



# MAYIBUYE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

NUMBER 6

1989-Year of Mass Action for People's Power  
Journal of the African National Congress

## VICTORY IN NAMIBIA

**Windhoek:** *One of the spontaneous motorcades to celebrate SWAPO's victory in the elections. The struggle for independence continues in the Constituent Assembly.*

(See article on Page 2)



*Conference for a Democratic Future:*

# DEFY AND DESTROY APARTHEID

**"The history of our struggle demonstrates that unity, without action is fragile and temporary. Today we will decide on a programme of action. In the course of the actions decided on, we will build a real and permanent comradeship with one another. We will become a broad people's movement. Our actions will help us mobilise people and win allies even outside this conference".**

With these words, Comrade Walter Sisulu captured both the sense of achievement and the challenges facing anti-apartheid forces. A gathering of this magnitude had been eluding us for too long. Objectively, repression made our tasks more difficult. Subjective weaknesses in organisation and education were also responsible. But today we are, effectively, defeating both.

And so representatives of millions of South Africans met. We discussed, debated and even angered one another.

But there is no doubt that many creative ideas have come out of this historic encounter. This is what makes the experience such a rich one.

The people's anger and impatience with the political order of things is manifest. Clearly, De Klerk's petty reform programme is floundering. Nay more, it is his right to rule that is at issue.

But what cannot be celebrated is the decision by the Pan-Africanist Movement to exclude itself. They advanced reasons along the trodden

path. Many who once swallowed these excuses hook, line and sinker have outgrown that stage - not least 8 NACTU affiliates and the BCM. Our sadness at this self-exclusion, small as PAM may be, is deepened by the awkward feeling that history is repeating itself - remember the 1961 All-in Africa Conference?

The success of the CDF originates not so much from skilful debates during the preparatory process. The CDF was firmly rooted in the defiance campaign, worker summits and many other actions. And it is in action that it shall bloom and bear fruit. As the Conference Declaration asserts, three central tasks face all patriots: **to resist, to defy and to actively dismantle apartheid.** The people, and not De Klerk shall deliver the goods.

**Our resistance, defiance and active dismantling of apartheid must address primarily the question of power.** Our city marches must converge on the parliament, city

**- Continued on Page 2**

councils and other apartheid organs. We must remove the stooge councils in the ghettos and create people's committees. Everywhere, people's legality must reign. The Christmas Against the Death Row campaign, worker actions and other concrete decisions must be followed up.

In militant action, we must create the conditions for the convening of a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of one-person, one-vote, to decide on the future South Africa. In other words we must fight to remove De Klerk from power, or compel him - in the process - to negotiate in good faith.

We also have to address new organisational questions: *How can the CDF lead to a structured coalition? How do we bring in more forces? What is to be done at regional level? How do we ensure that the MDM plays the role expected of it?*

We must pause and reflect. But we cannot rest until the democratic future is realised.

## Victory in Namibia: SOUTH AFRICA NEXT

**The Constituent Assembly in Namibia is in session. Colonialism is close to its shameful end.**

During the election campaign, the odds were stacked against a SWAPO victory. The liberation movement had to contend with a systematic campaign of assassinations, disruption of meetings and harassment of its members. It had to face white farmers who kept their labourers under the proverbial lock and key. The demon of ethnicism was whipped up as never before.

SWAPO had to educate a people largely illiterate, in the casting of votes. In a number of areas, false registration booths were set up, so that many found themselves unregistered on election day. SWAPO had to deal with these and many other hurdles. But SWAPO won!

The people of Namibia must be

saluted for a victory well-deserved. In our own limited way, democratic South Africans also contributed to this victory. The actions within our country, including direct assistance during election week, and the withdrawal of MK forces from Angola are some of the modest measures that we could take.

Our greatest contribution will be the crushing of apartheid within South Africa. And in this process, several lessons must be drawn from the Namibian experience:

- \* **the need to step up our all-round struggle:** It is the armed struggle, including the decisive battles in southern Angola, and the political and diplomatic work conducted by SWAPO which forced the racists to concede.

- \* **the need for people's self-defence:** Attacks against Namibian democratic forces continue to this day. An armed people, capable of overwhelming the enemy and defending the gains of the revolution is necessary all the time.

- \* **building a broad coalition:** The racists will stop at nothing to divide the people. But we must confront them with a united force of anti-apartheid fighters.

- \* **supervision of the transitional process:** a situation in which representatives of the old order have powers over other forces can only lead to subversion by the racists. It is for this reason that the OAU Declaration on SA calls for the creation of an interim government.

Debate continues to rage in the Constituent Assembly. The less patriotic seek to stall the process by opposing SWAPO's constitutional proposals based on universally-recognised principles. But try as they might, they cannot stop the groundswell towards Namibian independence.

And South Africa is next, no matter what concrete form the transfer of power takes.

### Editorial:

## SECURITY RE-ADJUSTMENTS

*Over the past few weeks, de Klerk has introduced some tactical re-adjustments within the apartheid security establishment. As has become the stock-in-trade, the dissolution of JMC's and other measures are presented as a sign of reasonableness on the part of the regime.*

*When the JMC's were established a few years ago, they were charged with the task of stamping out the revolutionary tide. However, over this period, the people and their organisations have rendered both repression and "oil-spot reform" unworkable. Mass organisation and mass action have been revived at a new level.*

*But we must not be lulled into thinking that all is over with the JMC's. De Klerk was quick to add that they were dissolved partly to ensure cost-effectiveness. In other words, counter-insurgency remains state policy. To make the system more efficient, less costly and less embarrassing are the three related considerations which guide De Klerk.*

*This applies to the cut in the term of compulsory military service. It might address the issue of releasing manpower to the economy and so on. But a programme is under way to accelerate the modernisation of armaments, including the testing of medium-range missiles. Support to bandits and mercenaries continues.*

*And it is not surprising that De Klerk has refused to set up a judicial inquiry into the operation of the police death squads. There is a limit to which he can dishonour his hired killers. He does not want to disarm himself.*

*We must beware: precisely because the regime is forced to open up legal space; precisely because it is wary to send invasion armies into the neighbouring countries; it will rely more and more on "low-intensity" repression. The rate of attempted and actual assassinations against MDM activists has increased: 10 actual between February and August, and 23 attempted between April and October.*

*We must heighten our vigilance. We must expose De Klerk's repression by stealth. At the end of the day we shall have our own Nuremberg Trial.*

# WHERE TO NOW, POLICEMAN?

The growing ferment within enemy forces has raised many practical questions which in the past could be dismissed simply as academic:

- \* what campaigns should these forces engage in;
- \* how should they relate to mass organisations and struggles; and
- \* what forms should their organisation take?

There are no ready-made answers. We must debate these issues; and in struggle find the correct approach.

Resignations within the SAP have reached the rate of 30-40 per month. Many complain about low salaries, long working hours, unfair promotion practices, discrimination in the allocation of housing subsidies and systematic oppression of women.

All these issues must be taken up by policemen and women - to secure better "working" conditions. But it should never escape our minds that it is mainly the "work" itself that is at issue. For this reason, we cannot confine activity in this sector to these grievances. This in fact could be counter-productive!

These forces must be organised and mobilised to identify with the grievances and struggles of the people. Attacks against demonstrators and strikers, harassment of the people and

gathering of information about activists and organisations must end.

Above all, they must themselves engage in mass action around their sectoral and patriotic demands, expose plans and activities of the enemy and so on. Their marches and other actions must, as much as possible, be linked with those of the masses. The communities and organisations should themselves organise special meetings and demonstrations to highlight the plight of these forces and educate them for democracy.

Therefore, their union/movement

should be broad, but have a firm patriotic and anti-apartheid content.

At a less public level, those who fully identify with the people should be drawn into more advanced work sabotaging equipment, dealing with notorious officers, providing arms and training... Clearly this is fraught with many dangers. We should be bold but also professional. The units set up for this purpose must be strictly secret. They must link up with reliable individuals and structures. In particular, they must form part of the underground structures of the ANC. But this must not deter patriots from exercising maximum initiative.



*Rockman: accepted by the people for his stand against the system*

## PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER

The Third Cosatu National Congress called for the development of the MDM composed of structures which have their base in every street, village and factory. These structures must include every section of our community and must be truly representative.

The climate for the creation of such structures is ripe. The democratic forces have gained the moral and political high ground. The regime's local representatives - the LAC's, Community Councils, CMC's, etc - have been condemned to death by the people. The regime's network of JMC's has also proved to be inca-

pable of obstructing the people's struggle - hence De Klerk's decision to downgrade them.

It is time for us to occupy the space evacuated by the fleeing enemy with our own organisations. These organisations must become the concrete expression of people's power: representing the demands of the masses and capable of defending the people.

They must be run along strict democratic principles. Actions decided upon, be it the continuation of the rent boycott or a march to the courts, must have the consent of the community. Local structures of the regime must be challenged, weakened and removed.

In their place must emerge organs of the people.

The issue of rent must be taken up more vigorously in all areas. The struggle against rent has displayed the resolution of our people to act in unison against the regime. In many instances the racists have been forced to concede to the people's demands. Street committees are the best form of organisation in fighting the rent and other community issues.

Our experience has taught us that we must be capable of defending our communities, our organisations and our leaders. To do this we will need to fortify our organisations with self-defence units (see page 10). The present wave of crimes, which is creating fear and social disharmony in our communities must be fought with the full weight of our people. Popular law and order must prevail.

# DO WE STILL NEED THE UNDERGROUND?

This is one crucial question that has been thrown up by recent developments: the release of senior political leaders, the widening legal space and the popular unbanning of people's organisations. In trying to find suitable answers to this question, we should not be carried away by "the new". Neither should we be rigid to past formulae.

It is a matter of proud record that the underground has played an important role in the revival of mass actions and mass organisations during the twilight years after the bannings of the early sixties. When the State of Emergency was at its peak it was the underground in dynamic contact with the MDM that kept the fires of struggle burning. The numerous underground leaflets, the armed actions, work within MDM structures and so on played a decisive role in resuscitating the mood of defiance among our people.

## Seizure of Power

But the underground is important not only for periods of heightened repression. Its centrality derives from much more than just sentimental attachment to history. The fundamental aim of our struggle is the seizure of power. To this end, there are many tasks that we have to undertake which cannot be carried out in the warm glare of publicity.

Seizure of power - and even genuine negotiations - require strong people's forces, both political and military. The masses must be forged into an effective fighting army.

It is the task of the underground to ensure that all mass activities are interpreted in this context. The underground must give revolutionary guidance to all forms of struggle, and ensure that everything is geared towards the goal of seizure of power. Open structures can do part of this work. But they have limitations.

To forge the people into an effective fighting army requires that the perspective of seizure of power should be put before them. The policies, strat-

egy and tactics of revolutionary struggle must be brought to the people in a direct and uncensored manner. The underground is the forum from which such work can be carried out unhindered by apartheid laws. Open structures can do part of this work. But they have limitations.

As the released leaders have stated, it is necessary for us to intensify the armed struggle. The basic reasons for its adoption remain in place. And, without a strong network for accommodation, communication, storage of weapons, material for political education and so on, it would be impossible to step up military actions.

The people have in struggle "unbanned" the movement. The released leaders are heroically speaking, without inhibition, in the name of the movement. But we must not confuse this situation with the issue of the formal unbanning of the movement. While utilising the space we have created, we must protect the movement's membership from the enemy's prying eyes. For those in the underground to surface now would amount to political suicide: to render the movement prey to arrests, surveillance, assassinations and so on.

## Counter-Offensive

Besides, we must be under no illusion that the regime will not try to marshal its forces and launch a counter-offensive. Without armed actions and general underground organisation, open mass struggles are much more vulnerable to enemy attack. This attack may take an open military form. It could also take the form of attempting to divert the

struggle into civil rights protest. At all times, the underground, in its military, propaganda and other operations, must ensure that the people do not lose sight of the strategic goal.

This does not mean that we must abandon the legal terrain which we have ourselves captured. All possible forums must be used to bring the policies of the movement to the widest spectrum of South Africans. This is what the released leaders are skilfully doing. But this activity is itself limited. Certain areas of work, for instance, training of self-defence units and combat groups cannot be done in public.

## Changing Situation

The rapidly changing situation requires a strong underground, capable of giving guidance and practical leadership to the people. It demands structures capable of taking full advantage of new strategic developments. For example, all underground structures are today most certainly seized with the issue of rapidly developing work within the enemy army and police. In the rural areas, we have to work out mature responses and guidance to new developments within some bantustan structures.

We must root all layers of the movement in every workplace, school, village, township, suburb, church... The underground must forge the people into a victorious force

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

- Give it to your friends and family ;
- Drop it in the nearby postbox or yard ;
- Stick it onto a public wall or bus shelter a night ; and
- Discuss the issues raised with the people you meet and friends

**BE CAREFUL !!**



# DE KLERK'S BIG STICK MUST BREAK

The strikes against the South African Transport services (SATS) and South African Breweries (SAB) bear important lessons for the whole democratic movement.

These strikes come at a time when De Klerk has pledged his regime to a programme of economic recovery. As always under apartheid capitalism such 'recovery programmes' are simply aimed at improving the profits of the bosses at the expense of the workers.

The railway workers went on strike after talks between SARHWU and the bosses ended in deadlock. SATS refuses to recognise the union and to even consider workers' wage demand. The bosses' response has been to sack thousands of workers and, using the state, to shoot workers in the scores. At SAB the bosses have rejected the Food and Allied Workers Union's demand for a wage increase.

## Industrial Councils

Heavy-handed tactics are also being used to weaken workers' organisations at Barlow Rand and in the pulp and paper industries. Industrial councils are under attack. Many companies refuse to negotiate on an industry-wide basis, preferring to deal with workers' structures piece-meal. Many of them rely on clauses of the Labour Relations Amendment Act to suppress workers' struggles.

The state is backing the bosses with its own campaign of repression and terror. Many marches and meetings of workers have been banned. Wanderers Street in Johannesburg was occupied by riot police to prevent a Cosatu-organised solidarity march.

The number of attempted assassinations of trade union officials has increased. Trade union offices have also been invaded: for instance, police opened fire with revolvers and shot guns inside COSATU offices in

Germiston.

This situation demands united action. And the response of our people to the SAB and SATS strikes is instructive. The SARHWU strike has received wide support. Communities are taking free rides on the trains in solidarity with the workers, reducing the coffers of SATS. As in the previous strike in 1987, several coaches have been burnt. Three explosions at SATS targets were carried out by MK operatives:



Support action for striking SAB workers has, unfortunately, not been of the same intensity. Whilst the call was heeded initially, organisations such as the National Taverners' Association and Ukhamba Liquor Association could not go all the way. This led to divisions and avoidable violence, resulting in loss of life and property.

As experience has taught us, workers' strikes are more biting when they are backed by consistent community action such as a Consumer Boycott. But much more work has to be done when some members of the community depend solely or mainly on the targeted products for their

livelihood. Various interests have to be taken into account when such a boycott is organised. While we cannot hope for complete unanimity, we must strive to reach consensus - or at least win over the majority - among the forces we seek to involve.

A further complication at SAB is the existence of a rival union, the Food and Beverage Workers Union. Bosses have lost no time in striking a cosy deal with the FBWU. Certainly, workers in the FBWU understand the need for joint action to achieve higher wages and better working conditions. Even if some leaders within rival unions are driven by other motives, we must strive at plant and industry level to form a united force against the bosses. We do not have to agree on all the issues.

Support actions for the SAB workers could be in the form of sympathy strikes by other workers and the refusal to handle SAB products and supplies. This will strengthen worker solidarity as well as challenge one of the key provisions of the LRAA.

## Living Standards

There can be no doubt that while de Klerk woos the Thatchers of this world, a low intensity war is being waged against South African workers. Their rights and living standards are being sacrificed on the altar of apartheid's economic recovery.

The road of more subtle and more covert attacks against democratic forces is one that de Klerk is bent to travel. We must expose and challenge these attacks. But our strength lies in united action to defeat the racists' new strategies. While using the "legal space" available, we must also identify areas and sectors where repression is high, and act jointly to defeat the regime.

# THE STRATE NOT CH

**MAYIBUYE:** In allowing some marches to take place, the regime says this is to let people vent out their anger, and forget about it afterwards. Do you think the regime is successful in this?

**Pallo Jordan:** It does not work like that. A mass movement in a political upsurge is unlike a tap of water which you can just turn on and off. People participate in political action which also changes them. People who were previously uninvolved and were brought into the mass struggle acquire a degree of self-confidence. They are not the same after that experience. The participant can also visibly see the result of his/her actions.

That is the same with mass demonstrations. If you participate in a street demonstration in which thousands of people take part then you realise that you are not alone that you are much more powerful.

Of course we must remember that there are two forces in the field of battle. The regime takes certain actions with its own plans. It has been forced to allow those mass struggles. Had it sent police to smash those demonstrations it could have rebounded against it. De Klerk at that point in time wanted to present a liberal image to his international allies. To a certain extent he has been able to do this. But he cannot set the pace for the democratic movement.

**Joe Slovo:** History has proved over and over again that the objective result of an action is not always what was expected. The enemy often acts with certain intentions but achieves the very opposite. This is what could be happening in our situation.

We have no doubt what the regime's intentions are. Having failed to dampen the militancy by brutal force in the last 3 or 4 years, it is adopting new means of transforming the struggle from militant confrontation to mere protest. Whether they will succeed in this does not depend on it alone. It depends on how we use the

legal space provided for us.

We can make two mistakes about the present situation. One is to say that nothing has changed and the other is to exaggerate the changes. There are new elements in the situation which call for tactical re-adjustment in the way we operate and how we mobilise the people. But we must not fall into the trap of acting in the way which substitutes legal protests for struggle.

We must use that space to mobilise the people. But we must not create the illusion that through marching in the streets with placards and through mass rallies we are going to achieve freedom. Although there are new elements in the situation there is nothing to indicate that we must move away from our fundamental objective which is the seizure of power by a combination of political action - which is both legal and illegal - and the escalation of armed combat activity.

**MAYE:** How does the Defiance Campaign relate to the call to take the struggle to white areas?

**ZPJ:** That call was meant to address the problem during the mass upsurge in the mid-80's. While the black townships were in flames, in the white neighbourhoods there was no sense of the deep crisis society was going through. It became important that the struggle must be taken to the white areas too.

Also, successive regimes have planned black neighbourhoods in a way that it becomes easy to seal off. In moments of upsurge they bring in troops, cordon off the townships and inject massive police presence, vigilantes and agent provocateurs to crush any insurgency.

That enemy strategy had to be defeated by people actually moving out of those areas. It is not easy for the regime when people during a strike instead of withdrawing labour from an industrial area actually occupy the factories. This also applies when people demonstrate in the city centres. Now we can see those sorts of actions

*Extracts from a panel discussion with two  
Pallo Jordan, Head of the Department of Information  
General Secretary of the SACP.*

being translated into reality. In a sense the people are recapturing the centre of the cities which is usually in enemy hands.

**MAYE:** Do you see De Klerk as a reformist or a liberal?

**JS:** Andre Brink, who went to university with De Klerk, describes him simply as a conman. Wynand Malan who has experience with him in parliament for many years said people should not have an illusion that De Klerk is a liberal nor is on the way to becoming one. He describes him as a hardline ideologue of apartheid.

We can go not only by his record but also by what he has said since becoming president. He has stated his position very clearly: he has said there



# LOGIC GOAL HAS CHANGED

*members of the NEC of the ANC: Comrades Information and Publicity and Joe Slovo,*

will never be majority rule in South Africa. When he addressed the OFS Congress of the NP he said by the end of his five-year term of office he hopes to make some progress towards scrapping discrimination. During the Transvaal NP Congress he had the temerity to say that he is prepared to talk to the ANC if the ANC commits itself to peaceful change and not to return to violence even if talks break down.

He must have enormous contempt - as a result of being brought up as a racist - for the intelligence of our people. He believes he can tempt them into abandoning the thrust of their struggle on the basis of this kind of projection. We have heard all this before.

It is wrong to say that De Klerk has

released the leaders. The people's actions and those of our international friends forced him to release the leaders. He timed that to provide poor Mrs Thatcher, a minority of one in the Commonwealth, with an argument to prevent sanctions against South Africa and to keep the white regime in place.

We do not reject reforms for their own sake. They inspire people because they are a result of their victory. But we do not substitute a few crumbs for the loaf. The loaf we are aiming to get - non-racial democracy based on one-person, one-vote - is accepted as normal in the whole civilised world. If we define a liberal at its lowest level as someone who supports franchise, an issue which was argued out in the last century, then De Klerk is no liberal.

**MAYE:** What can people do to emphasise the question of power, the issue of one-person, one-vote?

**ZPJ:** If you look at the slogans and banners carried in the rallies the question of the seizure of power is very visible. But we must place it more sharply. For example there are various seats of power like City Halls and administrative centres that can become the focus of specific forms of actions.

The ANC NEC's Statement after the racist elections spoke of the importance of building organisations at every level. It spoke of the need for every constituency to be organised to make its specific contribution not only to the general thrust of struggle but also to define how the future of South Africa is going to be.

Various organs of struggle have emerged in the past like civics, street and yard committees. Many of the structures were disrupted by the terror of the state and vigilantes. We will see in the near future their re-emergence at the grassroots level. We also see the constituencies that were previously unorganised - artists, musicians and writers - addressing the question of their powerlessness vis-a-vis record producers, publishers, etc. These or-

gans of struggle are gradually challenging the authority of the state.

**MAYE:** Some people say that because of the existing legal space, the ANC should declare a moratorium on armed struggle. Is this valid?

**JS:** The answer was given by the released leaders. They did not restrain themselves on the policy of the movement, the Defiance Campaign, the armed struggle and the alliance between the ANC and the SACP.

The problem where new space is opened up affects the whole movement. One must be sensitive to the temptation which is always there of collapsing everything into one kind of activity. The result of this is that both sides of activity suffer. These leaders stand today at the helm of the people. They are participating at the moment in mass legal opposition to the regime.

Nobody can expect them to immediately participate in the underground which needs special people - not special in that they are more politically advanced, because nobody is more politically advanced than those leaders; but people whose lifestyle can sustain that type of activity. The illegal struggle is run from the underground. It cannot be run from the mass political platform.

There can be no question of liberation forces unilaterally laying down their arms in any way. The reason why we took up arms in the first place have not changed. We took up arms because we were faced with an oppressive regime which was using violence to cling to power. This has not changed.

We can only contemplate the issue of terminating the armed struggle when we are absolutely sure that the cause for which we took up arms has been secured. The OAU Ad-hoc Committee Declaration on South Africa talks about the termination of the armed struggle at the point when there is a democratic constitution and there has been election for a democratically elected national government. That remains the ANC perspective.



**POWER TO THE PEOPLE**



**YOUTH  
FORWARD**

# YOUTH AND THE COALITION

The youth is always to be found in the hub of all major battles waged by the broad forces for national democracy. The current efforts to set in motion a coalition of anti-apartheid forces is no exception. The CDF was a forum to evaluate the ground covered and to work out concrete programmes to forge the broadest possible unity in action against apartheid tyranny.

After the CDF, the central question is: have we adequately prepared ourselves, ensured the broadest possible "rank and file" involvement in the tasks ahead? Various editions of our journal have raised a number of strategic and tactical questions confronting the South African revolution and all forces at play. Some dealt with issues of mobilisation and organisation. The worth of any theoretical contribution lies in how far its propagators are able to move the masses to respond to the challenges of the struggle.

The youth is heterogenous in its composition, susceptible to various influences. The MDM and in particular the politically advanced youth contingent has to organise and draw the oppressed and democratic youth into the mainstream of the struggle. A large proportion of them fall into the category loosely referred to as the middle ground.

## Middle Ground

There are those who mind the administrative and repressive apparatus of the enemy. Experience teaches that they are indifferent or opposed to the struggle as a result of ignorance, neglect by revolutionaries or their selfish attempts to gain at the expense of others. If properly worked on, at decisive moments of the struggle the "middle ground" and those within enemy structures can tilt the scales either way. It is incumbent on us to win



*Youth demonstration in Cape Town*

them over or, at the least, shift them to neutral ground.

Those serving the enemy apparatus cannot be left alone. Most are not totally insensitive to the suffering of their own people. Reaching out to them may prove a valuable political asset. Let us draw lessons from the sporadic outbursts within the security services eg the Bophuthatswana soldiers' uprising, revolts by 'greenbeans', the current developments in the Transkei and so on.

There are a number of youth formations, adhering to other ideological and philosophical ideals, which took part in the CDF. They have accepted the unifying perspectives worked out by the convening committee. We need to engage them in joint actions now and in the future. They may differ with our programmatic platform but are interested in the eradication of apartheid

tyranny. In Natal, the carnage within the oppressed community claims many a young lives and detract us from employing our youthful energy towards intensified anti-apartheid struggle.

The education crisis is taking a heavy toll on the young generation whose aspirations are shattered. It is felt most at high and secondary school level among pupils at a tender age. Is it not pertinent to include this question in our programme for mobilising a broad spectrum of students and parents? This category of student youth feels neglected by the anti-apartheid movement in general and the MDM in particular. The best form of mobilisation and organisation is around issues affecting the mass of our constituency.

## Youth Summits

The CDF is not an end in itself, but a beginning. Various sections of the democratic youth movement will soon be holding conferences to review their work. Drawing lessons from the experience of the labour movement we need to convene our own summits to address our role within the MDM and our tasks vis a vis youth outside MDM ranks. Such an encounter may lay the basis for a broad conference/summit of anti-apartheid youth involving ordinary members.

The Year of Mass Action for Peoples Power is drawing to an end. We must consolidate the victories scored and correct our organisational and other weaknesses. We must strengthen the people's forces and weaken those of the enemy.





*A Western Cape activist in women's structures reports about recent developments on this front:*

## OUR REGIONAL EXPERIENCE

The Western Cape has established a tradition of defiant women organisations. The recently-held AGMs of the United Women's Congress (UWCO) and the regional FEDSAW structure are examples of this.

UWCO is an affiliate of the UDF and subscribes to the Freedom Charter. It is a grassroots organisation which is aimed at involving women around their day-to-day problems. Despite the SOE the organisation has been able to meet every year since its launch.

The UWCO AGM, held in September, heard reports from more than 20 branches, adopted a Programme of Action and elected a new leadership. The theme of this year's AGM was 'Women's emancipation as an integral part of our struggle'. The membership addressed themselves to the central question of the relationship between the day-to-day struggles waged by UWCO and the issue of emancipation.

### Sub-Committees

The AGM elected sub-committees for education, media, August 9, forced removals and neighbourhood care. The neighbourhood care sub-committee is aimed at training people in providing first aid. This activity is particularly important during clashes between the people and the police.

Many speakers stressed the need to revive the militant spirit displayed by the Western Cape women during 1985-86. Women challenged forced removals and fought against the vigilantes and police sent to carry out the regime's plans.

The 1989 AGM was also a testimony of UWCO's commitment to non-racial organisation. It now has branches in white and coloured areas and is still growing.

At present, the WCape regional FEDSAW is the only such structure in the whole country. It is a coalition of about 14 organisations including Black Sash, Rape Crisis, and women from the church, student and youth sectors. WCape FEDSAW is an example of how women can come together despite their differences, so long as they are prepared to build unity in action.

FEDSAW has been coordinating

the response of women to regional and national campaigns. The AGM reiterated the determination of women to fight side by side with all sectors of the MDM to bring about change.

The region needs a stronger representation of organised women workers so that they can share their rich experience in the workers' movement and in turn gain from the experience of their counterparts in other structures.

## WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION

*- In lieu of an introduction to a discussion in the new year*

What do we practically mean when we say that the women's struggle is part of the National Democratic Struggle? Are there aspects of our struggle which only women organisations can address and what are they? How do we develop the general statements in the Freedom Charter and the Constitutional Guidelines on the women's question?

These are some of the questions which have been posed in many a discussion.

When the ANC was formed, the role of women in the struggle was not as yet understood in its proper context. They were seen as auxiliary members. They held this status until 1943 when they were granted full membership. Women were also involved in the Communist Party of SA (as the SACP was then known), but their participation was limited.

Today women are to be found at all levels of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe and mass organisations. Most organisations have adopted positive resolutions on women. Is this sufficient? How do we give practical con-

tent to our slogans?

Since the 1950's the struggle of women has been guided by the theory which sees the national, class and women's questions as intertwined. This position was developed by FEDSAW, and all democratic organisations emerging thereafter have built on this tradition.

During the 50's women also adopted the Women's Charter. It stated that 'freedom cannot be won for any one section or for the people as a whole so long as women are in bondage'. Women's demands are people's demands.

Yet, is the Women's Charter still relevant? The answers to this and other questions cannot be found in isolation. We must examine the way women and the community in general have responded to their oppression and exploitation over the years. We must examine the concrete experiences in women's organisations, in the trade union, youth and religious structures - and indeed in the ANC underground, the people's army and other movement structures.

**MAYIBUYE (VoW Column) invites readers to send in their comments on this question. The contributions must not be longer than 400 words.**

## MASS ORGANISATION UNDER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY

### 6. SELF-DEFENCE AND COMBAT GROUPS

The 1985 massacre in Uitenhage and the killings last September, are examples of the regime's response to peaceful struggles. The brutal murders by the regime's death squads underline the necessity to defend our leaders and activists. Repression in the mines and violent actions against striking workers emphasise the fact that peaceful struggle on its own leaves us at the mercy of the regime.

#### LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT:

Combat groups are the means by which we can respond to the violence of apartheid as well as strike blows against the regime. Self-Defence and mobile units represent different levels of development - among the highest being when combat groups link up with the underground of the ANC to operate under the command of MK.

Self-Defence activities must involve as many of our people as possible. For example, the patrolling of streets, signal systems, and other such activities cannot be carried out by the youth alone. The experience of the people of Natal facing the warlords is useful. Defense Committees, under the leadership of mature activists, patrol the streets systematically. An effective communication system is used to alert the community and also to rush forces to where they are required.

#### PROFESSIONALISM:

Self-Defence on its own is not enough. We must also be able to take the offensive to the enemy. Mobile units are needed to harass soldiers and police by setting up simple booby traps, dispersing their forces and stealing their weapons.

Self-Defence and combat groups must not be restricted to the residential areas - they must extend into the workplace. Assaults on coaches by striking railway workers, the burning of sheds on the farms and other such actions indicate how industrially-based units can operate. We must be able to carry out cold sabotage - for example, ruin a machine used in the production of bullets - without the use of explosives.

At all times both SDU's and mobile units must act professionally. This means that politics must guide all their actions. They must carefully plan their defense or attack. They must check their targets before charging on the enemy.

These tasks require some specialised knowledge. Trained cadres of MK should provide training and overall politico-military guidance. The fusion of mobile units and MK cadres must lead to the development of more mature combat groups. This is a higher level which we must strive to achieve.

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THIS ARTICLE IS THE SIXTH IN A SERIES DEALING WITH MASS ORGANISATION UNDER THE PRESENT CONDITIONS. A LOT OF EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN GAINED. YET THERE HAVE BEEN MANY SET-BACKS; AND WEAKNESSES IN ORGANISATION CONTINUE TO MANIFEST THEMSELVES. IN THIS SERIES, WE ELABORATE ON SOME OF THE PERTINENT ISSUES ARISING OUT OF THESE EXPERIENCES.

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But activists must also exercise initiative. Especially at the level above the mass SDU's we must set up small units comprised of the most disciplined, security conscious and politically advanced cadres. They must be structured in an orderly way with commanders, and specialists in reconnaissance, sabotage and even those concentrating on obtaining and hiding arms.

#### ROLE OF THE MDM:

The task of protecting our communities and organisations belongs to all the people. All democratic organisa-

tions should devise ways of protecting their leaders and members. Activists must ensure that the politics of the democratic movement infuses and guides the SDU's.

At another level, crime has been on the increase since the introduction of the State of Emergency. These crimes introduce fear and social disharmony in our communities. The enemy benefits from such a situation. In fact some of the thugs involved in robberies, rape and gruesome murders have links with the state.

We cannot allow this campaign to succeed. But the fight against such crimes must be seen in its correct political context. The aim should be to defend and unite our communities for struggle against apartheid. We should impose popular "law and order".

This however does not mean that MDM structures should be involved at the level of mobile and combat groups. Individual activists should indeed take part, but not as official representatives of their structures. This is the grey area between "legality" and "illegality" that we should be mindful of. But the definition of this area itself changes with the growing intensity of the revolt.

#### PEOPLE'S MILITIA:

Self-Defence Units constitute an embryonic People's Militia. As indicated earlier, we should strive to involve the widest spectrum of our communities in such duties. They are an important layer to impose popular legality and a fountain from which to upgrade the best cadres for higher military tasks. They will also be essential for the defence of our gains under a people's government.

**END OF SERIES**

Ciskei:

# TOWARDS A UNITED OFFENSIVE

The Ciskei puppet administration has declared a State of Emergency in many parts of the bantustan. This is ironic, given that it has always relied on brute force. But it is a reflection of the problems it faces. The people are in revolt.

It is fear and insecurity which drive Sebe and his gangsters to attack church services, demolish houses and throw people out of their houses at gun-point. Even traditional ceremonies have not been spared. The assault on the people of Nkqonkqweni and the arrest of their entire leadership is a case in point.

Workers have borne the greatest brunt of the brutality of the tyrants. In addition to the curfew, the sale of paraffin - the main source of lighting - is banned from 6pm to 7am. When then do workers buy this essential commodity? Is it to allow the hired killers to do their dirty work in darkness? Is it fear that the mansion at Bisho might be razed to the ground?

On the latter Sebe's anxiety is not wrongly imagined. Yet, if he hopes to generate fear, he would do well to note that the people know that his brutality has a direct bearing on his vulnerability.

## Coordinated Offensive

But to deal the puppet regime effective blows, we have to urgently transform the people's struggles into a concerted offensive against the puppets. The democratic trade union movement and the entire MDM must address the situation in this area with the urgency it deserves. Our actions of defiance must be combined with the organisation of the rural masses including the traditional chiefs. Our efforts to set up Self-Defence Units and combat groups must be combined with the drive to win over elements from within the bantustan army and police. Civil Servants must organise and act on the side of the struggling people.

What makes the bantustan administration even more vulnerable is the fact that its bosses are retreating before the people's all-round offensive. Therefore, victory in this part of our country depends on struggles elsewhere. At the same time, the strength of people's forces in this area reinforces all our forces.

In our campaigns, we must focus on the immediate issues affecting the people: forced removals, repression by the army and police, high rents and service charges, need for proper education, health and so on. It is these issues that we must put at the forefront of the defiance campaign. But we must also put before our people the perspective of the return of the land, and the issue of weakening and destroying this local seat of the apartheid government.

**KwaZulu :**

## WHO ELSE CANNOT SUPPORT THEM?

*A growing number of traditional leaders in KwaZulu is moving closer to the positions of the Mass Democratic Movement. By joining CONTRALESA, they are planting deep the spear into the belly of the apartheid monster.*

*The actions of Senior Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu, Chiefs Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, Elias Molefe and many others deserve the active support of all patriotic forces in our country. Their involvement in the struggle will indeed strengthen the peace movement in Natal. This in turn weakens the apartheid regime.*

*We must expect the regime to react with vengeance against these patriotic traditional leaders. It has always pinned its strategy of divide-and-rule on the services of traditional leaders. In other words, those who attack these traditional leaders - simply for their identification with the cause of democracy - find themselves at the service of the apartheid regime. Unity in each and every region of our country is not abstract. It is based on actual involvement in struggle.*

*We must defend the inalienable right of our traditional leaders to freedom of association. We must encourage more such leaders to take an active part in the struggle against apartheid colonialism, to follow in the real footsteps of the great Dingane, Cetshwayo and Dinizulu.*

*But we must also guard against the patriotic traditional leaders acting without the benefit of the collective wisdom of the people and democratic organisations. The practice of consultation and seeking mandates - all rooted in the historical traditions of our people - must inform the operations of CONTRALESA. We must always strive to carry the majority with us. For example, the entire Molefe Council has decided to join CONTRALESA and declared its unqualified support to Chief Molefe recently illegally de-throned by the KwaZulu administration.*

*Let us all stand by our patriotic chiefs !*

# THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

(This article is the fourth in a series of responses to the feature in MAYIBUYE No. 2, 1989, which deals with the question of People's War and Insurrection. We invite readers to send in their comments.)

As the movement has repeatedly stated, all revolutions are about state power, and ours is no exception. The capacity of the revolutionary movement to effect the transfer of power - either by means of armed insurrection or through negotiations - depends primarily on the military clout at the disposal of the people. This includes both the strength to act against the enemy as well as the ability to neutralise its resistance.

The strategic perspective of the ANC is the seizure of power by the people. Whatever the turn of events, apartheid shall not be ended by sweet talk or the voluntary bowing out of the powers-that-be. All this goes to show the centrality of building and activating the revolutionary army. But this army will also be central in the possible instance where negotiations take place. Without such strength, genuine transfer of power will always be a pipe-dream.

## Whole People

Armed struggle should be seen as an act of the whole people. It is not simply the cadres of MK, no matter how dedicated and popular they might be, who will single-handedly wage the armed struggle and finally destroy the enemy! The mass of the people must be involved at various levels.

On the one hand, mass actions - strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, marches, mass meetings and other mass political activities - create better conditions for the operation of cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe. This is the revolutionary base on which our armed struggle essentially relies. It is even more crucial in our situation in which we do not have external rear-bases or huge expanses of terrain suitable for classical guerilla warfare.

Mass actions must themselves

develop to assume more and more organised acts of violent resistance. In time, they must dovetail and merge with the armed actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe. But what forms should such actions and armed organisation take?

We do not have to look very far for answers to this question. The setting up of barricades and conduct of street battles against the army and police constitute participation in armed struggle. Usage of petrol bombs and other rudimentary weapons is part of this struggle.

During the 1984-86 uprising, young activists and others formed self-defence units and involved whole communities in activities to protect their areas. Others developed further to set up mobile units to harass the enemy and spread out the police and soldiers. Trenches were dug to immobilise the enemy's transport. Many more individuals give shelter, food, accommodation and information to cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

At the same time,

many soldiers and police have protested against the system and shown willingness to join the democratic forces. Many more are demoralised, as their army and police force retreats in shame from countries such as the then Rhodesia and South West Africa where the people have defeated the forces of colonialism.

All the elements we have outlined above form or have the potential to become part of the revolutionary army. In brief this army consists of:

- \* the mass of the people as they take up arms in various ways to confront the enemy;
- \* Self-Defence Units and combat

groups within our communities and where we work;

- \* cadres "fully" trained and deployed by Umkhonto we Sizwe; and
- \* those within the enemy forces who have joined the revolutionary struggle and are active on the side of the people.

## All Elements

We have had virtually all elements of the revolutionary army in the 1984-86 uprising. This is even more pronounced at some levels today. The question is, how do we develop them to become an effective force! We must strengthen underground structures of the vanguard movement and ensure that "professional" combatants spread political and military skills to as many of our people as possible. The underground should give revolutionary guidance to all political processes. It

should expand and deepen mass protest, defiance and patriotic organisation within the army and police force.

But activists and the masses in general must exercise as much initiative as possible and avoid weaknesses of past struggles.

Both from the input of MK and on the basis of our experiences, we must develop mass "street fighters" into organised self-defence units; self-defence units into mobile combat groups. Ultimately, more and more forces must develop into well-trained "professional" soldiers of the people.

It is the merger - in actual battle - of all these layers of the revolutionary army as well as decisive mass actions on a country-wide scale which will topple the enemy. Our people's war will in this way culminate in insurrection.

