandlenkosi Kratshi, Ivan Langenhoven, Ngoako Ramalepe and Kenneth Letlatla. Their example of selfless service to the revolution will live on, inspiring us to intensify the struggle until victory. Those who assassinated them will be brought to book.

We shall not forget those who have disappeared and have so far not been accounted for. Neither shall we forget the patriots such as Thami Mnyeje, George Phahle, Nomkhosi Mini, Jackie Quinn and Leon Meyer and others who were murdered in Maseru and Gaborone. The names of Molly Blackburn and Brian Bishop will also be inscribed on the roll of honour.

In the light of the situation which obtains in our country today, the religious community has an immense and urgent responsibility to act in defence of life itself, and accordingly, to fight for justice and peace. Inspired by their own faiths, this important sector among our people must further enhance its contribution to the struggle to end the apartheid system and to create a society in which the right to life will be respected.

At this point, we would also like to pay special tribute to the women of Mamelodi, both as a par-

ticular detachment of the democratic women's movement and as a force exemplifying the courage and determination of the hundreds and thousands of women who have stood at the centre of our mass struggles this past year, throughout the country.

The response of the apartheid regime to the peaceful march of the women of Mamelodi, which ended in a massacre, illustrates the fear that this regime has of the united offensive of the oppressed and exploited women of our country. This year we are observing the 30th anniversary of the historic women's march on Pretoria, an event which lives on as a source of great inspiration to all our struggling people. It will be the task of our womenfolk to emulate the example we set ourselves three decades ago and last year, to unite and fearlessly join the mass offensive against the Botha regime in even greater numbers. We should also continue to work for the formation of a national women's organisation.

Rooted Among the Masses

During the momentous Year of the Cadre that has just passed we have also produced new organisational formations and adopted new forms of struggle in keeping with the heightened pace of our revolution. We refer here to the mass combat units that we have formed to carry out various tasks, including those related to the destruction of the organs of government of the apartheid regime and to making the country ungovernable. We refer also to the measures we have taken, among other things, to protect our leaders and to maintain revolutionary law and order in various localities throughout the country.

It is fitting that these developments have taken place during the Year of the Cadre and in keeping with perspectives that your movement, the ANC, put forward for that year. Our struggle has gained enormously by the emergence of these collectives of revolutionary cadres, which are organised, rooted among the masses, ready to pay the supreme sacrifice if necessary, committed to the perspectives of our movement as a whole and loyal to the leadership of that movement.

We salute all members of these combat units and commend them for the courageous and disciplined manner in which they have carried out their tasks. We urge the masses of our peo-

ple to persist in the positions they have taken, of giving both the necessary protection to these units and the co-operation which the further advancement of our struggle demands.

People's War

While it is true that we have lost many cadres in the confrontation with the forces of repression, qualitatively, victory on the military front belongs not to the enemy but to the people. This is so exactly because in the face of the harshest enemy repression, we have succeeded both to intensify our military offensive and to enlarge the popular forces inside our country, organised to wage the struggle arms in hand.

This past year we made significant strides towards the transformation of our armed confrontation with the apartheid regime into a people's war. Of crucial importance in this regard has been the creation of mass insurrectionary zones in many parts of our country, areas where the masses of the people are not only active, but are also ready in their hundreds of thousands to assault the enemy for the seizure of power.

At the same time, we have seen how the apartheid regime, intent on maintaining itself in power at all costs, has sent into our townships White soldiers and police, as well as Black mercenaries, with orders to murder, rape and destroy at will — shooting infants, raping young girls and going on a crazed orgy of blood-letting. This is precisely the reason why the fascist Botha-Malan-Coetzee regime must be swept off the surface of the earth, and our country transformed into a democratic, non-racial and peaceful entity. Therefore we must fight. We must organise and arm ourselves to fight harder and better for the overthrow of the apartheid regime.

Accordingly, an urgent task we face this year is the rapid expansion and extensive activation of Umkhonto we Sizwe within the country, drawing in the millions of our people into combat. Building from what we achieved last year, we must prepare for and conduct people's war, with the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, heading our mass military offensive. We have to increase greatly the number of guerrilla units of MK, as well as the mass combat units. We must further strengthen the links between the guerrilla and combat units in order to build a vast army that can carry out both offensive and defensive tasks.

We must draw on the resolve of our people in the mass insurrectionary zones to build up this force while working to ensure that these zones multiply in number to cover our country in its entirety.

To retain the strategic initiative, apart from confronting the army of occupation in our areas, it is essential that we carry and extend our offensive beyond our township borders into other areas, with even greater determination. We also need to mount a continuous assault on the economy, to deny the enemy the material base which gives it the means to conduct its campaign of terror, both inside and outside our country.

Attack, Advance:

Give the Enemy No Quarter

The charge we give to Umkhonto we Sizwe and to the masses of our people is: attack, advance, give the enemy no quarter — an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth!

Once more, we call on our White compatriots, and especially the youth, to break ranks with the apartheid system, to refuse to serve in its armed forces and no longer to mortgage their future to a racist system that is doomed to destruction. We call on them to win their place in the future democratic South Africa by joining the struggle to turn that future into reality. The business community must stop producing weapons that are used to murder our people. Together, Black and White, we will destroy the monstrous apartheid regime and, as equals, rebuild our country for the benefit of all its citizens. The time has come that our White compatriots should join the mass democratic struggle in their millions. The crisis in our country does not permit of onlookers.

Those among the Black people who have been dragooned or bought to serve in the armed forces of the enemy should refuse to offer themselves as cannon fodder, as assassins in the pay of a regime which holds them and their people in contempt. To these we say, prepare to turn your guns against the common enemy of the people. When the bells of victory toll, you too must be counted among the liberators of your country.

Political and Military Offensive

The combined mass political and military offensive that we must conduct this year at a heightened level and in a systematic manner requires of us all to continue to work even harder to realise the tasks that we set ourselves during the Year

of the Cadre. Of particular importance in this regard is the task, as we said last year, of building a strong underground presence of well-organised revolutionary cadres, drawn from the fighting masses and integrated among them. We must continue to strengthen and expand the underground structures of the ANC, ensuring the active presence of our movement everywhere in the country.

As part of our all-round preparation for the days ahead, as you know, your vanguard movement, the ANC, held its historic Second National Consultative Conference. That Conference consolidated our unity as never before and clearly pointed the way forward to victory. Its results constituted a decisive defeat for the enemy which had hoped that at the end of the day our movement would be paralysed by internal disputes and endless power struggles. It reinforced the ability of your movement to march at the head of the millions of our people, for a decisive assault on the apartheid regime of terror, to dislodge it and transfer power to the people.

The delegates endorsed the fundamental perspective of our revolution: that the key factor for victory is the political mobilisation and organisation of all the oppressed and exploited — in particular the working class. Taking into account the balance of forces in our situation, the intransigence of the White ruling clique and the violent nature of the apartheid system, Conference underlined the need and urgency of intensifying and transforming the armed struggle into a real people's war.

Our strategy therefore is one that must combine a heightened mass political advance on all fronts and an escalated and resolute military offensive. This was the spirit that dominated our conference! This is the order of the day!

Our Purpose Unchanged

It will therefore be clear that the strategic and tactical thinking and approach of our movement has not shifted, nor are there any fundamental developments in our situation that warrant any change. This restatement of our position is done primarily to clear rumours circulating that the ANC and the Botha regime are holding secret talks. As yet there have been no such talks.

There can be no negotiated settlement of the South African question while the Botha regime continues to imprison our leaders and refuses to

acknowledge that South Africa must become an undivided, democratic and non-racial country. It is today abundantly clear to all who look at our situation soberly that apartheid has proved to be a national disaster. The Pretoria regime does not want to accept this fact. It is dead set against the emergence of a fundamentally new social and political system in our country. These positions are the cause of the growing confrontation in South Africa which will not cease until our country does indeed belong to all who live in it, Black and White.

We are convinced that all those who are opposed to racism and apartheid must act together to end White minority rule. In this regard, the ANC will continue to encourage individuals and groups within our country to contribute what they can towards the victory of the democratic struggle. It is with this view in mind that we have met and will continue to meet various people, including business people, politicians, trade unionists, religious people, to encourage the broadest possible united offensive against the apartheid system.

Passes Must Go

The time has come that, as part of our mass offensive to make apartheid unworkable, once more, we boldly confront the issue of that badge of slavery — the pass laws. We support the demand made inside the country that passes must go, now! To this day, as we all know, these remain one of the principal means by which the Botha regime governs us, the methods it uses to decide who we are, where we shall live and work, what the future of unborn generations shall be. The time has come that we should say, "No longer shall we allow ourselves to be given special labels in the country of our birth."

The cry must ring out through the length and breadth of our country this year — away with passes! By destroying this badge of slavery and humiliation, we shall free ourselves of this intolerable burden of oppression and thus move further forward to our goal of making apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable.

This is an immense offensive which must spread to every corner of our country, encompassing cities, towns and the countryside. It must involve both men and women alike and produce the most formidable, united and sustained mass action to destroy once and for all the pass laws,

influx control and our forcible removal to the Bantustans.

We must not be misled by the enemy's promise to abolish influx control and introduce what it calls positive urbanisation. Nor must we be taken in by promises of a so-called common citizenship. The Botha regime has no intention whatsoever to see the Black majority live in our country as equals with our White compatriots. As far as this regime is concerned South Africa will never belong to all who live in it, Black and White.

Of late, the White business community has also been very loud in demanding change. We call on them to join this mighty anti-pass campaign. They themselves must stop demanding passes from the African workers. Neither should they take advantage of the migrant labour system to victimise the workers. Rather they should work for the immediate abolition of this criminal system. Words are no longer sufficient. Now is the time for action. No more passes! Away with this badge of slavery.

We need also to extend that spirit of defiance to other areas of struggle. To maintain the offensive, we have to address with maximum vigour the entire issue of the enemy's attempts to suppress the democratic movement.

Release All Political Prisoners and Detainees Unconditionally

During this past year, we sharply escalated our offensive on this front. Many of those detained went on hunger strike, demanding an end to their illegal imprisonment. Mass meetings and demonstrations took place calling for the release of detainees and political prisoners. Our people in the Western Cape mobilised themselves in their thousands to march on Pollsmoor Prison backing up the universal demand for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

The challenges facing us are indeed considerable. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Harry Gwala and others of our leaders are still in prison, held there by a regime which seems determined to keep them under lock and key permanently in defiance of the international community.

Yet others of our leaders and activists are facing various charges. Thousands have been con-



Eastern Cape youth in uniform, Molly Blackburn's funeral, January 1986.

victed illegally and are now enduring the brutality of living in the enemy's dungeons. Unknown numbers are held under the emergency regulations and the so-called Internal Security Act.

This year we must take up the campaign with greater vigour than before — for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, for the immediate release of all detainees, the lifting of bans on individuals and organisations, including Cosas, the termination of all treason and other political trials, the lifting of the state of emergency, the scrapping of all repressive legislation and the withdrawal of all troops and police from the townships.

We know that the enemy will not listen to any appeals we make on any of these questions. We have no alternative but to resort to meaningful action to advance our demands. We have already tested the consumer boycott weapon and need to use it with even greater effect to halt the murderous and repressive rampage of the Pretoria regime.

Building People's Power

In a heroic struggle, we have virtually lifted the ban on our vanguard movement, the ANC. We did not ask for the permission of the enemy to unfurl and raise the people's flag. We did not seek Pretoria's consent when we decided to speak openly in support of our genuine leaders.

Equally, to succeed in our campaign to challenge the enemy's repressive onslaught, we need the same daring. Whereas the enemy seeks at all times to impose on us a fascist legality, we must impose on our country our own popular legality. We are the alternative power. As such, we pursue goals and share aspirations that are diametrically opposed to those of the oppressive White minority regime and must ensure that our will, as that alternative power, prevails.

Proceeding from those positions we must use everything in our power to fight and defeat the enemy's campaign of repression, recognising that the edicts that emanate from the illegitimate apartheid regime are themselves illegal acts of banditry, carried out as part of the continuing

commission of a crime against humanity. In action and through action we must compel the regime to end repression now.

In some areas of our country, having destroyed the puppet organs of government imposed on us by the apartheid regime, we have reached the situation where even the enemy has to deal with the democratic forces as the legitimate representatives of the people. The establishment of people's power in these areas, however rudimentary and precarious, is of great significance for the further advancement of our struggle.

In the past, as part of our rejection of the apartheid community councils, management and local authority committees, we correctly put forward the demand for democratic, non-racial municipal councils. We must take up this demand once more. In many townships, we have abolished the puppet institutions through struggle. These victories must be consolidated by democratising the whole system of local government. For every town and every city, there must be one local authority, elected by all residents, both Black and White, on the basis of one person one vote. We shall have to engage in struggle to achieve this goal and will have to consider such actions as a national rent strike in our programme of action.

Destroy Apartheid Structures

The Botha regime is set to introduce what it calls Regional Service Councils. This is yet another attempt to refine and entrench the apartheid system. Furthermore, the issue which these Councils are meant to address, namely the provision of 'services' to all the group areas in each urban centre, does not answer the primary question of the right of all residents to exercise political control over their towns and cities as a whole. We are not fighting and are not dying in order to have a better system of waste disposal. We are engaged in struggle for the inalienable right to govern our country in all its parts.

We can no longer accept the situation in which we exist in the urban townships as suppliers of labour to the White areas with no access to the wealth that we create and which goes to enrich and improve the White areas of our towns and cities. In this regard, we should take the occasion of the centenary of the city of Johannesburg, which falls this year, as one for the most determined offensive to ensure that the political situation changes in this prime example of the iniqui-

ty of the system of colonial and racist rule.

White South Africa feels it has every right to celebrate this centenary. We, on the other hand, confined in Black ghettos on the periphery of the city, have nothing to celebrate. We can no longer tolerate the situation in which we have no control over the city which we have built with our bare hands for a century. After a century of exclusion, let us begin a new era of democratic control of Johannesburg and all other urban areas of our country. In this way, we will proceed from people's power in the Black areas to people's power over the entire municipal areas where we live.

We call on all our White compatriots in these areas to join this struggle. They too must participate in the offensive to abolish the apartheid institutions in the White areas once and for all. It is not sufficient merely to call for the abolition of the Group Areas, Separate Amenities and other acts. Now is the time to take action to realise the objectives of one democratic council for each municipality, elected on the basis of one person one vote.

The Land Belongs to the People

Our mass political offensive must of necessity also succeed to draw in the millions of our people in the countryside, both inside and outside the Bantustans. It is clear that, relative to the situation in the past, we have made considerable progress in mobilising and organising the people in the countryside.

This has resulted in our people in some of these areas joining the mass offensive during this past year. They did so in such numbers that even leading spokesmen of the Pretoria regime expressed concern at the level of activation of these oppressed masses. In addition, the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has taken the armed struggle both into the Bantustans and into the enemy rural military zones, striking blows that have worried the enemy and its puppets.

Much organisational and mobilisation work still needs to be done in these areas, raising to the fore such questions as the need to destroy the oppressive Bantustan system, to rise up against the blood-sucking White soldier-farmers and to address the central task of the landless masses seizing the land which rightfully belongs to them.

Thanks to our consistent opposition, the enemy now knows that it cannot even pretend that it will

be able to maintain the Bantustan system. Hence Botha now talks of a common citizenship. It should therefore now be more than clear to those of our compatriots who may have been duped or bribed or persuaded to accept the Bantustans that the destruction of these criminal institutions is only a matter of time. They should consider whether the time has not come for them to join the masses of the people to destroy this system and regain their honour as patriots and their dignity as men and women of principle.

The planned so-called independence of the KwaNdebele Bantustan constitutes a grievous offence against our entire people, as does the Bantustan system as a whole. Our people, across the length and breadth of our country, must unite to fight against the imposition of this Bantustan on us. We salute our struggling people in this area and urge them to fight on to defeat the enemy's intentions of further entrenching the apartheid system.

Emulate Moshoeshoe

This year, we shall be observing the bicentenary of the birth of that outstanding African statesman, King Moshoeshoe I. It would be well that those who consider themselves leaders of our people should seek to emulate Moshoeshoe's example. Thus they should strive to unite the African people and not divide them, work to satisfy the aspirations of the people and not betray them, fight arms in hand in defence of the interests of the masses and when necessary negotiate as genuine representatives of the people and not as beggars at the master's table.

Today, the voice of Moshoeshoe is calling on us to unite. The enemy is busy trying to set African against African, and Black people against one another. It continuously seeks to impart racial and tribal connotations to the many conflicts that are a direct result of the apartheid system. The Pretoria regime not only hopes to slow down our struggle but also to demonstrate that we are different peoples who cannot live together in peace. The racists want to prove that we have to be separated into different racial and tribal compartments, controlled and presided over by the White minority regime.

We have to defeat these enemy schemes, resist all provocations and unite in the common struggle to liberate our country from racist rule. As

Moshoeshoe foresaw, our strength lies in our unity. We must guard that unity like the apple of our eye.

The World Supports Our Struggle

Our movement and our struggle enjoy enormous world support. During the Year of the Cadre the international movement of solidarity with our fighting people grew by leaps and bounds. In this area we can also say that the apartheid regime has lost the strategic initiative. No longer can it even hope to hold its ground, let alone secure new gains for the apartheid system. So desperate has its situation become that even those whom it counts as its natural allies have begun to distance themselves from the regime of murderers and to seek out the genuine representatives of our people.

At the same time, throughout the world, ordinary men and women inspired by our own struggle are carrying out new initiatives to isolate apartheid South Africa and to extend political and material support to the ANC and the struggling masses of our country. Accordingly, this past year we have seen the inspiring upsurge of the solidarity movement in the United States under the leadership of the Free South Africa Movement, the imposition of sanctions by the international trade union movement in such countries as New Zealand, Australia, Sudan, Scandinavia, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere, trade union decisions to enforce the oil embargo, the resurgence of the international consumer boycott campaign and many other actions, in support of our struggle.

We have scored other important gains in the campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa. Many governments have taken various steps in this direction however limited at this stage. The refusal of the banks to roll over their loans to South Africa is an important victory of our struggle which has contributed to the further deepening of the crisis of the apartheid regime.

Much remains to be done further to expand international action and to compel the governments of the major Western powers to heed public opinion in their own countries and internationally and impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The more we act to liberate ourselves, the more resolute international action will become. It is therefore our task both to intensify the struggle inside our country and

to work with the world community further to arouse world opinion in favour of our cause.

Once more, we extend special greetings to our comrades-in-arms in SWAPO as well as the Namibian people as a whole. Locked as we are in a common battle against a common enemy, we shall continue to rely on our bonds of solidarity as an important factor inspiring our own actions. The struggle to achieve the immediate and genuine independence of Namibia is at the same time an important contribution towards our own liberation. Together we will win.

Front Line States Stand Firm

We have continued to derive great inspiration and encouragement from the principled and unflinching stand taken by the Frontline States as well as the Kingdom of Lesotho and Swaziland. These countries have stood firm in the face of growing threats and actual acts of aggression and destabilisation carried out by the Pretoria regime against them.

The people of Namibia and South Africa share a common destiny with these states and peoples. In pursuit of the common cause, we are committed to rid our continent of the apartheid monster, through struggle, and to help transform our region into a zone of peace.

We take this opportunity to salute our friends throughout the world, in Africa, Asia, Latin America, in the socialist countries, in Europe and North America.

We greet also the PLO and the Palestinian people, the Saharaoui Arab Democratic Republic, the Farabundi Marti of El Salvador, Fretilin of East Timor as well as the embattled people of Nicaragua and the progressive forces organised in the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

To all the forces, to the nations organised in the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations, we, the people of South Africa, pledge, during this International Year of Peace, that we shall discharge our historic responsibility to end the apartheid crime against humanity once and for all. With your support, we will achieve this goal sooner rather than later and with less bloodshed and destruction.

1986: The Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the People's Army

This year we shall be observing the 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising and the 25th anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe. These are events of historic importance in our struggle. They both emphasise the need for us to meet the repressive violence of the apartheid regime and the apartheid system with our own armed resistance. The continuing stubbornness of the racist regime and its resort to ever greater and more brutal violence has made it a matter of extreme urgency that we launch a most determined military offensive.

To help concentrate our creative energies on the attainment of this goal and in the name of the National Executive Committee of your organisation, the ANC, we declare 1986 the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the People's Army! Let this Year of the People's Army see us engulf the apartheid system in the fires and the thunder of a people's war! Let the Year of MK see us mount a military offensive that will push the enemy into a strategic retreat! Let us use the opportunities that this Year gives us to replace each combatant who fell last year with a hundred more, and, building on our achievements, to create a formidable fighting force of the people, superior to the enemy forces because of the justice of our cause, the discipline of our combatants and the bravery and boldness of our warriors.

During the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe — The People's Army:

Let us mount a determined mass political and military offensive!

Let us retain the strategic initiative!

Let us, in struggle, shift the balance of power further in favour of the revolution!

Let us turn every corner of our country into a battlefield!

Let us weaken the enemy and prepare to seize power!

Every patriot a combatant: every combatant a patriot!

Amandla Ngawethu! Matla ke a Rona!

People's power is within our grasp!

OUR ARMED OFFENSIVE

Military Strategy in South Africa

By Mafosi Shombela.



Drawn by a Gambian artist — Tony Cissé.

An interesting debate, a discussion on the question of armed struggle in South Africa, has been continuing for quite a long time among the cadres of our movement and even in the camp of our adversaries. This is not surprising, for armed struggle has assumed a central place in our endeavour to emancipate ourselves from the fascist yoke of White autocracy. Many peoples of the world who have been involved in people's wars to liberate their countries have left us with invaluable experience which must be seriously scrutinised and studied. But these struggles were taking place in somewhat different historical concrete conditions from ours. Therefore they cannot be mechanically applied to our situation.

Peculiarities of South Africa

For more than three centuries our enemy has had the monopoly of modern weapons and knowledge of modern warfare. Denial of modern military skills to Blacks has been one of the pillars of agreement between the Afrikaners and the English. As late as the sixties, the Black police were not allowed to carry firearms. Even today they carry them under the watching eyes of their White officers. So that when the Iranian patriots were talking of arming the masses, they were talking of a totally different thing

from what we were, at least at the level of detail. The immense military superiority of the enemy as compared with the Front Line States has denied us the reliable rear base which was enjoyed by all national liberation movements in Africa. This has forced us to conduct almost all military operations far away from the borders with our neighbouring countries. This carries with it obvious dangers to our cadres. Of course this does not mean that in future the enemy massed around the borders of the country and the White farmers who are intrinsically linked with the enemy security forces will be spared their lives, as we have seen in the recent land mine explosions in the Northern Transvaal. We shall come to this later.

Therefore, more than in any other case in Africa, our armed struggle relies on the support of the people who must be mobilised through vigorous, systematic and purposeful political planning. The question of good inaccessible terrain is important although not decisive. Sometimes when one raises this question one is misunderstood to be just concerned with the terrain and not the support of the people. We are not raising this question in that sense. Although the South African topography is varied and can conceal a certain number of guerrillas, it is doubtful whether there is any such terrain that can conceal guerrillas at regimental strength. This presupposes that the units based on the terrain (of course linked with the masses) must be provided with more fire power, because of their limited numerical strength, to defend themselves in case of enemy surprise attack.

This is linked with the problem of logistical supplies. The number of Whites in South Africa who regard themselves as part of the structures of colonialism and whose immediate interests they feel are objectively served by the maintenance of White

supremacy rather than its destruction, is greater than in any country in Africa. This White group forms the social base of the racist regime. Obviously we are not talking about those White patriots who have thrown in their lot behind the revolution.

Our People Are Politicised

Looking from this angle, some people might argue that armed struggle has no place in South Africa. But there are many other factors that compensate for this disadvantage. The development of the South African economic base has engendered with it the largest and most politicised class in Africa, the Black industrial proletariat. Its level of political consciousness and organisation is unprecedented in Africa. The economy rests on the labour power of the oppressed. The African National Congress and its allies have been able to arouse the masses to a level where our people do not only refuse to be ruled in the same old way, but actually refuse any enemy rule. When in South Africa one can no longer talk of children in the political sense because all our people have become political adults, then we can safely say freedom is within our grasp. The White group is no longer monolithic, as it seemed to be two decades ago.

The progressive international community with the shifting of the balance of forces in favour of the forces of national liberation, peace and social progress are squarely behind us. Even our enemy's international allies can no longer come out during the daylight and defend racist South Africa. They have been forced by the revulsion of their own people to take up certain positions, albeit insufficient, against the racist regime.

To absolutise the South African peculiarities is as dangerous as to ignore them.

Forms of Struggle

In approaching the question of armed struggle one must avoid two equally dangerous extremes. One is to absolutise armed struggle to making it the only means by which we can achieve freedom. This militaristic approach has been dealt with at length by our movement, but this does not mean it cannot surface in the future. The one extreme is to approach the armed struggle as just one of the forms of struggle in the arsenals of revolutionaries.

Once armed struggle has been adopted it begins to affect all the activities of the national liberation movement. During the Second World War the legendary J V Stalin, when addressing the Soviet people, used to start with the officers and men of the Red Army. Even when he met Roosevelt and Churchill at the Teheran Conference he brought

along his chief of operations, General Shtemenko, to keep himself briefed on the state of affairs on all fronts on a daily basis, to enable him to attend to military questions that needed his personal attention and to issue orders as the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army. Stalin was a great state and party leader but fully understood the demands of the time, that is, the fate of the Soviet Union was being decided on the battlefield. Hence he accorded special attention to the army. He cannot be accused of militarism.

Similarly our fate is being decided on the battlefield. Different forms of struggle must be coordinated and related to each other. In South Africa when calling a general strike one must take into consideration that one is doing so under the conditions of war. The preparations that go with it are somehow different from what might be needed, say, in France or Britain. Any diplomatic work which is not aimed at isolating the enemy and the promotion of the armed struggle does not meet the demands of the time. This is not a militaristic approach (a statement which is easy to utter) but the only correct, indeed, and the only way in which the question of armed struggle can be approached under the present conditions in South Africa. Then we can talk of the movement on a war footing.

Then let us look at some questions of strategic importance in relation to our military strategy. The movement has dealt with some of these questions broadly. But we need to understand the content and the meaning and the tasks they impose on each and every cadre and collective of the movement.

Political and Military Leadership

The strategy and tactics of the ANC clearly state the superiority of the political leadership over the military. It cannot be otherwise for our military line stems from our political line. It is the political leadership that, because of its tasks and place of coordinating and directing all the activities of the movement, can more ably direct the military leadership and give it its strategic tasks. It is necessary that when the political leadership takes such decisions the military should be present to influence them. Political leadership must be felt not only at the highest level but at all levels. For the political leadership to exert its influence and assert itself, it must be fully equipped with both political and military skills. Man is not born with these skills. They are developed and cultivated during the process of struggle. It means thorough training on the part of the political leadership. Without this the superiority of the political leadership will be

mechanical and rhetorical.

At times most of the efforts of the political leadership are geared towards the realisation of the military strategic goals. But military planning is a highly specialised task which needs military professionals to work on its details on a daily basis.

The political leadership, while it directs the military leadership, must avoid stifling its initiative and creativity. There is a wrong conception that those who are involved in military planning are apolitical. Such illusions in a national liberation movement can be very dangerous. All military cadres of our movement are first and foremost politicians.

The Terrain of Armed Struggle

Here we are discussing the main, not the only, terrain of armed struggle, as these two concepts are often confused to mean one and the same thing. Before choosing the main terrain of armed struggle, one must take into consideration many factors. These include the political, military, social, natural and economic factors. The argument on the choice of the main terrain, whether it should be the urban or the rural areas, usually and unjustifiably revolves only around the question of the political mobilisation of these areas, and their readiness to take up arms.

"The terrain of armed struggle is chosen for us by objective conditions, only one of which is the political significance of the urban proletariat" (Sol Dubula, *South African Communists Speak*, p.392.)

Comparatively speaking, the level of political consciousness and organisation in the urban areas is far higher than in the rural areas. In this sense, urban areas are our main political base. But, what has caused this sharp rise of political consciousness in the urban areas? True enough, the objective conditions have played a role in this. But the major role has been played by the subjective factor, our own efforts, inputs as an organisation. This very subjective factor can be created and developed in the rural areas. We should not confuse our unreadiness to go to these people, arm and lead them in the struggle, with their readiness to take up arms. The emphasis on the rural areas as the main physical terrain of armed struggle is sometimes misunderstood to mean that we are fighting a peasant war in which the leading force is not played by the working class but by the peasantry. This is not our position. The working class plays its leading role by providing and making sure that its ideological and organisational experience prevail above all others.

Where the Enemy is Weaker

The enemy's military strength in the rural areas is weaker than in the urban areas, because the strategic enemy installations are to be found in the urban areas. Therefore the survival chances of a comparatively large unit of urban guerrillas are limited. The fact that the main social base of the regime is to be found in these areas, puts our military cadres at a disadvantage from the very beginning. The main form of combat in these areas is sabotage which in any case plays an auxiliary and supportive role. Raids and ambushes can also be conducted. But given the limited numerical strength of units operating in these areas, and the enemy superiority, these operations must be conducted with terrific speed to allow operatives to disappear immediately. The capturing of enemy weapons is highly limited in these areas.

The economic infrastructure and means of communication available to the enemy in the urban areas allow it great mobility. We are not saying that there must be no operations in these areas. On the contrary the frequency and sophistication of operations in these areas must be increased if they are to meet the demands of the time.

The social composition in the rural areas shows that the vast majority of the people are Africans who have nothing to lose in the destruction of the status quo. The enemy infrastructure is not highly developed to allow it rapid deployment and mobility. The terrain allows a relatively strong guerrilla force to survive, train the people and still carry out operations. It allows a typical guerrilla mode of life, that is, cohesion, discipline, constant attack and mobility. Troop control is easier in these areas. The enemy cannot completely seal off these areas and make a house-to-house search, as it has done in the locations on several occasions.

The strength of a guerrilla force allows it to fight long-drawn-out battles and thus create greater possibilities to capture enemy weapons. We must remember that guerrillas rarely fight battles in which they are not sure of capturing weapons and replenishing their ammunition. The quantity of enemy weapons captured is a direct pointer to the level of armed struggle. Our main logistical supplies must come from the enemy. Mine warfare is adaptable in this terrain. We have seen the effects of mine warfare in the Northern Transvaal. The racist army in this area can no longer move freely as it used to. In these areas the personnel that move on transport are mainly soldiers, police and White farmers who are for all practical purposes part of the enemy security forces.

RELEASES



Nelson Mandela



Walter Sisulu



Govan Mbeki



Ahmed Kathrada



Elias Motsoaledi



Andrew Mlangeni



Raymond Mhlaba

All sentenced to imprisonment in June 1984, in Rivonia trial.



Cape Town children protest at a candlelight vigil for detainees.



ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS



Wilton Mkwayi
Sentenced with four others to life imprisonment in December 1964, under the Sabotage and Suppression of Communism Acts.



Harry Gwala
Sentenced in 1964 to 8 years on Robben Island for recruitment of MK combatants. With nine others, sentenced to life imprisonment in March 1978, under the Terrorism and Suppression of Communism Acts.



Oscar Mpetha
A veteran of the struggle. 75 years old, diabetic and in a wheelchair, sentenced to five years under the Terrorism Act in 1984, and imprisoned 1985.

In December 1985, Robert Dumisa was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment, Norbert Buthelezi to 10 years, Wilfred Maphumulo and James Maropeng to eight years each. The court found that they were members of the ANC and had trained residents of the Ingwavuma area in the use of military weapons. Vusumizi Nyawo and Dumezweni Myeni were sentenced to six years each for aiding them. Clarence 'Lucky' Payi and Sipho Xulu are still in the death cells.



LEFT: Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Committee, which campaigns for the release of all political prisoners and detainees. In 1985, over 25 000 were arrested, and 11 000 people were detained, 25% of them children.

& DETAINEES UNCONDITIONALLY

A Guerrilla Base

In most countries where people have fought successful guerrilla wars at first there was one guerrilla front in which the enemy was bled white before opening other guerrilla fronts and bases. All had one advantage which we lack in South Africa, that is, a reliable rear base. This lack has little if any relevance to the choice of rural areas as the main terrain of guerrilla warfare. It has relevance in as far as the type of the guerrilla base that has to be created and the conduct of a guerrilla unit.

"The sole question is one of adjusting survival tactics to the sort of terrain in which operations have to be conducted." (Joe Slovo, *No Middle Road*, p. 94)

Then how do we solve the problem of a guerrilla base under the South African conditions?

■ First it is necessary to achieve the maximum support of the surrounding populace. The people must act as couriers, intelligence data collectors and must provide recruits to the guerrilla unit. If members of the population are part of the guerrilla group, this gives more credibility and confidence among the people to the guerrilla unit. Without this support and participation of the people, we shall be regarded as 'terrorists,' who lack confidence in the might of the people as the makers of history.

■ Secondly, we cannot open one guerrilla base, bleed the enemy white, and only after that start to open other guerrilla bases. From the very beginning we must open as many guerrilla bases as possible to stretch and disperse the enemy forces. But we must not violate the principle of expansion with consolidation.

■ Thirdly, we cannot have a fixed permanent base for a long time. We will be forced to move from one position to another without acting as roving bands of the past peasant wars.

■ Fourthly, the operational areas must be far from the guerrilla bases.

■ Fifthly, the urban guerrillas must be active from the very beginning to disrupt enemy communication lines and to deny the enemy rapid reinforcement forces in the rural areas. Mass political struggles throughout the country will play a decisive role. The dispersed nature of guerrilla units brings us to the question of strategic command. While the army is a highly centralised institution the nature of guerrilla warfare forces us to adopt the principle of centralised strategic command and decentralised command in campaigns and battles. It is the man on the field who will take the final decisions, of

course, within the framework of the military strategic goals of the higher echelons.

"Every new form of struggle, accompanied as it is by new dangers and new sacrifices, inevitably 'disorganises' organisations which are unprepared for this new form of struggle." (V I Lenin, *Collected Works*, p.220)

This is equally true of every new level of struggle. What does this mean to us? We must clearly define our immediate, intermediate and long-term strategic goals. We must be prepared for higher stages of armed struggle. The present stage must already contain some ingredients of the next stage. We cannot wait for the new stage to come and only then begin to prepare for it.

"Military planning, as opposed to political planning, has some mechanical aspects which inevitably require certain static assumptions to be made about the future. Creating a core of trained professional armed cadres, putting them into the field with adequate logistical support, and with adequate contact to carry them through the initial period, requires long-term planning." (Joe Slovo, *No Middle Road*, p.94)

This must be a conscious activity of our movement. While all conscious activities contain some element of spontaneity, these elements must not dominate our actions. We cannot be ruled by spontaneity. We must closely monitor the enemy and know what he intends to do and counteract it. The Vietnamese used to know exactly when Yankee imperialism was to Americanise or Vietnamise the war. They were found prepared for this.

Our present military strategic line demands that we root the army among our people. At times this might be at the expense of military operations but in the long run it will pay dividends. The experience of the Soviet Union during the Second World War is very instructive. When the Wehrmacht treacherously attacked the land of Lenin in June 1941, it found the Red Army not in full combat readiness. The party, the Red Army and the Soviet people went through a humiliating period of removing people, certain units of the army and industrial plants from the west to the eastern parts of the country.

They did not throw all their armed forces against the enemy before reaching the required level of organisation and combat readiness. By the time the enemy knocked at the gates of Moscow, the Red Army was fully prepared. It turned the tables against the enemy and drove it back from Moscow to Berlin.

The war ended where it started. Had the Soviet Union lost its patience and thrown in all its unprepared armed forces from the very beginning, the history of the Second World War would be something else today.

But as a movement we are faced with the 'crisis of achievement.' We must be seen to be doing something. We cannot scale down military operations. This would be counterproductive even to our main tasks of rooting the army among the people and arousing them to higher levels of struggle. We must create special units to carry out operations throughout the country to meet the demands of the people. There must be continuity and consistency in this.

Guerrilla Warfare and Insurrection

In stating this problem we must not over-emphasise the differences between guerrilla warfare and insurrection, but emphasise how they relate to each other. In insurrection we need three main ingredients to co-exist. Firstly, there must be a strong vanguard which has won the support of the people. Secondly, there must be armed people in great numbers who are prepared to lay down their lives if need be. Thirdly, there must be a significant section of the enemy armed force who are demoralised, neutralised and ready to join the revolution.

But we need to sharpen the organised strength of the movement inside the country. We need to influence and direct all democratic formations in our country. Recently we have witnessed partial uprisings of our people in different areas. We must study this new phenomenon. But the majority of our people remain unarmed. They need to be armed with both rudimentary and modern weapons.

Although in recent times we have seen a number of enemy soldiers deserting the army, broadly speaking the SADF remains intact. While in other countries the army is composed of people whose majority are the oppressed and exploited, in South Africa the army is composed mainly of Whites, who are at present enjoying the fruits of racism. They feel they have something to defend. The racist army is the most highly mobile in Africa and to win a section of such an army is no easy task.

To demoralise, neutralise and win over a sizeable section of the racist army, it is necessary to unleash telling blows against it on the battlefield. The racist soldier must not feel secure day or night. He must see the racist regime crumbling before his own eyes. Then he will begin to vacillate, and, with correct political and propaganda work, he can join the forces of the revolution. Therefore insurrection has got an

element of accumulating forces which will burst only at the correct moment and engulf the enemy.

Military Cadre Policy

All our military strategies, campaigns, plans and battles will have to be carried out by the cadres as individuals and as a collective. Good plans and strategies without suitable cadres to implement them will remain a dead letter. The success and failure of our military strategy will depend on the military cadre policy we elaborate. The danger with the wrong cadre policy is that it does not immediately show itself. It is detected after causing some damage.

Our military cadre policy stems from our immediate military and long-term strategic goals. Our military training must be aimed at producing an all-round developed cadre. The training must simulate the real battle situation. The more sweat we lose in training, the less blood we lose in the battle, as the great General Suvorov used to put it. Our cadres must be trained in the most sophisticated weapons available, and rudimentary ones that can be home-made. We must realise that not all will lay their hands on an AK 47. We must emphasise training on enemy weapons, for in the long run we will depend on the enemy for logistical supplies. A soldier who is not sure of his weapon is defeated before the actual battle. The morale of such a soldier is questionable. Because of the character of guerrilla warfare which demands speed, walking long distances and having to carry one's belongings on one's back, scientific physical training must be emphasised.

The basic fighting unit of a guerrilla army is a squad and therefore it is necessary to develop initiative, creativity and independent thinking in the cadres without encouraging anarchy in our ranks. Military traditions, courtesy and norms must be taught. We must be proud of our army. You can tell a good soldier by the way he puts on his uniform, salutes and the way he does his march and drill. Our training must already take into consideration our long-term task of defending a free democratic South Africa. That means we must increase the number of cadres we send to military academy. While all our cadres must undergo basic general military training, we must not undermine the role of specialisation. We need experts in all fields.

Hate the Enemy

But above all we must strengthen the political base of all our military activities. Our political instructions must be aimed at developing hatred of the enemy. One of the reasons why our forefathers fought so heroically against the enemy was that they

hated the enemy. We have less reason today not to hate it. As we have stated before, our immediate strategic task is to root our army among the masses. Therefore we must not only produce military experts, but also political organisers, propagandists and agitators. Then we shall be equal to our tasks.

This brings us to the question of rear and the front. The rear needs constant feedback from the front. Otherwise the question of simulating the real battle situation in training will be impossible. Our training will be taking place in a vacuum, and will render itself useless.

The front, too, needs the feedback from the rear. It is foolish to plan operations when you are not sure of the level of the training and combat readiness in your rear and reserve. The strength of the rear lies in the strength of the front, and vice versa.

Training is not the end of the day. You can have correct training but if you have wrong deployment, that training will have been wasted. Before deploying a cadre you must correctly assess his abilities, his strong and weak points. To do this you need to stay with the comrade, discuss with him and see where he can best discharge his abilities. Deployment must take into consideration his military skills, discipline, political maturity, knowledge of the people and the terrain in which a guerrilla or a guerrilla unit must operate. The argument that there are areas from which there are no cadres within our midst means that we must perfect our recruiting policy. There is no place in South Africa which is not inhabited by the oppressed masses of our country. This cannot be left to chance.

The most difficult and testing period of a guerrilla soldier is the period between finishing his training and first engagement with the enemy. This period must not be unnecessarily prolonged. We must strive to make sure that all our military cadres receive combat experience. An army with few cadres who have combat experience will have serious problems in case of capture or death of these cadres. Taken to extremes this can bring about a division in the ranks of the guerrilla army. Cadres of the army begin to see themselves as fighters and non-fighters. The danger of personality cult emerges in this situation. This must be avoided at all cost.

The Commander

There are other tactical problems that face all guerrilla armies. One of them is where senior com-

manders must be deployed at each stage of armed struggle. Commanders carry with them a great responsibility. When everything goes according to plan, we all claim victory. But when things go wrong, it is only commanders that shoulder the blame. Maybe this is human nature. To win the confidence of the cadres, commanders must have crossed certain obstacles. They must have led their units in the battlefield. This is no populist or demagogic slogan. A commander is as good as his unit and the unit is as good as its commander. The question whether senior commanders (at national level) should be at present deployed inside the country or not must not be taken to extremes. The principle is that they must be deployed where they will better discharge their duties. If by getting inside the situation they will do this better, then let us do so. Will they be in a position to maintain constant contact with all the units inside the country? Have we created enough conditions to receive them? Who will take charge of training outside? — because we will always need this training.

This question must not be approached emotionally. If the conditions are not ready let us immediately prepare for such an eventuality. In the meantime we must give those commanders who are already inside the country greater autonomy and power to take certain decisions. Foolish is the commander who leaves his commanding post and joins his forces in the battle, and at the end of the day he finds himself having lost the troop control of his soldiers.

The problem of military strategy should not be seen as something static, but as something developing and changing. When change is needed conservatism should not stand on our way.



"TELL THE MOSLEMS I'M PROUD OF THEM,"

Says Mandela

By Farook Ali

Red checkered Palestinian scarves, chanting "Allahu Akbar" (Allah is great), defying the occupation forces, they surge forward. Where? In Beirut? No, in South Africa.

Moslems are rising in their thousands in the Western Cape to take up their role — not behind the Black people, but side by side with the rest of the oppressed. The current uprising of our people has a number of new dimensions: its intensity (in terms both of the rapidity with which events follow each other and of the extent of damage done to the system), the unity of the masses with the student community, the unqualified commitment to the liberation struggle by the Coloured community and the unity between Moslems and Christians in action.

The commitment in street battles, community organising and protest marches that the Moslems are exhibiting and the willingness of Christians to follow, and even be inspired by, the militancy of 'jihad' has broken down centuries of mistrust. Yes, they didn't only try to divide us on the basis of colour, but also on the basis of religion. And, like all their schemes, this has also come to nought.

Much of the defiance and militancy in the

Western Cape can be traced to the Moslems, but more important is the fact that this is the synthesis of revolutionary Islam and the national democratic movement in South Africa. The leaders of the Moslem community, such as Imam Hassan Solomon, Rassool and Moulana Farid Esack, were senior activists in the UDF long before they launched the most popular and progressive Moslem movement in South Africa — the Call of Islam. They make no bones about their commitment to the UDF and the Freedom Charter. The fact that the Moslem masses have so completely identified with the Call of Islam is testimony to the brilliant manner in which the UDF has always been able to interpret history correctly and to 'seize the moment.'

Islam in South Africa today means a commitment to make apartheid ungovernable, and we are going to do this side by side with our non-Moslem comrades. This, together with a commitment to the national democratic struggle, ensures that the movement amongst Moslems does not degenerate into a narrow and religiously arrogant one.

Indeed, it is only within the house of national democracy that there is room for the family of



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

Islam. The Freedom Charter's recognition of different cultural groups and the call of the UDF to people of different religious traditions to use these traditions for the destruction of racism and capitalism appeals to Moslems like nothing else in our history. It is, therefore, no small wonder that the most powerful body of the Moslems (even the government is forced to recognise it), the Moslem Judicial Council, has so completely identified with the UDF. Its chairperson, Sheikh A G Gabier, is at present being sought by the South African Gestapo and is a prominent figure at UDF rallies.

Is all this a flash in the pan? The prolonged absence of Imam Hassan and Moulana Farid from South Africa, the detention of Ibrahim Rasool (also a UDF executive member) and the submerging of Sheikh Gabier have not led to any slackening of activity. The Call of Islam newsletter comes out regularly, and the Call of Islam is as active as ever. The revolutionary fervour of the Moslems is not a phenomenon that fell from the sky and reached us via Iran. It is the result of two years of skilled work, which the Call of Islam learned from its sister organisations in the UDF, the setting up of community-based infrastructures, a newsletter with a monthly circulation of 30 000. Let the Western press talk about Cape Town resembling Beirut or Teheran (thereby also hoping to send fear down the spines of potential sympathisers) but the struggling masses of South Africa know that another nail has been driven into the coffin of racism and capitalism.

"We have arrived," says Moulana Farid, the national co-ordinator of the Call of Islam.

We have received two clear messages from two opposite quarters, which indicate just that.

A police major screamed at me when I defied his order to leave, "You Moslems are giving us a lot of trouble. We've had enough of you!" When I told this story to my congregation, someone shouted, "Tell them we're only starting!"

The second message was from the leader of the nation, Nelson Mandela. In a letter to Sheikh Gabier, he says, "Tell the Moslems that I'm proud of them."

We have arrived!

After more than four years of debate, discussions and sometimes walkouts by representatives of the workers of our country, a trade union federation has been formed. Reflecting the time in history in which it has been formed, it has come about at a great price.

The endeavours to form a federation, which started in August 1981, resulted in massive detentions, torture, banning and even forced exile of some of the leading officials of the unions involved. We saw the brutal murder of Griffiths Mxenge in 1981, whose contribution to this effort remains unforgotten. This was followed by the death in detention in 1982 of Dr Neil Aggett of the Food and Canning Workers' Union. Subsequent to that, we were to see even the barbaric murder of some of the SACTU activists, including William Khanyile in Matola in 1982, Mpongoshe in Maseru in 1982, and Vernon Nkadimeng in 1985. The persecution has culminated in treason charges laid against four senior officials of SAAWU, including the president, Thozamile Gqwetha, the general secretary, Sisa Njikelana, the treasurer, Isaac Ngcobo, and Sam Kikine.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has been born out of a cry by the masses of our people for greater unity among the oppressed. A federation whose process of formation has cost such a high price for our people is obviously welcome within the ranks of the progressive movements in our country. The formation of COSATU represents the strengthening of one of the greatest pillars of our struggle, and that is the workers' front.

A Painful Struggle for Unity

'Workers' Unity' has been the cry amongst the workers in our country since the re-emergence of independent trade unions in the early 1970s. Yet what we saw was disunity and widening divisions within trade union ranks. All this has taught us some painful lessons which we sometimes wish we had avoided.

Although the growth of trade unions and their membership had been significant during the period 1979-1985, the potential for growth of the whole movement had been seriously handicapped by division between these unions, and the lack of one federal body which would help build unity. During this period we concentrated more on our differences and sometimes exaggerated



ONE COUNTRY, ONE FEDERATION! ONE INDUSTRY, ONE UNION!

By Sipho Mila Pityana.

them. This meant that we paid very little attention to issues that mattered most, and concentrated more on defending our positions.

All this was due to a false spirit of rivalry within the labour movement. Indeed, it has delayed the potential development of the trade union movement to even greater heights. The formation of COSATU, therefore, is evidence that as workers we have reached the level of political maturity which tells us that our unity is the most important weapon in our struggle for justice, freedom and democracy.

The Principle of Non-Racism

It is in this light that the decision of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and the Azanian Congress of Trade Unions (AZACTU), to remain outside the federation, appears most regrettable. Both these organisations argue that they are strongly opposed to the principle of non-racism and subscribe to anti-racist principles. They believe that White workers should be allowed in their unions and to participate in all other structures except in the top leadership, at cen-

tral committee level. On the other hand, COSATU-affiliated unions make no exception; they believe that all members should be eligible for participation at all levels.

The problem is that CUSA and AZACTU have remained outside COSATU on a false or weak premise. This makes it imperative that every trade unionist in South Africa should work to convince them to join COSATU.

No one would disagree with them if they were opposed to a federation run like FOSATU was — that is, through the domination of the unions by White intellectuals rather than workers. COSATU advocates control of the unions by workers themselves. In a situation where the majority of workers belonging to the unions involved in COSATU is Black, it is impossible that COSATU should run the risk of being dominated or run by White workers. Some of the non-racial unions have had White officials and some have never had White officials, but none have been dominated by Whites. Many non-racial organisations, including the UDF, have never been dominated by Whites.



The time for maximum unity is now, and not later. The power base of the Nationalist Party is partly the White working class, to whom they have granted a few concessions in the form of higher wages, better working conditions and better social benefits. A greater political crisis, and an increase in economic sanctions against South Africa, have resulted in an economic crisis which will seriously affect the White workers too. In our efforts to divide and weaken the ruling class, we cannot close our option on the possibility of breaking the support of the White working class for the ruling party. In order to do this we have to open our trade unions to the workers of all races.

Debating Our Differences in One Body

Our unions should be a home for all workers opposed to apartheid and committed to freedom and justice for all the people of South Africa. As our struggle gains pace, we have to accept that we are bound together by a common enemy and a common desire for freedom and justice; we must not allow ideological differences to emerge as principles that deny us unity. We must debate our differences in one body, in this case, COSATU. CUSA and AZACTU, by right, should be in COSATU, and the task of the entire trade union movement is to make sure that they are.

Ours is unity of purpose, and that purpose is that which COSATU president, Barayi, spelt out clearly in his inaugural address. We have united in an effort to strengthen our offensive against the exploitative economic and political order in our country. In order to do this we have to ensure that we have the organisational capacity, and the majority of the workers on our side. This means that the trade union movements in our country today will be faced with a heavy task of restructuring our unions and mobilising workers into them.

The existence of different unions in one industry has made workers vulnerable to management's dirty tricks. We can cite the case of the Firestone sympathy strike in 1981, led by MACWUSA members, which was not supported by NAAWU, and the NAAWU strike in 1982 that was not supported by MACWUSA. The SAC-TU slogan states, "One Industry, One Union." It will become necessary for all unions to co-operate and to join, in good faith, these industrial unions. General workers' unions may be

necessary in those sectors which are not clearly demarcated.

Workers Should Control the Unions

One of the policies of COSATU is that unions must be controlled by the workers. Industrial organisation of politically oriented trade unions should help facilitate this objective. Greater participation of workers at all levels of our trade union structures will be guaranteed by the establishment of adequate education and training. This should be directed both at political orientation and at leadership training. Indeed, industrial organisation of our unions will help us share experiences of different regions, and thus expose the weaknesses and strengths of our organisational capacity. This will help advance to even greater levels the mobilisation of the unionised workers and to undermine such pro-government union organisations as the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA). As we will be in dynamic contact with the workers in the industry throughout the country we will be more capable of thoroughly assessing our ability to embark successfully on any campaign.

In his inaugural address, Barayi clearly emphasised the need for a great input by the workers in our struggle for liberation. For many years now the question of our participation in political struggles has been strongly debated. Even those who have in the past opposed trade union participation in political struggles have come to accept that we can no longer avoid this. They nevertheless argue that what remains debatable is the nature and the mechanism of our participation.

The formation of COSATU is a reflection of the workers' impatience with the establishment of parallel organisations. It reflects a principled desire for unity of workers under one federation and single industrial unions. It is a means of maximising the effectiveness of a united offensive against the enemy. Our effectiveness in a united federation at the work place can be seriously undermined by our divisions and disunity in the community struggles. This makes it imperative for us to seek to encourage unity in our political organisations.

COSATU and the UDF

In the debate that followed the formation of the UDF, some trade unions argued that their trade unions would not affiliate to it because some of

their members were loyal to the National Forum and others to Inkatha. The latter is not worth the credit that was granted to it by such an argument. On the other hand, when we take the National Forum into account, I believe that we should take it upon ourselves to convince them to join the other organisation and argue their ideological position from within. One of the best ways to encourage this is to take the lead and join the UDF. This will mean that, as leaders of the workers, we will have taken a principled stand that will be decisive in the strength of our offensive.

The task that faces the trade union movement in our country is not an easy one, but it is one that we can take upon our shoulders. The federation should join the UDF and encourage others to follow suit.

Although this may not be a decision of principle, I believe it is a strategically correct one. COSATU, like other trade unions, is not a working class party but a body whose membership consists of employed members of the working class. Other members of the working class are organised in their community organisations, students' movement and other such organisations. In these organisations, they are organised with the rest of the oppressed Black majority. This therefore makes it important for us to seek to strengthen these political organisations by joining them. Indeed, as members of these organisations, this enables us to exercise our influence and direct their movement. Any attempts, therefore, to form an alternative political group, or for the federation to assume an independent political role, will be divisive. Indeed, such an attempt will be inconsistent with our desire to maximise our unity on all fronts.

Some trade unionists have argued that affiliation to the UDF will sell out working class leadership to the middle classes and the 'petit bourgeois leadership' of the UDF. These, indeed, are false notions that only leave us vulnerable to the enemy offensive. As the name suggests, UDF is a federation of a wide variety of organisations whose desire is to establish a united action by all anti-apartheid forces. By its very nature, therefore, the UDF does not threaten the autonomy of any organisation. As workers, we should therefore and seek to strengthen such an organisation by joining it rather than weaken it by remaining out of it. Indeed, incidents like that of the March stayaway in Port Elizabeth —

which, though successful, caused a feud between some trade union leaders and UDF leaders — would be avoided.

Go for the Lost Ground

Today, in unity, we must go for the lost ground. A large number of important sectors of the apartheid economy remain with either an inadequately organised work force or one that is not unionised at all. Among these are primarily the transport sector (railways, harbours, airways and road transport), postal and telecommunications, motor, mining, farm and agricultural sectors. Those that are inadequately organised — such as mining, harbours and post — need to be better organised, and those that are not organised need to be unionised. Most of these, because of their importance to the South African economy, are state-owned. Attempts at organising them have been met with stiff resistance.

We have to gather our strength sufficiently to take on the regime in these areas. Multiple factors indicate that it may be advantageous for us to organise these areas. For instance, because the regime is facing a most serious political and economic crisis, its resources are stretched to the extent that it may not see the need to confront COSATU in the mobilisation of these different areas. We must take advantage of our unity, and the support that we enjoy from the international working class. In the past we have primarily concentrated our participation in political struggles in urban areas. It is about time that we take advantage of the presence within our ranks of the migrant workers. The migrant labour system does not only affect the workers but their dependents too. This makes it fundamentally important for us to accelerate the growth of the campaign against the use of migrant labour. We have already made clear in our programme that we will fight the pass laws and the homeland system, and these are consistent with a conscious effort to fight the migrant labour system. We have seen the gradual move on the part of the students in the bantustans to confront these 'homeland' leaders. All these answer the questions on the nature of our role as trade unionists in the political struggles.

Divisive Interventions

Workers' unity can be either an advantage or a liability in our struggle for liberation. In the case of COSATU, because of the quality of work in-

vested in its formation, it is an advantage to our struggle for liberation. Because of historical experiences in our struggle, we must place importance on the character of the federation. Many people who are closely following the history of the development of the trade union movement in our country will confirm the sometimes divisive intervention of some international trade unions.

□ At the time when the Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU) was at its highest peak, in the 1920s and later, Clements Kadalie toured Western Europe only to return to purge the ICU of members of the Communist Party of South Africa, and this in spite of the vital role played by these members in the building of the ICU.

□ In the mid-1950s, it took a TUC official from Britain who was touring South Africa to convince the Trades and Labour Council (TLC) to abide by South African law, which denied registration of African unions. This meant that African workers were not recognised as workers and as such had no right to belong to trade unions. This resulted in the division of the TLC into TUC-SA, which was exclusively White, and SACTU, the first non-racial trade union federation in the history of South Africa.

□ In the late 1950s an official of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) visited South Africa and urged SACTU to break its alliance with the ANC, while promising SACTU funds. On principle, SACTU turned this offer down.

□ In the 1950s the Federation of Free African Trade Unions (FOFATUSA) was formed, receiving financial support from ICFTU.

□ In 1984, when representatives of CUSA visited the USA, AFL-CIO officials lectured them on SACTU, which they called the "bomb throwers." CUSA officials had to protest against this naked "trade union imperialism."

The list goes on. At the same time, our whole historical relations with the international trade union movement has not been a negative one; on the contrary. We have enjoyed and still enjoy tremendous support from many trade unions internationally. Their actions of solidarity include:

□ The action of the USA Longshoreman's Union from San Francisco, who refused to handle South African goods in 1984,

□ The Australian dock workers who refused to

handle goods to and from South Africa following the death in detention of Lawrence Ndzanga in 1976,

□ the withdrawal by UAW Canada from a pension scheme linked with apartheid,

□ The Irish Dunne's Stores workers who refused to handle South African goods,

□ The Transport and General Workers' Union members in Southampton.

There have been others. The point is that such solidarity is better channelled by an international trade union movement that understands our position.

The Role of SACTU

A number of questions have arisen on the role of SACTU in the light of the recent formation of COSATU. The period of the banning of the ANC and the introduction of armed struggle meant the beginning of the new phase in our struggle for liberation. Indeed it meant, more than anything else, that the most important demand placed upon us was to develop very strong legal and underground complementary methods of struggle.

This strategy was born out of the historical experience of depending exclusively on the legal methods of struggle. We learned the hard way that an absolute dependence on legal methods places us at the mercy of the apartheid state. Our organisations are vulnerable to a ban by the state; our work can be restricted by the different laws of the racist regime; our leadership is vulnerable to harassment in many forms. Under the circumstances, our ability to be an effective trade union movement becomes extremely limited.

On the other hand, functioning as an exclusively underground movement has its own limitations. SACTU, in recognition of this fact, played an indelible role in the formation of COSATU. Indeed, some people are already attempting to argue that the international trade union movement should seek to support COSATU, as opposed to SACTU.

This is a false premise to start from in our attempts to understand the nature of the trade union movement in South Africa. Support for COSATU is support for SACTU, and vice versa, because these two organisations are not competing, but complementing each other. This is not a formal relationship, but it is one that is

recognised by South African workers.

Evidence of this recognition was the celebration of the 30th anniversary of SACTU in March 1985, by thousands of workers across the country. There was the defiant wearing of T-shirts with a SACTU emblem at the inaugural rally of COSATU and during township funerals. Even greater evidence is the way in which trade unionists and workers have defended SACTU from attacks by some reactionary trade unionists from certain countries.

Conditions that necessitated the adoption of such methods of struggle have not changed. What has changed, though, is the balance of forces in favour of the forces of liberation. The formation of COSATU represents the strengthening of the legal, above-ground, structures of the trade union movement. While the majority of the working class of our country recognise this relationship, some imperialist forces and armchair revolutionaries are seeking to undermine it. They do this in order to help develop an alternative force to the ANC, the leading force in our liberation

While the formation of COSATU was acclaimed the world over, some South African newspapers chose to play down the significance of its founding conference. Three journalists on the *Daily News* resigned in protest at the way their stories were distorted or ignored by the editor.

The *Daily News* preferred to publish a 'girlie' picture rather than a record of the historic launch of COSATU, which was taking place in Durban, where the *Daily News* is published. The editor felt he had given 'fair and adequate' coverage to the event by featuring an attack on COSATU by Gatsha Buthelezi, of the ZwaZulu bantustan, while refusing to allow the workers any right of reply.

It's not surprising, considering that most of the newspapers in South Africa are owned by the mining companies or the Nationalist Party.

struggle. They know that Gatsha Buthelezi is not a credible leader to be a suitable alternative. We, as a people conscious of such endeavours, will spare no effort in frustrating their success.

In this year of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the people's army, greater responsibilities have been placed upon us. The first and the most supreme is to ensure that 1986 indeed does become the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe. We will do this by being part of a wider movement, dedicated to the formation of branch and regional committees, people's militias for defence and ultimately for attack against the enemy. In this year, it is imperative upon us as a working class to lead consumer boycotts, stayaways and even general strikes. In order to do this, we have to be a tightly organised movement. The time is now, for us to put into practice our commitment to participation in political struggles. Let us seize this opportunity to demonstrate that, as workers, we recognise that we are part of a wider oppressed people, and together we will act to crush apartheid.



Mine worker assaulted by police, 1985.

STRUGGLE FOR LIFE

Health in a Liberated South Africa

By Dr B Stevens

The mystification of medical skills, particularly by doctors, has restricted their practice in South Africa to a small number of White 'experts', reinforcing apartheid ideology and the dependency of the masses.

However, since the start of the current uprisings over a year ago there have been many reports of people suffering anything from gunshot, birdshot or 'rubber' bullet wounds to sjambok injuries and tear-gassing, too afraid to seek treatment in hospital because the hospitals are handing them over to the police and the army. People with serious injuries have been driven 150 miles away to other hospitals to receive attention, while others have been smuggled into hospital past the police in the admission rooms. Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash reported that after the Uitenhage massacre local residents operated on each other with kitchen knives to remove bullets, and then waited for the wound to fester before going to hospital.

It is no surprise that our people are turning away from the state health services and relying increasingly on their own resources and initiatives for health care. A whole variety of different self-help schemes has been organised in different parts of the country to meet local health needs. These include maternal and child care, nutrition, immunisation, training of village health workers, first aid, contraception and others. Child-minders in Alexandra township are organising themselves and learning about nutrition, general hygiene and immunisation, the managing of such common conditions as diarrhoea, and providing a more stimulating environment for the children under their care.

Community Initiatives

In the townships disabled people are forming their own organisations to struggle against the disabilities imposed on them by apartheid socie-

ty. In Soweto one organisation of disabled people, as well as making information available to its members, is also, significantly, involved in providing employment for them, recognising the crucial link and common alienation between unemployment and disability.

The community organisations are taking up the issue of health and providing a service to local residents never available from the state health service. A big health screening programme of pre-school children was recently undertaken in one of the Rand townships, gathering information on their health status and related questions such as housing, rent and so on. Such campaigns attest to the growing power of the popular organisations, which, by organising around the potent issue of health, strengthen themselves still further.

Progressive-minded professionals have set up the National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA), a UDF affiliate, whose primary aim is "to promote the attainment of health for all within a unitary, democratic South African state." NAMDA policy includes, "supporting the establishment of a national occupational health service to protect and care for the nation's workers in the urban and rural areas", "actively encouraging community and workers' participation in all aspects of health" and "promoting and practising comprehensive health care emphasising both preventive and curative health care."

Health workers are organising themselves into trade unions like the recently formed Black Health and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (BHAWUSA), whose aims include "a fair share of the country's health for all workers." At its first annual conference last year BHAWU discussed such issues as the education of all health workers, establishing links with other progressive trade unions, the struggle to establish a relevant and equitable health service, and the struggle for a democratic and just society in South

Africa. Individuals and organisations are turning to both BHAWU and NAMDA for assistance in health campaigns and projects.

In the past year there have been significant strikes at Groote Schuur and Baragwanath Hospitals, both involving hundreds of ancillary health workers, joined by others, taking militant action over the abysmal pay and conditions in the hospitals.

Emergency Care in the Townships

In the current state of rebellion in the townships, while leaflets are circulating about how to make home-made explosives, advice is also being made available about how to defend oneself and other comrades in a tear-gas attack, to minimise its effects. Thus, while the regime uses health knowledge for repression, for the people it can be a weapon of liberation. In the hospitals there are moves to resist and oppose the abuse of patients, such as their removal from hospital by the police. There are also efforts to document and publish the nature and extent of the atrocities against the people, and attempts to train local residents in first aid and emergency treatment of bullet wounds, tear-gas injuries and burns, etc. Health workers and the community organisations are together also organising independent emergency services in the townships to give sympathetic and appropriate treatment to unrest victims.

The sphere of occupational health is another vital area of health-related struggles. Arising out of the enormous numbers of industrial accidents and the epidemic amongst workers of occupationally-induced disease, concern for health and safety, as well as compensation, has always been high on the agenda for workers, and brings them into direct conflict with the bosses.

The enormous growth of the trade union movement in recent years gives workers the power to challenge the appalling levels of health and safety at work as well as the iniquitous system of compensation for illness, injury and loss of life.

Health Charter

The aims and policies of organisations of health workers point to a clear understanding of the root causes of ill-health in our society, and to the fact that their elimination and the setting up of a health service which will truly serve the people depend upon a just economic, political and social order. Inspired by the Freedom Charter, efforts are being made to draw up a "Health Charter," laying down the people's aspirations for health and the principles of a free universal health care system for all our people.

All these developments show that not only is health an arena of struggle but that health struggles have made significant material and ideological gains. In a number of different spheres, the masses are beginning to meet their own health needs, while the scope of some campaigns being undertaken is tremendously encouraging. No longer are our people willing to remain passive victims, totally dependent for health care on the never-present benevolence of the racist colonial health services. The masses are literally taking back their health, usurped for so long by the White minority, and as their self-reliance in health grows, so the myth is shattered that medicine and health care in general can only be practised by experts and professionals. And, as this process deepens, so that old rotting structure of apartheid health care will give way and collapse, crushing the parasites within who feed off our oppression. Truly, there is a health revolution being waged in our country.

"A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

"Free medical care with hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

"The aged, the orphans, the disabled, and the sick shall be cared for by the state."

Freedom Charter

The Role of the ANC — With the People

This is where we must be, with the people at all times in the many health struggles being waged. We must be with the mothers organising their own maternity care, encouraging their efforts to be self-reliant. We must join in the training of village health workers in the rural areas, offering expertise and support. We must support the efforts of township residents and participate in the setting up of emergency first-aid clinics during the uprisings. This will demand our increasing attention in the future, as the war of liberation intensifies — we have the expertise to provide technical assistance as well as information in the form of leaflets, manuals for instruction, and so on, on this and in many other practical areas. We must defend our health worker comrades who are victimised for their political activity or for challenging apartheid health care.

We must also involve ourselves in the efforts of trade unions to organise around the issues of health and safety, perhaps encouraging 'medics' to be designated from among the membership to concentrate on the issue of occupational health. And similarly we must take part in the community health struggles and those waged by the progressive health organisations, as well as in the ideological health struggle, charting the way forward for the future health service of South Africa.

The Health Needs of the ANC

■ *Umkhonto We Sizwe*: As the immediate objective of our revolution is the armed seizure of power, the heroic combatants of our people's army must receive priority. We must ensure that our MK cadres remain as fit and healthy as possible, that our army is not weakened unnecessarily by illness or injury. With adequate health care provision not only will the tasks of MK not be held up by minor illness or injury, but also precious life and limb will be saved. Health training given to MK comrades will also help win over the local population to the ANC — MK will be seen as a provider of health care as well as the spearhead of the armed struggle.

■ *External Missions and Front Line States*: Another priority is the provision of health care to our comrades working in the external missions, particularly in the Front Line States. Problems of a physical and psychological

nature will arise, and our Health Department must develop programmes to cope with both. It goes without saying that the leadership of our movement based in the Front Line States must also remain in the best possible health. In addition, our communities at SOMAFCO and Dakawa are large and growing, many among them being women and young children. They, too, require health personnel and materials on an ongoing basis, with special attention to maternal and child health.

To this end, it is vitally important that we organise, mobilising the personnel and resources required to meet our health needs. How we do this, that is, the structure of the health service we set up and the approach to health care we adopt, has implications not only for the success of this task, but also for our work health struggles within South Africa at the present time and for future health care in our country after liberation.

Future Health Care In a Liberated South Africa.

Out of the health struggle now being waged, one sees the beginnings of the new future health system in our country — a democratic, anti-elitist, participatory health service, the fundamental consideration of which is the health needs of the masses. If we are to guarantee the establishment of such a health service after liberation, we must ensure that those in the forefront of health struggles at the present time become the leading personnel in the future health service of South Africa. This is crucial to the building of a people's health service. It is vital therefore that these health fighters are won over to the ANC, and we identify ourselves clearly with them in the struggle for health. This we can only do if we ourselves are involved, standing with these comrades, together confronting the fascist health care of the regime and together laying the foundations for people's health.

Now the way we meet the health needs of the ANC at the present time must take this into account — provision must not only be adequate but also along lines which will facilitate our effective involvement in health struggles inside South Africa. "Health personnel must of necessity be politicians," said our Secretary-General, Comrade Alfred Nzo, at a conference on apartheid and health. "... promoting people's health is

essentially a political task ... we are convinced that health development cannot be left in the hands of apolitical technocrats alone." Comrade Nzo further stated: "the real causes of ill-health ... cannot be solved for the underprivileged majority by a privileged minority which has no practical knowledge of the health needs drawn from the daily experiences of those for whom they are planned. Health services can only reach these communities through their popular participation, involvement and commitment. The under-served and least favoured populations have a right and a duty to participate both individually and collectively in the planning and implementation of their health care."

This is the attitude and approach which must govern the health work of the ANC, including the training of our health cadres. Without it we run the risk of divorcing ourselves from the masses and their health needs, and re-creating a professional elite. With it, however, we will successfully meet our present health needs as well as facilitate our involvement in the health struggle inside the country, which, as we have said, will help us lay the basis for the establishment of people's health.

**Forward with the ANC Department of Health!
Forward with the Liberation War!
Amandla Ngawethu!**

OBITUARY

Hamba Kahle Comrade David Rabkin

The tragic death of David Rabkin, in an accident in Angola on the night of November 22nd, 1985, is a great loss to the ANC and liberation movement. David received a hero's burial in Luanda. An armed guard of Umkhonto we Sizwe stood vigil as his coffin, draped in the flags of the ANC and SACP, was lowered into the red earth of a country he so admired. Speeches were delivered by comrades Joe Slovo and Chris Hani, attesting to David's fine qualities, outstanding courage and undying contribution. Memorial meetings also took place in South Africa and London.

David was born in Cape Town in 1948 but was educated and grew up in England after the Sharpeville massacre. He was the only son of enlightened parents who did not want their children to grow up under the evil apartheid system. In David own words, spoken in a Cape Town court many years later, he was taught at an early age:



"... to view with compassion those less privileged than myself and to respect the human dignity of all people of whatever colour."

David proved his brilliance as a scholar at Leeds University, where he gained a doctorate in literature in 1972 for a study on black South African writers. The choice of subject was an indication of his strong feeling for his South African roots, and he returned to Cape Town later that year with his English-born wife, Sue. David soon found a job on the *Cape Argus* as a reporter. On the surface David and Sue appeared to be innocent enough, even if they possessed more vitality than most white South Africans. Yet for over three years they led a complicated

double life, working in secret to produce and distribute leaflets and other literature for the ANC and Communist Party. This required great courage, nerve and practical ability as well as David's skill as a first-class writer. They worked in the underground cell with university lecturer, Jeremy Cronin. The last leaflet they managed to issue before their arrest in July 1976, entitled *Death to the Murderers of Soweto*, was filled with defiance and promises of revenge. At his trial, where he received a ten-year sentence, David made clear his belief:

"... that only the course of action laid out by the ANC and its sister organisations, including the SACP, offered the hope of releasing for the benefit of all South Africans, the energies, talents and aspirations of all our people. From the liberation of the African people, the most oppressed section of our population, would flow a just and democratic society, a South Africa that belonged to all who live in it Black and White."

The contribution that David's propaganda unit made in that pre-Soweto period was invaluable. At a time when our movement inside the country had been crippled, such leaflets as he helped write, produce and distribute were priceless. David helped build the foundation on which the ANC has become the leader of the revolutionary ferment today. In a funeral oration, Chris Hani stated that:

"We are reaping the fruits of those efforts today."

Joe Slovo similarly declared:

"If we are where we are today it is because of the likes of Dave."

David served seven years of this sentence and was released without making any deal with the system. In those years he proved himself to be as disciplined, firm and loyal to the struggle 'inside' as he had been 'outside.' He showed his irrepressible faith and optimism in the struggle when, on his release in 1983, he said in London:

"Things are now moving in South Africa. They'll never be able to push the movement back like they did in the sixties. It's still a long hard struggle, but it's an irreversible process."

Instead of opting for a comfortable and secure life in England, where a successful academic career was his for the taking, David, as he had

done in 1972, once more threw in his weight where it counted most — Southern Africa. He worked for a while as a journalist in Maputo and was due to move to Lusaka, where he would have worked full-time for the movement.

In the two short years between his prison release and his death he made a lasting impression on all he worked with. He was an outstanding revolutionary who combined qualities of modesty, discipline and self sacrifice with a brilliant intellect and exceptional grasp of theory. He had that rare gift of being able to convey complex ideas in a way understandable to all. He did not wish to be thought of only as an intellectual but also as a practical revolutionary. In this he showed a quiet bravery about which more can only be written at some future date. In his short but meaningful life he achieved a great deal as both a theorist and activist. In this respect he serves as a model and example for us all.

David leaves behind numerous writings and articles as well as some fine short stories written in prison. Most of all he leaves behind his perceptive grasp of the political process. In a stirring address to cadres in Angola on November 7th, 1985, the anniversary of the Great October Revolution, he declared:

"If we wish our revolution to mean real people's power, if we want it to bring genuine national liberation with economic and social emancipation, we must make sure that the transfer of power to the Black majority is on the basis of a mass people's rising, of new revolutionary people's organisation and of the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. That is the line of the ANC. That is why the ANC rejects negotiations. That is why the ANC in its **Call to the Nation** assigns to our people the task of setting up People's Committees to be the embryos of seeds of Peoples Power. Thus we can see that our revolution today is truly a child of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 ..."

Finally, it should be mentioned that David was a devoted family man. He adored his children, Jobe and Franny. He was a loving father, companion, brother and son. We thank that family for giving David to the struggle. We grieve with them. He will never be forgotten.

Hamba Kahle David!

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