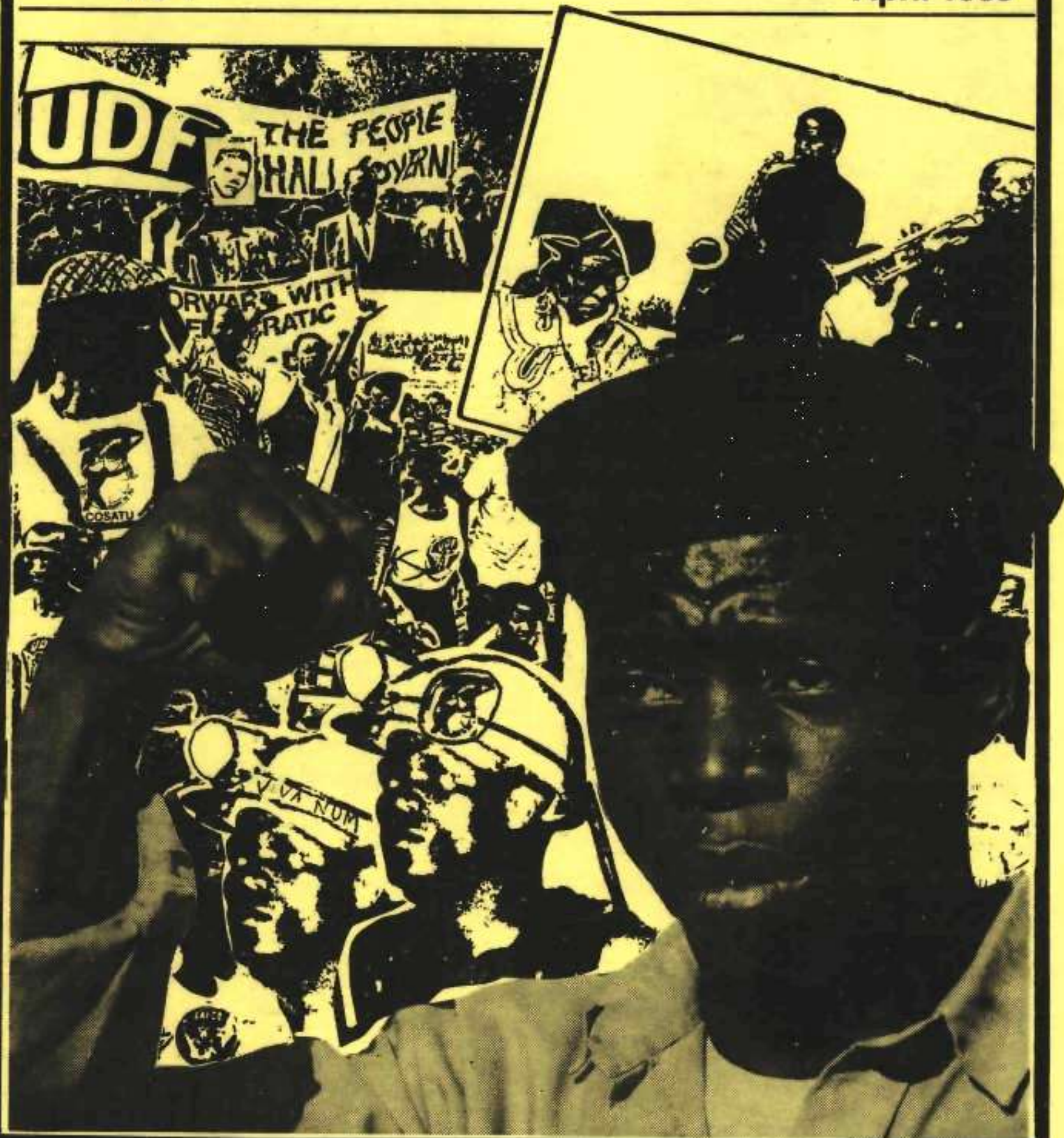


PHAMBILI

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EDITORIAL

PHAMBILI! FORWARD! The entire democratic movement is now faced with the question: **What is the way forward under the current conditions?** Not "is there a way forward?", or "do we turn backwards?" or "is the struggle futile?", questions which the enemy would like us to preoccupy ourselves with. The stage has been reached in our struggle where the forces of liberation and the forces of counter-revolution are clashing head on. Under these conditions, it is often difficult to see the way ahead.

PHAMBILI must become our beacon to light the way ahead. **PHAMBILI** must be a journal in which the burning issues facing the democratic movement are thoroughly explored and debated. The struggle has never been successful without a clear theory to guide it.

This, the first issue of **PHAMBILI**, carries a number of articles which pose critical questions for the democratic movement. "Notes on the current crackdown", although brief, poses the questions: Why did the regime restrict UDF, COSATU and the other organisations, and how do we respond to these attacks. We hope to take the discussion forward in future editions of **PHAMBILI**.

Not only has Botha found himself without support amongst the oppressed people. Increasingly, the struggles of our people are isolating him within his own ruling bloc, as his support base narrows. The white ruling bloc is increasingly fragmented, with many whites losing confidence in the regime to point the way forward. The question facing the democratic movement is how do we respond to this situation. The article on organisation in the white areas contains a careful and through analysis attempting to answer these questions. Comrades should study this article if they are to fully understand developments in the white areas.

In the interview with the SACP a number of important questions are raised about the character of our struggle, the role of trade unions, the relationship of the struggle for national liberation to the struggle for socialism etc. This interview, which is a reprint from *Work in Progress*, is one of the rare occasions on which the views of the banned organisation have been locally made available.

The letter on our use of language in organisations raises the important point that if our struggle is to move forward we must use language that the masses of the people understand. The argument of the writer is that sometimes comrades fail to appreciate the mass-based character of our struggle, and that this can only retard our progress.

We reprint without comment the **constitution of the Congress of Traditional Leaders**. This raises the important question of how we move forward in the rural areas, where half our people live. What is the role of progressive traditional leaders in the struggle for liberation? We hope to carry comments in the next issue.

Before he was detained the co-ordinator of the UDF cultural desk, Mzwakhe Mbuli, was interviewed in depth on the cultural boycott and the **role of culture** in our struggle. The role of mass-based culture under current conditions and in a future South Africa is one which more people are attempting to grapple with these days. The recent conference on "Culture in Another South Africa" (CASA) was held precisely to deal with these questions. The issue of culture will be an ongoing one in the pages of PHAMBILI.

The role of women in the struggle for liberation and the role of women after liberation is a burning issue which has confronted every struggle. The experiences of other countries are important for us to study and learn from. The final article of this issue looks at the **experiences of women in the Angolan struggle** and the questions they are facing today.

How to use PHAMBILI: guidelines for activists

Use PHAMBILI In your organisation

PHAMBILI is a journal for political education and discussion. It is aimed at activists and the entire democratic movement. To get the greatest benefit from PHAMBILI, organisations should set up discussion groups to read and discuss the articles.

Make the ideas in PHAMBILI available to the masses

PHAMBILI is not designed for mass distribution, unlike the UDF News or pamphlets. However, the articles in PHAMBILI can be used as a basis for discussion at a mass level. One way of doing this is to translate and simplify useful articles and use these as a basis for discussion eg in street committees. Regions and local areas must take the initiative to translate and simplify articles since it is not possible to do this at the national level.

The proper distribution of PHAMBILI is an important political task

No serious political movement can make progress without political education. Failure to distribute our literature, seriously undermines the development of our organisations. Comrades should try to develop methods of distribution which are appropriate for the repressive conditions of the State of Emergency.

Some points to note:

Comrades are taking risks to get PHAMBILIs to you, because they are convinced of the importance of theoretical development and political education.

Dont take more PHAMBILIs than you can distribute. People should rather share and photocopy, than for PHAMBILIs to lie under an activist's bed because he/she is unable to distribute, while others struggle to get hold of a copy.

PHAMBILI is your journal. So you must make sure that it covers the types of issues, and the types of political education which your organisations find useful.

Comments and suggestions , as well as articles and letters are welcome and should be sent to the PHAMBILI collective or through your democratic organisation, civic or youth structure.

Knowledge is a political weapon! Use it!

Raise the level of political education!

Notes on the current situation

A memorandum was circulated in the democratic movement shortly after the February crackdown "banning" the UDF and 16 other organisations and restricting COSATU. We reprint this brief analysis as a basis for discussion. In the next edition, we hope to print a more detailed analysis of the current situation.

The banning of 17 organisations and the restrictions on COSATU's activities as well as threats of financial clampdowns are a culmination of the state's attack on the mass democratic movement and the people of South Africa.

The clampdowns pose new strategic and tactical challenges to all democrats. We cannot allow these moves to demoralise and defeat us. We should use this opportunity to evaluate, re-strategise and rethink the way we have been operating as activists and in our organisations. Perhaps it is appropriate for us to think seriously about introducing our own "glasnost" and "perestroika".

THE EFFECTS OF THE EMERGENCY

To understand the effects of the emergency, we need to have a sober and scientific analysis of the objective conditions. This is necessary if we are going to accurately chart our way forward.

If we look at the effects of the emergency, generally it has not brought positive results for the state. However this does not mean that the emergency has not weakened us.

Firstly, there are areas where the state has managed to crush progressive structures, reinstall puppet bodies and has regained the political initiative.

Secondly, there are areas where there is a stalemate - where the state has weakened our structures but has not managed to re-establish their own structures.

Thirdly, there are areas where the initiative remains in the hands of the people. These include areas where the rent boycott continues or where the people can call off the rent boycott on their own terms. In Cradock, recently, the rent boycott was called off after the puppet structures agreed to wipe off rent arrears.

In Soweto, Tembisa, the Vaal, several Eastern Transvaal and Eastern Cape townships the rent boycott continues despite the detention of local leadership and large scale evictions.

WHY THE BANNINGS?

1. While the state has managed to introduce JMCs, vigilantes, mass detentions and terrorisation of the local population by municipal police, these strategies have not managed to pacify, divide and win our people away from the mass democratic movement.

The state may have introduced schemes such as upgrading and building of more houses but this has not brought them and their local lackeys the political support of the people.

Instead we have seen ongoing militancy and the resilience of our organisations under very trying conditions. This has frustrated the state and thus they had to resort to more direct and desperate repressive measures.

The regime hopes that its latest onslaught, will crush once and for all the rent boycotts, stayaways and all visible opposition. They hope that this will enable them to reinstall puppet structures and implement their reform programmes, particularly the National Statutory Council.

2. If we look at organisations and individuals most affected, we realise that they come from those areas where the initiative is still in the hands of the people - where our structures were fighting and winning against the forces of reaction and where we have the moral high ground.

For example in Pietermaritzburg, the initiative around the talks was largely in the hands of the progressives. Because of the way in which the democratic movement was conducting itself, we were gaining support. The state was therefore forced to intervene on behalf of Inkatha - hence the bannings and detentions of the people and organisations involved in the talks.

3. It is also widely acknowledged that the state banned our organisations to pave the way for the October municipal elections. The success of the elections is crucial for the state's attempts to reinstall puppet structures in the townships and to gain credibility for their constitutional dispensation. By holding white, coloured, Indian and African elections on one day, the state hopes to convince the world about "seperate but equal" participation in the affairs of the country.

4. The state of emergency is costly in terms of the regime's international image and financial resources. For these reasons the state is forced to consider lifting the state of emergency in the long term but can only do so, if opposition has been completely wiped out.

5. The imperialists are putting a lot of pressure on the regime to negotiate even with the progressive movement. The state is not prepared to negotiate with a united, strong and coherent democratic movement. Before it will entertain entering into serious negotiations, the government is determined to wipe out the democratic movement inside and outside the country. The war in Angola, support for Renamo, destabilisation of Zimbabwe and attempts to force the frontline states to stop their support for the ANC, should be seen within this context.

6. The state has banned our organisations also because they want to pacify the white right wing. If we look at the timing of the attacks on us, we can conclude that they were attempting to influence the election results in the Standerton and Schweitzer- Reineke by-elections.

THE WAY FORWARD

There is a short and long term response to the situation. In the short term, we need to show our anger and disgust at the banings. We need to respond in ways which are appropriate to the local conditions and circumstances in our areas and sectors. Where the mood of the masses dictates a particular response, we must not hesitate to call for an appropriate action. Interim structures may be needed for immediate requirements.

In the long term the tasks of the democratic movement remain the same. We must look into how different areas, organisations and sectors can most effectively take the struggle forward at this point.

1. Rebuilding of mass structures remains the priority. This can often be most successfully achieved by taking up local issues rather than depending on national initiative. Thus we need to concentrate on building local structures and leadership.

Our struggle has always moved forward when we have taken up campaigns. That tradition must continue.

We need to direct resources and personpower to those organisations and areas that have been hard hit by repression. Continuous repression has had a debilitating effect on a number of activists. However we should draw inspiration from the fact that the masses have not shifted their support from the progressive movement.

2. We must continue to build the broadest possible unity against apartheid. This involves working in alliances with groups which are anti-apartheid but do not necessarily accept the Freedom Charter.

In the townships and villages this means that we should extend and deepen our co-operation with the churches, traders associations, taxi-drivers, burial societies and other peoples structures which are as yet not incorporated in the national democratic struggle. We need to ensure that these structures become part of the broad democratic movement. Let the state's onslaught be met with

a united people organised in a solid front of opposition embracing every sector of the community.

In the white areas we should not hesitate to engage with a wide range of anti-Nationalist forces. These groups and individuals might not agree with everything we stand for but in so far as they realise that the government can't solve the crisis in this country, they can be mobilised into anti-Nationalist fronts.

3. In times of crisis our usual way of working is put to severe test. We need to adapt to these conditions and still ensure that democratic practises are adhered to.

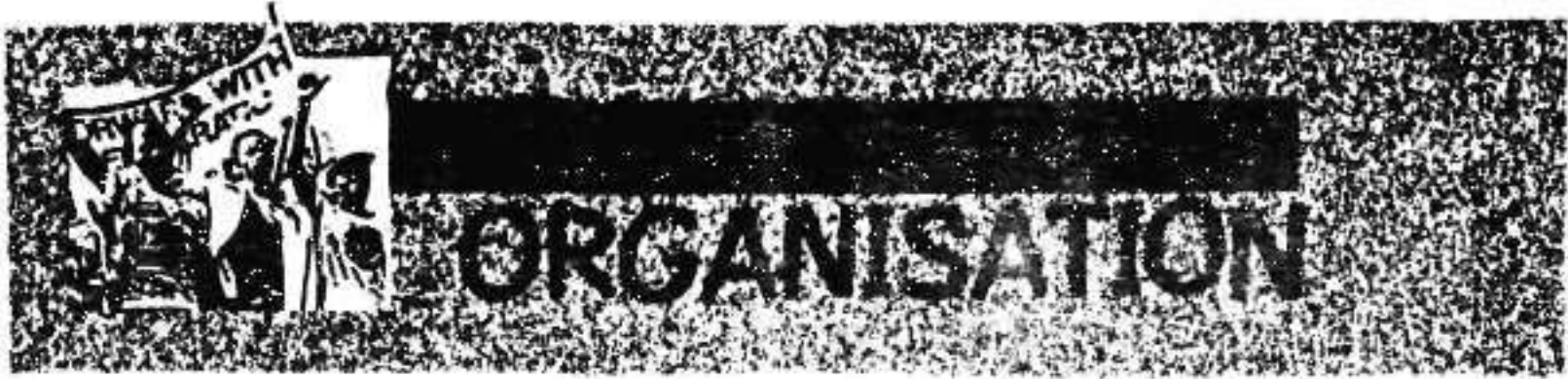
BUILD THE UNITED FRONT!

**DOWN WITH THE FORCES OF
COUNTER-REVOLUTION!**

FORWARD TO PEOPLES POWER!

Questions for discussion

1. Why do you think the regime banned our organisations on 24 February?
 2. What are the other methods being used by the state to (i) reverse the gains we had made by 1986, and (ii) impose their own counter-revolutionary schemes and structures?
 3. What is the state of struggle in our areas particularly (i) the state of our organisations, (ii) the level of mass mobilisation, and (iii) the level of mass consciousness?
 4. How do we move forward under these conditions?
 5. What challenges do the October municipal elections pose for the democratic movement?
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This article, written before the UDF was restricted, examines the question of Organisation in the white areas

Taking the struggle into the ruling bloc

How best to take forward the aims of the UDF in the white community has become a key area of discussion within the democratic movement recently. Events such as the Five Freedoms Forum Conference, and the resulting talk of possible national campaigns and activities, give a new urgency to this debate.

THE NATIONAL SITUATION

New strategies in the white community must be based on an understanding of the national situation as a whole rather than on the white community in isolation.

To summarise our understanding of the national situation: the state lost the strategic initiative in 1984. Mass resistance undermined the Tricameral initiative as well as the town council system. The growth of UDF and COSATU, the increasing power and prestige of the ANC, and the collapse of the government's reforms created confusion, paralysis and divisions in the state and the ruling block. The government is using the State of Emergency to crush mass resistance, weaken the people's organisations, and isolate the white community from information about the townships. Behind this wall of silence Botha is trying to reorganise the unity of the white laager.

In the townships, the government is using the JMCs, township upgrading, RSCs and the National Council to avoid meeting the demands of the people. It is trying to crush the democratic movement, and develop a new "reform" that will include Inkatha and other "moderates", but exclude the democratic movement. Clearly the government is trying to regain the strategic initiative. If the government is successful in rebuilding the unity of the white laager, and creating space for new "reforms", it will be greatly strengthened. The government hopes to be able to sell these reforms to the white community at large as well as to the business sector, and to conservative international forces such as the Western powers.

Overall strategy

The state has not managed to crush the people's organisations and resistance. Conditions are extremely hard and we have definitely suffered setbacks. But we have made many advances too. Our strategy in the white areas is not an alternative to building the mass movement amongst the oppressed people.

These two aspects of our strategy are complementary parts of an overall strategy. Our success in the white community depends on the strength and

support of the mass movement. It is the strength and achievements of mass resistance that have created divisions and confusion in the ruling block, thus creating very favourable conditions for our work in the white areas.

CONDITIONS IN THE RULING BLOC

Botha's strategy of rebuilding the white laager has been directed at whites both to the left and the right of the government. In general, the government's propaganda onslaught has gained broad white support for the state of emergency and increased repression. It has succeeded in cutting the white population off from news about events outside the white areas.

The white elections in May consolidated Botha's gains. The National Party manipulated white fears and promised tougher security action. The white liberal opposition was weakened. On the other hand, right-wing and neo-fascist forces gained more support. Since the elections, the government has continued its repression, supported by the majority of whites.

But a closer look shows serious weaknesses in Botha's laager, weaknesses that add up to a deep political crisis in the ruling block. The crisis is reflected in a number of ways: Firstly, tensions and divisions in the ruling block have produced a number of new groupings to the left of the Nationalists.

The middle ground

Besides the weakened and directionless PFP, there are IDASA, the National Democratic Movement (NDM), independents such as Jan van Eck, the Independent Movement of Worrall, the breakaway Afrikaner intellectuals, students and churchpeople. There is more change, movement and searching for solutions amongst white political forces than ever before. This is what we call the middle ground because it is between the Nationalists and the democratic movement.

Secondly, we must understand the importance of the Afrikaner groupings that have broken away from the Nationalists on the left. They used to be moral

and intellectual leaders in the NP. Their break with the NP shows that it has no vision and no moral conviction. It rules simply from fear and greed.

Thirdly, although most of the white population has swung behind Botha's programme, many are not convinced that the National Party has any long-term answer to the political crisis. They can see that apartheid means war, and many would like to avoid that war. At the moment their support is fragile: they support Botha because they fear the alternatives. However, if we can demonstrate that we have the solution and it is Botha's solution that they should fear, increasing numbers of whites may desert Botha's camp.

Fourthly, even the breakaway of Nationalist supporters to the right wing CP and AWB is a sign of the crisis of legitimacy, since these people have lost faith in the NP's ability to protect their interests, though it would be naive to think that the right wing growth can further our interests in any way.

Fifthly, the crisis of legitimacy is not only national, but international. As a result of local and international pressure, even Botha's western and imperialist supporters are losing faith in his ability to overcome the political crisis.

Seize the Initiative

It is therefore clear that conditions favourable to a fundamental transformation of our society are starting to mature, even within the ruling bloc itself. But transformation will only be possible if we **seize the initiative now**. And we need to seize it in all sectors. In the white sector we can't only rely on the indirect effects of the mass movement to weaken the ruling bloc. We need to take advantage of the government's crumbling legitimacy to **build and extend the legitimacy of and respect for the democratic movement amongst all South African people**. We need to demonstrate that we have the solutions to the current crisis; that we can lead the nation to a new, non-racial democratic South Africa. We need to take that message into the heart of the ruling bloc. If we miss this opportunity, if we do not take the initiative, we leave the way open to the western imperialist powers, to capital, the state, and a range of reactionary forces to retake the initiative and impose their solutions.

WHITES AND THE RULING BLOC

We need to analyse the relation of whites to the ruling bloc if we are to develop an effective strategy.

- Whites form the dominant part of the ruling bloc. When we talk of the ruling bloc we are not only speaking about the government. We are also speaking about all those who maintain the system of white domination. The ruling bloc includes all the various classes and strata of the white population, as well as small groups of black collaborators.
- The Nationalist government depends primarily on whites for its support. The Tricameral Parliament is organised to ensure continued white domination, and the parliament and state machinery remain under the almost exclusive control of whites, despite the multi-racial appearance.
- Big business is entirely in the hands of whites. Production of the nation's wealth is controlled by whites.

There are different class interests amongst whites - white working class, big capital, state bureaucrats and a great range of middle class interests.

The interests of these social forces and classes are not static. Historically, despite differences between them, these forces combined their interests in the system of white minority rule. But now, with the deep political and economic crisis, their interests are shifting and changing, and coming into more and more conflict with each other. Some are seeking new ways to maintain white domination, while others are ready to abandon white minority rule.

This analysis should make it clear that the white constituency is different from any oppressed community. Whites actually form the basis or foundation of state power and capitalist power. Thus, when we talk about a strategy for whites it is completely different from a strategy in oppressed communities.

WORK IN THE WHITE AREAS

Work in the white community is different from work in other areas. Firstly, whites have historically exercised power in the white Parliament. They have a deep respect for the law and Parliament. They are used to a parliamentary style of politics. They are also used to being addressed as a white constituency by the mass media. They do not see themselves as part of a single South African nation. Fear of the black majority and of the future is the central factor in their political consciousness.

Secondly, in the oppressed communities, mobilisation takes place around people's direct class and national interests. In the white community the mobilisation of people against apartheid has historically been against their interests in maintaining white domination. When whites do turn against the government, it is because they see apartheid as morally wrong, or because apartheid is a long term threat to peace and stability. It has always been a tiny minority of whites who oppose apartheid. Thirdly, mass work in the white areas has to be essentially open, public and high profile.

UDF'S STRATEGY

UDF's current strategy towards the white community has developed out of a history of organising in this community. Until 1985, the focus of UDF work was to draw whites directly into the ranks of the democratic movement. The 1986 Call to Whites Campaign was the high point of this phase. Hundreds of whites wanted to join or find out more about the UDF.

However the 1986 Emergency brought harsh repression. This prevented us from consolidating our work. White democratic organisations, like all UDF affiliates, were hard hit and many supporters frightened off. Suddenly we found ourselves becoming cut off from our community, and on the defensive.

This isolation, as well as the positive experiences of work in broad alliances such as Concerned Citizens and the Five Freedoms Forum, forced us to rethink our strategy. We had to face the fact that many whites were hesitant to involve

themselves in the UDF, but at the same time many more were keen to get involved in anti-apartheid work.

The resolution adopted at the National Working Committee Conference of the UDF in May this year took us some of the way. The resolution was based on an analysis of the crisis in the ruling block. It recognised the need and the possibility of reaching a far broader layer of whites than the small minority that was actually joining the democratic movement.

Political fluidity in the white areas

Since the NWC there have been significant developments in white politics, the IDASA "pilgrimage" to the ANC in Dakar, the rise of the Independents, the resignations from and crisis in the PFP and recently, the formation of the NDM. This indicated the degree of political fluidity in the white areas.

Old political alignments were cracking up with a speed and on a scale not seen before. But this range of new anti-Nationalist forces has a variety of political and personal agendas. They lack clarity about their aims and methods, about their attitude to the democratic movement and the central political issues of our time.

We therefore had to clarify our strategy further. Our emphasis is on

- Isolating the core of resistance to change i.e. - the Nationalist government and its closest allies.

 - Building and strengthening the broadest possible front of resistance to apartheid on terms favourable to the democratic movement. This involves building a broad anti-apartheid alliance in the white community with the active involvement of the democratic movement.

 - Strengthening the democratic movement itself by involving whites in progressive organisations both within and outside of the UDF.
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ANTI-NATIONALIST FORCES AND THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

To understand these tasks we must be clear about the distinction between **anti-Nationalist forces** and the democratic movement itself. Anti-Nationalist forces are opposed to the Nationalist government and its injustices, but are not necessarily part of the democratic movement.

Anti-Nationalist forces include the Five Freedoms Forum, ECC, PFP, Black Sash, NDM, IDASA, and various other groupings and individuals. They represent constituencies in the white areas which are an increasingly important **force for change** although they are not part of the democratic movement.

For the first time UDF's white affiliates are confronting the question of how to engage in politics in the ruling bloc with much bigger aims than simply recruiting more support for the UDF. It directly raises the question of alliance politics.

ALLIANCE POLITICS

An alliance means working with forces and groups whose line is not always the same as ours. We enter into these alliances because we believe that we can strengthen the struggle against a common enemy by working together towards particular goals.

When we work in such alliances it is important to commit ourselves to developing a lasting and effective unity, in this way building a more powerful force on agreed goals. A second goal of joining alliances is to gain access to a wider range of people and organisations e.g. Afrikaans youth, church ministers. In this way we can gain new supporters for the democratic movement.

We need to win the respect of our allies by the strength of our organisation, our political maturity and clear vision. If we can do this we will win leadership and broad support for our position **even if our allies never join us or subscribe to our full programme.**

All organisations in an alliance should accept that they have differences, as

long as these are not fundamental differences on the platform of the alliance. When we have differences with our allies we must explain them openly and fully.

Some comrades have raised the possible danger of our struggle being "hi-jacked" and "co-opted" if we work so broadly. We should not be paralysed by such fears.

Direction and Influence

The first point is that one cannot look for absolute guarantees before entering an alliance. The content and direction of an alliance is fought for and won in the course of struggle. Secondly, we simply have to take up the challenge of the new situation which is directly a result of the struggles of our people. The forces which our struggles have unleashed in the white community have the potential either to be harnessed for historical progress, or to be misdirected by those who are enemies of our struggle. We have two choices: either we actively contribute towards shaping political developments in the white areas; or we abdicate and allow developments to possibly work against us - all in the name of "purity".

Thirdly we should not underestimate the influence of the democratic movement. White democrats get their political direction and strength from the democratic movement. It offers a greater degree of political clarity and direction than most other forces operating in the white community. This clarity, plus the fact that it expresses the aspirations of the majority of the people, means that all forces in such an alliance would be likely to seriously consider the views of the democratic movement .

THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AND OUR STRATEGY IN THE RULING BLOC

The Front has defined its current political tasks very clearly. These tasks are to broaden the Front, as well as deepen it by building coherent political centres. These tasks apply in all areas.

It is very important for comrades in the townships to understand that our developing strategy in white areas corresponds to and is part of overall UDF strategy. Just as comrades in other areas are seeking to broaden the Front in their communities and extend its influence, so comrades in the white areas are doing the same thing.

Firstly, building and broadening the united front in the white sector means increasing the number and membership of affiliates. It means **strengthening the UDF as such in the white areas**. The task of building a broad alliance of anti-apartheid forces does not mean abandoning this task. If anything it enables us to expose more and more whites to the politics of the UDF. Secondly, broadening the Front means uniting with our **natural allies**. We need to strengthen our relationship with other democratic forces that are not UDF affiliates, such as the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) and the Black Sash.

Broad front of anti-apartheid forces

Thirdly, broadening the front means extending the political and moral influence of the UDF to the widest possible range of South Africans. In the townships and rural areas this means working with sporting, religious and cultural groupings, small businessmen and progressive chiefs etc. In the case of the white community we must extend our influence by working with white opposition groupings such as the NDM, white youth who are worried about the future, and dissident Afrikaner intellectuals. We can achieve this by building a broad front of anti-apartheid forces, and winning respect and even leadership in such a movement.

In addition to broadening the front in these ways, our strategy in the ruling bloc must include **strengthening and supporting each and every initiative which weakens the main enemy, that is, the Nationalist Party, the government, and the neo-fascist right wing forces**.

Our tasks in the white areas must not be seen as the responsibility of the white comrades only. These tasks are the responsibility of the democratic movement as a whole. While the main work will be done by white democrats, it is important for the democratic movement as a whole to support and guide our work. White

democrats have to be able to show that they are part of a non-racial movement, and that they have the support of the people. That gives us strength and wins respect from other anti-apartheid forces.

THE NEEDS OF THE MOMENT

We should not think of our work in the ruling bloc only in terms of educating whites, broadening our alliance, winning over certain groups and dividing the ruling bloc. We must think more boldly than that.

We need to build a powerful anti-apartheid campaign in the white areas. Such a campaign, based on the broadest possible anti-apartheid front, will directly confront and put pressure on the government. We need to build a campaign that will prevent the government from regaining the strategic initiative, that will limit the choices open to it and force it in a particular direction. We need a campaign that will expose the government's moral and political bankruptcy; increase the division and confusion in government structures, in the NP, and amongst its supporters; and make it impossible for its local and imperialist allies to support it. These are the urgent and critical tasks facing us at this time. Comrades need to discuss seriously what sort of campaign can achieve these aims.

Organisations who would like to have further discussions about the issue of organising whites raised in this paper are encouraged to contact the white UDF affiliates in their area. Discussions, seminars or workshops can be arranged.

Negotiations

This article, written by the UDF before it was restricted, examines the question of negotiation.

The question of the transfer of power from the white minority to the entire South African people (black and white) has been put on the agenda as never before. But the determination of our people to settle for nothing less than this, is matched by the desperation of the regime to defend white minority rule using any and every method at its disposal.

From this basic conflict flows two diverging views on every major issue of the day: the view on the one hand of the apartheid regime and its allies, and the view on the other of the democratic forces and our allies. The issue of negotiation is no exception: the democratic movements view on any proposed negotiations is guided by the extent to which they can help usher in a non-racial democratic South

Africa. The view of the regime on the other hand revolves around the extent to which negotiations can act as a mechanism to protect the political and economic power of the white minority.

These two fundamentally different views, therefore will obviously give rise to two conflicting positions on what constitutes meaningful negotiations, how to create the climate for negotiations, the form and content of negotiations, who are the parties to the negotiations, and so on. The approach of the democratic movement to the question of negotiations in the current political situation can be summed up in eleven basic propositions:

1. PW Botha and his government have no intention of entering into meaningful negotiations in the immediate future

All the regime's actions say loudly and clearly that they are not interested in negotiations, but are determined to destroy the democratic movement and perpetuate minority rule. Take their treatment of the UDF: we have committed ourselves to open, non-violent opposition, but what has been the regime's response? We have been subjected to violence in its most extreme form. Not only have thousands of our supporters and followers been detained and imprisoned, but many have actually been kidnapped or murdered. Many of our comrades have been shot by vigilantes or the state, others are being sent to the gallows.

At the same time the regime sends out its orders through its Joint Management Centres: "do not negotiate with revolutionary organisations like the civics because you give them credibility." Their talk of negotiation is hollow. Recently, PW Botha said that he had no intention of talking to the African National Congress. It is recognised throughout the world that there can be no solution to the South African conflict which excludes the ANC. PW Botha's insistence that he refuses to speak to the ANC is therefore tantamount to saying he is not interested in meaningful negotiations.

We need look no further than the regimes torpedoing of the Eminent Persons Group mission, their invasion of Angola, and their failure to act against the warlords in Natal. This is enough to show that the regime is not yet committed

to a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

2. The issue of negotiations is being used to try and demobilise and disarm our struggle at the national and international level

At the moment the question of negotiations is being used by the regime and their main allies (Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl) as a device to diffuse mounting pressure, particularly around sanctions. Furthermore the negotiations issue is being used in an attempt to divide our movement, to see if they can separate the 'hardliners' from the 'softliners', the 'nationalists' from the 'communists' and so on. In other words, at this point, talk of 'negotiations' is a political ploy to buy time and disorganise the democratic movement. We do not believe as yet there is a genuine desire to negotiate on the important issues. In this context it would be irresponsible for us to encourage unrealistic expectations around the prospects for negotiations - such expectations would be based on the irrational and naive belief that the government has undergone a 'change of heart', when all evidence indicates the opposite. To give weight to such false hopes would be tantamount to convincing our people to abandon the struggle.

3. The regime is attempting to create the conditions for sham negotiations where it will be in a position to dictate to those it is 'negotiating' with

The state of emergency is aimed at crushing the entire democratic movement, and installing apartheid's surrogate forces. Mass terror and repression, and the promotion of hand-picked 'authentic' leaders is designed to pave the way for an 'internal settlement' of the type Smith attempted to impose using Muzorewa.. As with Smith's Rhodesia this course is doomed to failure and will only lengthen the conflict and lead to greater loss of life. Forums such as the National Council, Indabas and so on, are totally unacceptable to our people and will create as much opposition as the tricameral parliament and black local authorities did. These

are not "forums for negotiations" as the regime claims, but forums for revising apartheid rule, without any power or democratic basis from which to negotiate.

4. The aggressor and single greatest source of violence in the region is the South African government. The ball is in their court to prove that they are serious about ending their violence and committing themselves to negotiations.

When the government demanded at the beginning of 1985 that Nelson Mandela renounce armed struggle in return for his release, he pointed out that "I am not a violent man ... It was only when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle. Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence." Since Mandela made this statement three emergencies have been declared: hundreds of our people have been shot down, thousands detained and tortured, neighbouring states invaded and our leaders assassinated. Troops terrorise our people in the townships and villages, and apartheid vigilantes run rampant.

It is cynicism in the extreme for the perpetrators of all this violence to demand that it is the ANC which must renounce violence before there can be negotiations. Botha has the power to end this violence, but he lacks the will.

5. Our justifiable scepticism about the regime's intentions must not be interpreted as a blind refusal on our part to support a negotiated settlement.

We are not at all opposed to negotiations which are genuinely aimed at dismantling apartheid and ushering in a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. It must be remembered that it is the oppressed people of South Africa, and particularly our fighting forces, who are most suffering the ravages of apartheid violence in this country. We have a deep interest in securing the speediest and most peaceful resolution of the conflict as possible. The problem that faces us is how we get the regime to also commit itself to this solution.

6. In order to persuade the regime to agree to meaningful negotiations there will have to be an escalation of pressure both nationally and internationally.

The struggle has to be escalated so that the regime has no alternative but to commit itself to meaningful negotiations. An important part of that pressure will be the realisation by growing numbers of whites that the regime is committing them to a costly conflict which they cannot win. Eventually the regime must be so isolated, nationally and internationally, that it will have no option but to accede to the enormous pressure to commit itself to a genuine process of negotiations. It must be made impossible for it to pursue the only other option available to it - a protracted and bloody war.

7. Before the regime can persuade us that it is serious about negotiations, it will have to take a number of basic steps which will create the political climate for negotiations

We need far more than high sounding declarations of intent. To make negotiations possible, would require concrete material changes which would remove the fetters preventing the democratic movement from participating freely and equally in negotiations. As Murphy Morobe put it shortly before he was detained: " How can we talk of negotiations when those people we say are our leaders who should be leading us to the conference table, are put in jail?

How can we begin to talk about negotiations when we cannot freely hold meetings, or move about in our task of organising people in a democratic way without running the risk of being incarcerated, or when the military and police hold sway? The UDF cannot attach its signature to any intention to negotiate as long as the ANC and other organisations remain banned. We must be given the right to seek a broad, democratic mandate without fear of detention or banning or even death...".

In order to create a climate in which negotiations are politically viable, the following minimum measures would have to be implemented:

- The release of all political prisoners (convicted and awaiting trial) and detainees, and the unconditional return of all exiles. Obviously our leaders cannot take part in the negotiation process from behind prison bars, or outside the country.
 - The unbanning of the ANC and all banned organisations: the outlawed liberation movement would have to be free to fully consult with the people and the entire democratic movement in order to obtain a mandate to enter negotiations.
 - The police and the SADF would have to be withdrawn from the townships and villages and confined to their barracks. This is necessary to create a climate of free and open discussion, so that apartheid forces are unable to intimidate and harass people to prevent them from meeting about any proposed negotiations. Apartheid vigilantes and death squads would have to be dismantled.
 - For the same reason, all laws restricting free assembly, press freedom, and free speech would have to be repealed. All repressive laws such as the detention laws would also have to be repealed, as would all laws restricting freedom of movement.
 - Bantustan authorities including the so-called 'independent' bantustans would also have to be stripped of their powers equivalent to those listed above, so that people in those areas would have the same freedom to organise as in other areas.
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- The state of emergency would have to be lifted throughout the country.

8. Any negotiations that take place will have to be between the chief protagonists in the struggle - that is the two main parties.

It is widely recognised that the two main protagonists in South Africa are the government and its allies on the one side and the ANC and its allies on the other. Any attempt by the regime to impose 'round table discussions' consisting of parties it chooses to negotiate with will be rejected as a transparent attempt to dictate the outcome of negotiations. The democratic forces will reject any attempts to introduce a free-for-all where forces either peripheral to the conflict (fringe forces) or forces which more correctly belong to the other side of the table (anti-democratic forces) are lumped together with those leaders and organisations which have the standing, authority and mandate to speak on behalf of the people. Conversely, the organisations which have spear-headed the liberation struggle will determine who their allies are. Any attempts to exclude leaders and organisations on the basis that they are unacceptable to the regime, would also be rejected.

9. There can be no negotiations above the heads of the people.

Any negotiations that take place would have to be open and conducted on the basis of through consultations, mandates and accountability.

10. The process of negotiations should be fully determined by the people of South Africa.

No outside powers should prescribe the form of negotiations, what is to be negotiated about and the nature of the solutions which are desired. The

assistance of international powers or agencies in facilitating the negotiation process should not be imposed but should be agreed to by the South African people.

11. Any negotiations would have to be aimed at totally dismantling apartheid and creating a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The Freedom Charter would provide the basis for the creation of a new South Africa since it is accepted by the over-whelming majority of South Africans, black and white. Apartheid itself is a non-negotiable issue. Any attempts to further fragment the country, maintain bantustans, entrench group areas or regional fiefdoms would be rejected. Any attempt to entrench apartheid through racist provisions, such as 'minority rights', 'minority vetoes' etc would be unacceptable. It would be pointed out that the provisions of the Freedom Charter encourage and protect the cultural heritage of all South Africans, insofar as these do not promote racism. Negotiations would not exclude the possibility of a democratic constitution including a Bill of Rights to protect all individuals. This would flow from and be consistent with the democratic demands of the Freedom Charter.

However, any attempt to constitutionally entrench the monopoly of political and economic power by a minority would be totally unacceptable. This is absolutely fundamental to the democratic movements position on negotiation. A minority exercises power over the resources of the country, the apparatuses of the state, the economy. Any attempt to negotiate an arrangement which leaves this power basically intact, would be a betrayal of what the masses have fought for. This is why we say that negotiations must be about the transfer of power out of the hands of that minority to the entire South African people.

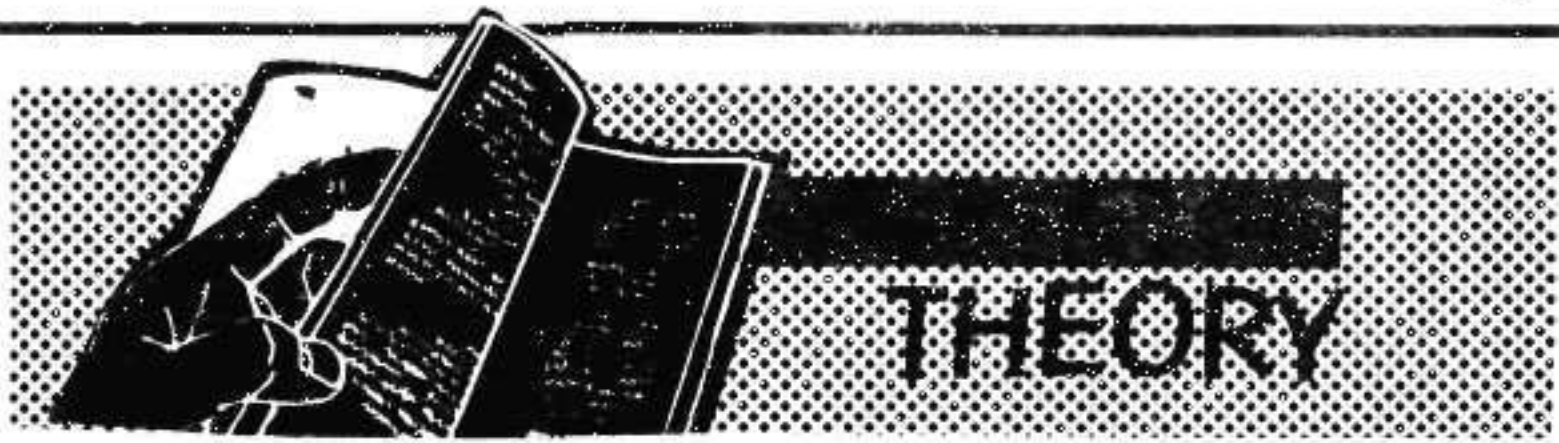
Questions for discussion on negotiations article

- 1. Why is the regime talking so much about "negotiations" these days? What is the likely scenario that they and their allies are planning for? Compare this to the "Muzorewa" option in Smith's Rhodesia**

 - .2. Under what conditions could a negotiated settlement be in our interests? Discuss the experience of other national liberation struggles.**

 - 3. The concept of creating a political climate for negotiations involves mobilising around a whole series of demands, on the basis that without these changes we cannot even begin to talk about negotiations. Discuss this approach. Are there any other demands which would need to be added to those listed in the paper?**

 - 4. Discuss what is meant by saying that negotiations should be between the "chief protagonists". What is the difference between this approach and the regime's concept of "round table negotiations"?**
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An interview with the South African Communist Party

In the interests of debate and discussion, and because it is a rare occasion when the views of the South African Communist Party (SACP) are made available in South African publications, PHAMBILI reprints an article on the policy and position of the SACP from WORK IN PROGRESS. Glenn Moss of WORK IN PROGRESS submitted the questions while the responses are those of a senior SACP official whose identity was not revealed.

Question. How does the SACP characterise the relationship between classes in the current phase of struggle in South Africa, particularly those classes which are nationally oppressed?

Answer:The present phase of the revolution in our country is one of the whole oppressed people. This does not mean the oppressed 'people' can be regarded as a homogeneous entity. They are made up of diverse classes and strata whose long-term interests do not necessarily coincide, and whose consistency and commitment even to the immediate objectives of the democratic revolution cannot be equated. But it remains true that the democratic revolution expresses the broad objective interests, not only of the working class, but of every class and strata within the nationally-dominated majority. This includes the black bourgeoisie. This reality provides the foundation for a struggle which attempts to mobilise all oppressed classes and strata as part of a national liberation alliance.

But what about the special role of the working class in this alliance?

The working class is an indispensable part of the liberation alliance. Its relations with other classes and strata in the alliance cannot, however, be on the condition that these other classes and strata accept socialist aims. The historic programme which has evolved to express the common aspirations of all the classes which make up the dominated people is the Freedom Charter. But this document is not, in itself, a programme for socialism.

Does the immediate emphasis on the 'democratic revolution' (involving class alliances) imply that the working-class should abandon class struggle in favour of national struggle? And does it involve shelving socialist objectives in a struggle for bourgeois democracy?

The answer to these questions requires a correct grasp of the relationship between class and national struggle. Mechanical tendencies set out these categories as if they were almost mutually exclusive. This leads to inevitable confusion on the role of the working class and its mass and vanguard organisations. Failure to understand the class content of the national struggle and the national content of the class struggle in existing conditions retards both the democratic and socialist transformations which we seek.

The immediate primacy of the struggle against race tyranny flows from the concrete realities of our existing situation. The concept of national domination is

not an ideological mystification to divert us from a class approach. It infects every level of class exploitation, and divides the working class into colour compartments. National domination is underwritten by a state apparatus which in varying degrees protects the economic interests and social privileges of all classes among the white minority. It denies the nationhood of the African people and, in its place, imposes tribalism and ethnicity. These, and a host of related race practices, are the visible daily manifestations of national domination.

The chief victim of national domination is the black working class. Those who dismiss the fight against national domination as the key mobilising factor are living in an unreal world of their own. The link between national domination and class exploitation undoubtedly needs unending stress. It is encouraging to observe the recent spread of an understanding of this link among organised sectors of the working class. But we must not exaggerate the extent and depth of this spread. Nor must we forget that insofar as it has spread, it is due primarily to the heightened experiences of struggle against race domination in the recent period.

What is meant by 'class struggle' in a period in which national liberation is the primary objective?

Class struggle in a period of capitalist hegemony is above all a political struggle aimed against the political dominance of the ruling class and at the ultimate winning of power by the working people.

But the shape of this class struggle does not remain fixed for all time. Its main emphasis and content at every given historical moment is dictated by the concrete situation. We cannot confine the meaning of working-class struggle to the immediate struggle for socialism. Nor can we conclude that participation by workers in inter-class alliances implies a postponement or compromise of their own class struggle. The concept of 'class struggle' cannot be restricted to those rare moments when the immediate winning of socialist power is on the agenda. Nor does it fade into the background when workers forge alliances with other class forces on commonly agreed minimum programmes. The history of all struggles is in fact overwhelmingly dominated by such interim phases. There is no such thing as 'pure' class struggle, and those who seek it can only do so from the isolated comfort of a library arm chair.

Workers in pre-1948 India were not abandoning the class struggle when they concentrated their main energies, in alliance with other class forces, to get Britain out of India. When Hitler unleashed world war, the main content of workers' class struggle correctly became the defeat of fascism. This task necessitated the most 'popular' of fronts, which brought together both pro- and anti-socialist forces.

It is a matter of historical record that the anti-fascist victory made possible the most significant spread of socialist power since the October revolution.

How does the SACP understand the relationship between national and class struggle, and between national liberation and socialism?

When we exhort the working class to devote its main energies, in alliance with other nationally-oppressed classes, to the immediate task of winning national liberation, we are certainly not diluting the class struggle or retreating from it.

On the contrary, we are advancing and reinforcing it in the only manner which is consistent with the historic aspirations of the working class. Nor are we putting off the socialist revolution by an emphasis on the national-democratic tasks of the immediate phase.

In the words of Lenin, answering critics of Bolshevik policy on the earlier primacy of the democratic revolution, 'we are not putting (the socialist revolution) off but we are taking the first steps towards it in the only possible way, along the only correct path, namely the path of a democratic republic'.

The immediate emphasis on the struggle for democracy and 'people's power' is, in our present situation, an essential pre-requisite for the longer-term advance towards a socialist transformation. But it is also a short-term class imperative.

Race tyranny weighs more heavily on South Africa's doubly-exploited working class than on any other class. Its destruction by the shortest route possible is, in itself, in the deepest class interests of our proletariat, who stand to gain more from the ending of national domination than any other class or strata among the oppressed. This reality helps define the main form and content of the workers' class struggle at the present historical conjuncture, and the kind of alliances necessary to advance working-class struggle.

It is sometimes argued that the current emphasis on national liberation and struggle precludes the possibility of building socialism in a subsequent phase of struggle. It has also been suggested that one way of establishing the primacy of working-class interests in the future is to build and strengthen independent working-class structures in the current period. How does the SACP view these issues?

The need to concentrate on the present does not imply an abandonment or disregard of the future. Participation by the working class in the democratic revolution, involving alliances, minimum programmes, etc, does not imply a dilution of its independent class positions.

On the contrary, the strengthening of workers' independent mass and vanguard structures is even more imperative in periods demanding organised relations with other class forces. Nor does it follow that the spread of socialist awareness among the working people should be less during the phase emphasising democratic transformation.

During this period it is even more vital to maintain and deepen working-class understanding of the interdependence between national liberation and social emancipation. This task cannot be postponed until after the ANC flag flies over Pretoria.

The participation of the working class and its political vanguard in the liberation alliance is, therefore, both a long-term and a short-term class necessity. The SACP's participation in this alliance is not, as our right-wing detractors would have it, an opportunistic ploy to camouflage our so-called 'hidden agenda', and to use the ANC as a stepping stone to socialism. We have never made a secret of our belief that the shortest route to socialism is via a democratic republic.

The SACP takes part in the liberation alliance, as one of its fundamental pillars, because we believe the elimination of national domination, which is the prime objective of the alliance, is the most immediate and vital concern of South Africa's proletariat.

The SACP has often been accused of creating a rigid distinction between national-democratic and socialist transformation. This 'two-stage' theory has sometimes been used to justify the suppression of socialist

Ideas and practices within organisations struggling for national liberation. What is the SACP's formulation of the 'two-stage' question?

What vulgar marxists do not understand is that there is both a distinction and a continuity between the national-democratic and socialist revolutions. Although the SACP correctly talks of 'stages', we do not believe there is a Chinese wall between such stages.

But we can concede that our own formulations have sometimes been too imprecise, laying ourselves open to charges of treating stages as compartments, as 'things in themselves'. The concept 'stage' implies a destination. Hence it is part of a whole. The question is how to reach a 'stage' without blocking the route towards the destination of which the 'stage' constitutes a dialectical and chronological segment. This depends, perhaps mainly, on revolutionary practice. On balance, the SACP's practice has not departed from the 'continuity' concept of stages.

The dominant ingredients of the later stage must already have begun to mature in the earlier stage. Discussing an analogous question which faced the Bolsheviks, Lenin wrote: 'We all categorise bourgeois revolution and socialist revolution, we all insist on the absolute necessity of strictly distinguishing between the two; however, can it be denied that, in the course of history, individual particular elements of the two revolutions become interwoven?'

Lenin's formulations have even greater relevance to our situation, in which, despite a few areas of similarity, we cannot really equate the national-democratic revolution to the classical bourgeois-democratic revolution. In contrast to 1905 and February 1917 in Russia, it is South Africa's bourgeoisie, and not a feudally-based autocracy, which wields power as the ruling class. Its accumulated economic riches have been built precisely by means of the very denial of bourgeois-democratic rights to the overwhelming majority.

And, with the exception of the tiny and weak black bourgeoisie, our capitalist ruling class remains opposed to the universal extension of bourgeois democracy to the majority. This reality is not negated by the radical-sounding rhetoric of some tycoons who are stimulated by a liberal conscience and, more importantly, by an understanding that certain aspects of race domination no longer suit their pockets.

In stressing the limitations of this group, we do not intend to belittle the very important task of helping by all means, including dialogue, to weaken cohesion and unity of the ruling class, and to isolate and weaken its most racist and politically reactionary sector.

But the very fact that South Africa's ruling capitalist class is, and can be expected to remain, in the opposing camp, provides a special proletarian stamp to our national-democratic revolution. It cannot be said of South Africa's immediate situation, as Lenin was able to say of pre-October Russia, that the 'revolution expresses the interests of the entire bourgeoisie as well'. This difference gives a special social content to the stage of our national democratic revolution.

When compared to analagous historical phases, certain of the key elements of our democratic revolution are, therefore, even more closely interwoven with the longer-term socialist transformation.

Among the most important of these elements is the preponderant role of the working class in all phases of the revolutionary process and, more immediately, in the democratic alliance which makes up the liberation front.

What does it mean to talk of the 'dominant' or 'leadership' role of the working class in a phase in which the primary struggle is for national-democratic transformation?

The working class is everywhere the most consistent and unconditional fighter for democracy. But there are also special features of the South African situation which objectively reinforce its dominant role and enable the working class to put its imprint on all phases of the revolutionary process.

As already noted, the main constituent of the bourgeoisie by its very nature distances itself from the democratic revolution and has less prospect of influencing its course than in analogous situations. The black bourgeoisie is abysmally small and weak. The small peasantry which traditionally provides the main impetus for the petty bourgeoisie has been virtually decimated as a class. The black middle strata can find few, if any, alliances with its privileged counterparts across the colour line.

In general, the immediate aspirations of all classes and strata among the

oppressed people can only be effectively advanced through the organised strength and leadership of the working class. But this leadership, which has an objective basis in the actual correlation of class forces in the present situation, has to be worked for on the ground. It will not come as a gift from heaven. And the working class cannot carry out its historic role merely by leading itself.

Our youth, women, intellectuals, small traders, peasants, the rural poor and even the racially-dominated black bourgeoisie are a necessary part of a broad front of struggle which must also seek to win over those whites who are prepared to shed racism. The working class must not only act independently to advance its interests as a class, but must also play a key role in this front as a champion of the democratic aspirations of all racially-oppressed groups. The philosophy and practice of PAC's armed wing Poqo - 'we alone' - means working-class surrender of its leading role in the democratic revolution. The result of such isolation would be to dilute the content of this revolution, to hand over its direction to other class forces and to endanger future socialist advance.

Organisationally, how can the working class both advance its own interests, and play a leading role in alliance with other classes?

In general, workers must be active wherever people come together in struggle, whether at national, regional or local levels. The UDF, youth organisations, women's organisations, civics, street committees, students, church-goers, etc, must all feel the influence of workers' militancy and dedication. But the role of workers as a class and the way this class relates to other classes rests on three main organised sectors of our struggle: the national movement, the trade union movement and, not least, the political party of the working class.

The national movement and the working class: As head of the liberation alliance and prime representative of all the oppressed, the ANC welcomes within its ranks all, from whatever class they come, who support and are ready to fight for the aims of the Freedom Charter. The ANC is a revolutionary nationalist organisation whose popular roots, however, must not be confused with 'populism'. The ANC's strategy and tactics bear witness to an approach which recognises the significance of the different class formations which make up 'the people'. To be truly representative of a people whose overwhelming majority are

workers, the ANC recognises the need to show a strong bias towards the working class both in its composition and policies.

It does not apologise for the fact that it considers it both proper and necessary for socialist ideology to be discussed and understood in its ranks. But it would clearly weaken the necessary multi-class character of the ANC if it adopted socialist objectives as part of its programme. Although the ANC is not, and should not become, a workers' political vanguard, worker participation in its ranks is one of the most important ways in which the working class can assert its role in relation to other classes in the democratic revolution.

Trade unions and the working class: Trade unions are the prime mass legal organisations of the working class. To fulfil their purpose, they must be as broad as possible and must fight to maintain their legal public status. Unions must unite, on an industrial basis, all workers - at whatever level of political consciousness, the most backward and the most advanced - who understand the elementary need to come together to defend and advance their economic interests.

But a trade union cannot live without politics. The capitalist state everywhere acts in defence of the bosses. It uses all its instruments of power - the police, army, courts, etc - against workers and their trade unions. It does everything to defend the capitalist system. It makes and enforces laws to help increase workers' exploitation. This reality has taught workers in every part of the world that it is impossible for their trade unions to ignore broader political conflict.

In South Africa, where racism and capitalism are two sides of the same coin, it is even clearer that a trade union cannot stand aside from the liberation struggle. But the very fact that conditions demand that workers engaged in economic struggle must also involve themselves with broader political questions has helped to blur the line between trade unionism and political leadership of the working class as a whole.

The trade union movement is the most important mass contingent of the working class. Its organised involvement in struggle will help reinforce the dominant role of workers as a class. But the basic character of a trade union means it cannot act as a working-class political vanguard. If it attempted to do so, it would risk committing organisational suicide as a mass force.

What about the debate on whether to incorporate socialist objectives into

the trade union movement, and the related question of union adoption of the Freedom Charter and/or a workers' charter?

We must guard against premature attempts to formally incorporate socialist objectives into programmes of trade unions and the federations to which they belong. Individual membership, or the affiliation of unions to a federation, cannot be made conditional on the acceptance of such a high level of political consciousness. To attempt to do so is to confuse a trade union with a political vanguard.

It is true that trade unions and workers' experience of struggle in unions provide the most fertile field in which to school masses of workers in socialist understanding and political consciousness. But this is not achieved by proclaiming 'aims' which are not yet understood by the mass of membership. Such an approach would narrow the mass character of the trade union movement and, in addition, give the enemy the very excuse it needs to deal with one of its most formidable foes.

The possibilities of spreading socialist consciousness within trade unions should not be sacrificed through short cuts which will, in fact, slow down its advances. The adoption by some unions of the Freedom Charter correctly reflects the mass popular mood. It is a pointer to a more realistic linkage between the economic and political struggle in the present phase.

The debate around the Freedom Charter versus a workers' charter is posed in an exclusivist way, and this leads to confusion. There is no reason why both the Freedom Charter and a workers' charter cannot stand side by side. In practice the debate, as posed by the 'workerist' tendency, has emphasised an incorrect 'either-or' approach.

What about the independent political organisation of the working class?

Victory in the democratic revolution must find a working class already equipped organisationally and ideologically to assert its role. A strong trade union movement and a workers' political vanguard are, we believe, essential preconditions for such an outcome. There is both a harmony and a distinction in the character and roles of these two vital sectors, and the failure to understand

this distinction will inevitably weaken the cause of working-class leadership.

Workers' political leadership must represent the workers not just in economic struggle against the bosses, but in relation to all classes of society, and to the state as an organised force. A trade union cannot carry out this role. Only a political vanguard of the working class, made up of professional revolutionaries coming mainly from the ranks of advanced working-class cadres with a capacity to combine both legal and illegal activity, can do so. We believe the SACP is such a party, and that its history, with all its ups and downs, has equipped it to play such a role.

The SACP's characterisation of South Africa as a colonial situation of a special type is very controversial. Some have argued that the thesis of internal colonialism is only a descriptive metaphor, with no theoretical or explanatory status. Can internal colonialism as a concept really adequately interpret South African reality, with its developed class structures and cleavages based on a mode of production, distribution and circulation which is dominantly capitalist?

The term 'internal colonialism', or 'colonialism of a special type', is both analytically correct and politically useful in describing South African reality. The reality it describes is that the colonial condition and status of the black majority has persisted despite the juridical, constitutional and economic changes which followed the Act of Union in 1910. From the point of view of the dominated majority the form has changed, but the substance of their colonial status has not altered.

The onus is on those who contest this proposition to describe the point or the stage in the post-1910 period when blacks were freed from their special colonial constraints, which continued to apply to all of them whatever class they belonged to. For example, can the proposition be disputed that the black worker is exploited

both as a worker and as a black worker?

We deliberately do not equate internal colonialism with the classic colonialism which describes geographical separation between the colonial power and the colonised people. That is why we call it colonialism of a special type. It is an innovative concept which should be judged in its unique context. It is a concept which was not there in previous marxist learning, and we have entered it into the communist book in our elaboration of the indigenous theory of the South African revolution.

We believe the concept of internal colonialism provides a valid and rigorous theoretical foundation for the emphasis we give to the present phase of the national liberation struggle, particularly its main content in the period of the national-democratic revolution. It provides a starting point for grappling with the complex question of the relationship between national and class struggle. It helps us to understand the specific character of South Africa's dominant capitalist mode of production and the way in which this specificity mediates and influences virtually every level of conflict within it.

The most persistent critique of our thesis relates to a charge that it nurtures a form of populism, allegedly conjuring up a struggle between 'peoples' rather than 'classes'. Of relevance here is what has already been said about the way we understand the relationship between class and national struggle and how we apply our understanding in revolutionary practice. If there have been departures on this score, then they must be specifically assessed and debated, and not mechanically attributed to the basic internal colonialist thesis.

It is in any case difficult to understand why our detractors should conclude that the thesis leads to a dilution of our understanding of class divisions both within the dominant and subject peoples, and why it should divert us from the correct application of class criteria in the social conflicts. This does not follow, even in the case of colonialism of the more classical variety such as Britain and pre-1948 India.



Letter on language

Dear PHAMBILI

The struggle for liberation has reached areas which hitherto had not been adequately reached. There is increasing participation of ordinary people. The masses are deciding their destiny. In short our struggle has become truly mass in character. Organs of peoples power like street, village, shop-steward committees, SRCs are a testimony to this deepening organisational process.

For the first time our people are beginning to experience democratic practises in deciding their own future. South Africa's political and social enviroment have been marked by a democracy that is limited to white people only. Four million people decide the fate of 26 million people. This set up is abnormal, it must be changed.

In our township this set up is beginning to be challenged by the massive participation of ordinary students, workers, youth, women in the structures of people's power. It is this deepening of organisation in our township on which I want to focus.

This new political situation has left impressions on me as an activist, and I'm

sure other activists too. What I want to share is, how we as activists, given the mass character of our struggle, relate with the masses on a day to day basis. What LANGUAGE do we use in the democratic movement? Language is a very important means of communication. For a long time, people have been denied access to information and knowledge. This has been the exclusive property of people who went to schools.

For us to be able to bring a lot of people into the struggle, our language must be simple and straight forward. More often we do not follow this rule. In this way we slow down the pace and extent of participation of the people in the struggle. We always talk about Marx, Mao, Lenin and all dialectical concepts. We do not ensure that this theory is understood by the people. What we fail to understand is how the struggle constantly changes those who are involved, eg. activists and the masses; and how activists and the masses in turn enrich the struggle. It is a dialectical process. Out of this dialectical process emerges activists who understand people's problems, who can gauge people's feelings. In the townships this process is happening. Unfortunately there is still a body of activists who find it difficult to understand and appreciate the mood of our people.

Simplicity is the key

To be simple enables us to reach out to many people. We must talk the language they understand, i.e. not use concepts like capitalist accumulation and so forth. That can be put in simple words. I have also found that the usage of English in street committes and blocks, retards peoples abilities to understand the essence of what is said. We always try to discourage people talking English. Activists must always try to talk Zulu, Sotho, xhosa, etc.

The process of struggle creates possibilities for creativity and innovation on our part as activists. Unfortunately we are not being creative in many instances in our application of concepts of people's power and democracy. We are bookish and as such cannot help our people contribute in their own way to the world process of struggle.

What I mean by this Cde. editor is that many countries have creatively applied people's power in their unique way, eg. Angola, Nicaragua, etc.

In short what is important in language is : (1) simplicity and (2) creativity..

All our writings should be informed by this understanding of struggle. This applies to all our publications and propaganda.

What I have experienced in the naming of certain blocks in the township, is that decisions on this is sometimes taken by the youth which at times is operating outside street and block committees. More often it is the kind of youth that is more politically advanced. There is no democratic process in the formulation of names. The result is the names that people don't understand, eg. Leningrad, Moscow. It must be said that there is nothing wrong in these words. But the methods used to arrive at these do not give the masses that democratic experience of taking decisions in naming their streets and blocks.

Our people must understand why it is Nicaragua Block, Moscow Block. As such people's understanding of internationalism will be enhanced. But unfortunately I never heard of a block named after our peoples leaders except Mandela, Tambo, Sisulu, Kotane. What about our earlier leaders of resistance such as Bambata, Sekhukhune, Hintsa, Shaka who are within the reach of our people's memories.

All in all I hope more activists will learn a lot from the masses themselves. Let us all be changed by the situation. It has the potential of producing more creative, simple but equally strong and reliable comrades. Let us march with the people to victory.

Forward to peoples democracy

Yours in struggle

Comrade A



CONGRESS OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF SOUTH AFRICA (COTRALESA) CONSTITUTION

The launch of an organisation of progressive traditional leaders is a significant development in the light of the necessity of the Front broadening and expanding into rural areas. PHAMBILI publishes the COTRALESA constitution for our readers interest and comment.

PREAMBLE

We the traditional leaders in South Africa realising

- **that we, as members of the oppressed and exploited people, have been the most abused and alienated in the land of our fore- fathers by the evil apartheid colonialism and its violent and anti-people Bantustan system.**
-

- that our people have been robbed their political, economic and social rights and their right to self-determination and nationhood by a succession of Dutch, British and now apartheid colonialism.
 - that our colonial status and suffering have been made possible by, first, the demon of racialism, the abberations and animosity between various national groups, and secondly, by the forced maintenance and fostering of these divisions that weaken us as a people by the apartheid government.
 - that the Bantustan system has created killing fields by the murderous apartheid machinery that seeks to deny our people their right to full South African citizenship and to share in the wealth of their country by the imposition of sham independence, ethnicity, tribalism, forced removals, forced tribal levies and taxes, land and stock limitations and restrictions, migratory labour system, vigilantes and other forms of apartheid violence against our people.
 - that, like Sekhukhuni, Ramabulanah, Cetshwayo, Shaka, Matikwana, Nyabela, Moshoeshoe, Luthuli and now Mandela, we have a duty and a role to play, in the ongoing National Liberation struggle for a free South Africa.
 - that our people have been robbed of their right to land, liberty and peace by a racist and exploitative form of government based on inequality and injustice.
 - that it is in the Bantustans in particular and everywhere else in South Africa where people are forced to live in conditions of abject poverty in
-

the land where they are the immediate producers of all wealth and it is, therefore the interest of these exploited and oppressed working masses of our country, that must be central and leading within the interest of all our people;

believe

- that the aspiration of our people can only be met under a democratic state based on the will of all the people in a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa

therefore resolve

- to join our people in a determined struggle for freedom by founding an organisation of all democratically minded traditional leaders in South Africa.

2. NAME

The organisation shall be known as The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, hereinafter referred to as COTRALESA

3.. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

3.1 To organise and unite all traditional leaders in our country

3.2 To build and deepen proper democratic relationships between youth, workers and all sectors of our people

3.3 To take up the demands of our community jointly with them

3.4 To fight against tribalism , ethnicity and all apartheid instigated conflicts among our people

3.5 To fight for the eradication of the bantustan system and to restore South African citizenship to all our people

3.6 to, jointly with all our people, win back the land of our forefathers and share it amongst those who work it in order to banish famine and land hunger

3.7 To fight against the destruction of family life through the bantustan system and all related unjust laws

3.8 To build , develop and deepen the spirit of free exchange of cultural activities among all our people in pursuance of the building and development of a true South African culture and national talent

3.9 To school the traditional leaders about the aims of the South African Liberation Struggle and their role in it

3.10 To run projects and self-help schemes together with other progressive organisations that will advance our communities and enhance the good image of COTRALESA

3.11 To fight for a unitary non-racial and democratic South Africa



Mzwakhe on culture

Mzwakhe Mbuli of the UDF Cultural Desk was interviewed in a weekly newspaper about struggle, the role of culture and the cultural boycott. Here we reprint the article.

QUESTION: Do you find any need to embark on a cultural boycott, especially since there are issues which need more urgent attention in this country? Is it not going to have an effect on the expansion of our artist's talents?

MZWAKHE'S ANSWER: There is a dire need to start implementing such tactics in an unchangeable country such as ours.

The boycott is being used to blockade apartheid culture, so as to allow space for a true people's culture to emerge.

We are going to have to promote our own culture, which for some time has been suppressed by those who regard it as primitive and barbaric.

We should use it as a tool to raise people's awareness of their living conditions and the reasons for their sufferings.

It must be remembered that culture permeates all aspects of the people's national struggle - be it workers demanding better conditions and a living wage, be it students demanding democratically elected SRCs or that the doors of

education and culture be flung wide open, or be it communities fighting against high rents.

Who are cultural workers and what do you think their role is in society?

Mz: By cultural workers, I mean all writers, poets, musicians, playwright, actors and those involved in other art forms. They all have a special duty to struggle in the field of ideas and become inventive and make discoveries. In this way there is no need to start borrowing ideas from outside.

Do you support the idea of a blanket ban as far as cultural activities are concerned?

Mz: I strongly believe that a total cultural boycott will weaken our struggle against apartheid. I think even the African National Congress (ANC) does not support that idea.

But I want to quote something General Jannie Geldenhuis, chief of the South African Defence Force, said at a braai for the rebel Australian cricket team.

He said: 'The arms boycott and the sport boycott have been the most damaging of our enemies' weapons - that is why the army is so concerned that teams from overseas keep coming here.'

I still insist that it is important that the apartheid regime and all its supporting forces be isolated from all foreign assistance - technical, scientific and cultural.

How are you going to screen artists to ensure that the boycott is not abused?

Mz: Firstly, the democratic movement needs to discuss this. Furthermore, we need to be sure that the artists are not leaving the country on money-making missions and other such projects.

They must be committed to informing the international community about our plight and struggle in South Africa.

Before thinking of any overseas trip, artists should answer this question: Are we as cultural workers, responsible and disciplined enough to become the voice of

the oppressed people?

And that is not enough. The trip should also have the approval of overseas solidarity groups.

If all these factors are taken into account, such overseas trips should not be affected by the cultural boycott.

What do you think can be done to liberate our own culture?

Mz: Cultural liberation cannot take place outside the broader struggle for a democratic society in South Africa.

Do you have any reasons to support this statement?

Mz: Yes, art does not exist in a vacuum - in fact, art is produced by artists, and artists, in turn, are products of the community.

In fact, all cultural workers should come under the discipline of the mass democratic movement. Their objectives amongst others, should be to reclaim people's rights, their cultural heritage and values, their dignity, which have all been usurped by imperialist domination.

How can this be achieved?

Mz: It can be done by simply defending, consolidating and advancing our struggle, on both the political and cultural fronts.

We have to act against forces that seek to destroy, directly or indirectly, our cultural values, history, achievements and our resistance.

What effect does apartheid have on culture?

Mz: The system of apartheid has resulted in two forms of culture - the culture of the dominant and the culture of the dominated.

Can you draw the line between the culture of the 'dominated' and that of the 'dominant'?

Mz: The dominant culture is characterised by total control of the means of production, and the creation of the massive political and military apparatus by the apartheid regime.

In fact, apartheid culture means a state of emergency, the evictions of families, soldiers in the townships, forced removals, breathing teargas, hunger in the land of plenty, lack of housing for blacks while white houses remain empty, the reinforcement of the Group Areas Act, restricted funerals, which undermine people's tradition.

Did the colonisers dilute the people's culture?

Mz: History teaches us that the colonial kingdoms and totalitarian regimes were established, with all the crimes and exploitation that characterise them.

However, the cultural resistance of the people was never destroyed. Our culture has survived all colonial and imperial exploitation.

Do you have any message for committed cultural workers?

Mz: I want to repeat that all cultural workers have a special role to play, be they musicians, actors, poets, film-makers, playwrights or sculptors.

How do you feel after your tape 'Change is Pain' was banned?

Mz: That was an experiment. This is a sick society. How foolish is the government to decide to ban an experiment before the actual product. I am going ahead with my next album which will be titled 'Likely To Be Banned'.

The banning of 'Change is Pain' has served to motivate and inspire me. They haven't banned my mind yet. I can still produce plays, poetry, dance and music.

I am joining the masses black and white, as well as the international community, in calling for the unbanning of the outlawed organisations.

If that happens maybe my tape and other people's works could be unbanned.

What is it that you dislike about high profile musicians?

Mz: Most of the local artists are 'owned' by managers. they are being controlled and directed by capitalists instead of being in control of what they are doing.

You said the last time that you were concerned about the effect state propaganda has on people. Can you tell us more?

Mz: The television and radio stations bombard people with a whole lot of ideas that neutralise them. Their intelligence is manipulated. People are manipulated to a point where they can see Western civilisation without seeing oppression.

The propaganda is used in subtle ways, to bolster the cracking pillars of apartheid. Remember the Info song, but that was so blatant nobody really swallowed it.

Can you give us an example?

Mz: Lets look at churches for instance. People are urged to wear jackets and ties, as though God only approves them if they are 'suitably' clothed.

Has it been taken into consideration that the majority of our people are either unemployed or do not have enough money to buy such fancy clothes?

I mean, this idea of dressing up to go to church contradicts with the belief that God always sides with the poor and the oppressed.

Think of a classroom situation. Students are discouraged to participate in politics whereas the officials of the Department of Education and Training are members of the ruling National Party. It's a clear case of double standards.

What is your advice to cultural workers?

MZ: We need to be careful of attempts to divide us.

History teaches us that imperialists over the years have strived to divide oppressed people from each other.

They established social gaps and culturally alienated groups and individuals. They create a middle class which gets a stake in the unjust system and acts as a buffer between the oppressed and the oppressor.

What effect does this have on the community?

Mz: One lot start seeing itself as culturally superior, because they have nice houses, lots of clothes and money - they have become westernised.

They undermine the majority of the people and their struggle for freedom. But this is not the only way the majority of people are undermined. Even the usage of different languages on radio and TV is geared to divide us.

Look, I do not have problems with different languages being used. After all any language is part of the people's culture in any society.

But in South Africa today language is being used to make people feel they belong to different tribal homelands instead of to one country and one nation.

The government has also used traditional chiefs, who are to some degree acceptable to the masses, to do their dirty work.

The late Dr Verwoerd used traditional chiefs to pave the way for the Bantustan system.

Is that tactic also applied in sport?

For sure it is. One must look very closely at the concept of multiracial sport.

The South African government is using multiracial sport to lie to the International community. I am against mixing blacks and whites on a soccerfield for 60 minutes without mixing taking place in all parts of life to the level of parliament.

Sport, like anything else, cannot be normal under apartheid.

Lots of money is being pumped into sports like soccer. How do you feel about this?

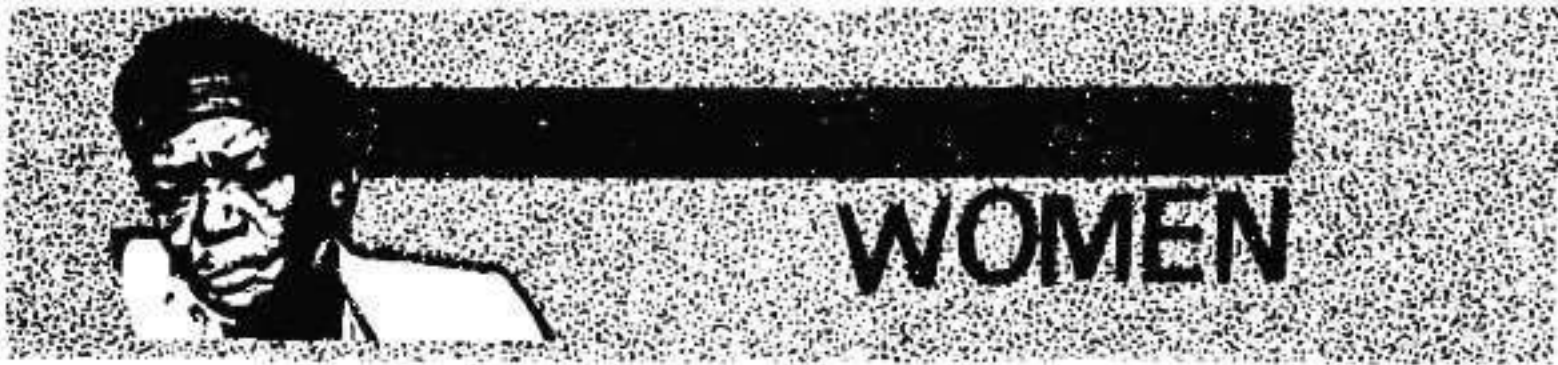
Mz: Sport in this country is influenced by commercialism and profit-making, instead of being orientated to the needs of the working population of this country. Soccer teams should be taking the people's concern to heart. At the very least we should have people's soccer teams, like 'Walter Sisulu United' or the 'Cosatu Eleven'.

What is really important to you?

Mz: That South African culture should always be inspired by the ideals of the Freedom Charter - that the doors of learning and culture shall be opened. The government should be discovering, developing and encouraging national talent to benefit cultural life for everybody in this country. It should be a challenge to all of us in the progressive movement to start promoting these ideals.



DOLLAR BRAND – Strandfontein – 1972



The Angolan Women's Organisation in the vanguard

This article looks at the position of women in Angola and their role in the country's struggle for socialism.

The people of Angola will remember Deolinda, Engracia, Teresa, Irene and Lucrecia for a very long time. These five women were amongst the first militants in the independence struggle led by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). At the beginning of the 1960s, a difficult decade in the struggle for freedom, they also participated in the foundation of the Angolan Women's Organisation (OMA). On March 2, 1966, while they were trying to join their MPLA comrades fighting the Portuguese occupation forces in the north of the country, they were caught by members of the puppet National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and assassinated.

Twenty years after these events, which established the role of women in the struggle for freedom, and ten years after independence, the organisation has more

than a million members. OMA's present general secretary, Ruth Neto, is another veteran of the anti-colonial war and also the youngest sister of Angola's first head of state.

In spite of the problems caused by South African aggression, OMA undertakes many different activities throughout Angola on a very limited budget. The government and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos himself have both paid ready tribute to the invaluable work carried out by the organisation in areas of health and education.

Legacy of colonialism

OMA is particularly concerned about the problems of peasant women in a country marked by underdevelopment and the after effects of colonialism, where agriculture is the main economic activity.

Women are generally responsible for the production of subsistence crops. In northern Angola, for example, men cultivate cash crops (such as coffee, cotton and palm oil), while women grow foodstuffs for direct consumption (such as manioc, sweet potatoes and groundnuts). In the southern central regions, men work in the maize plantations like their wives, but they usually produce only the extra crop destined for sale or exchange.

Since she is thus given the task of meeting the family's needs, the Angolan peasant woman is particularly cut off from the outside world. At its first Congress, held in March 1983, OMA recognised that peasant women are less likely than their husbands to change the old production methods that characterise their work, since it is 'difficult for them to understand the benefits they would gain from a new organisation of society.' OMA concluded that such women should lead initiatives aimed at modernising the countryside and raising the standard of living among the population in general.

In consequence, OMA organises periodic meetings in the villages. Peasant women are sometimes too busy to attend these meetings since, in addition to their work in the fields, they are also responsible for fetching water, making flour, preparing meals and educating the children. 'Despite all these tasks, however, women are showing increasing interest in coming to the meetings,' says Hilda Carreira, a leading member of OMA and an MPLA militant since the days of the

fight for independence. 'We discuss problems which arise in their daily lives. Men often ask whether they can also come to the meetings and we do not see any objection to this. On the contrary, it is good opportunity to remind them of their domestic obligations.'

Tradition and change

The matters raised at the village meetings are very diverse. Since they sometimes touch on deep-rooted beliefs and traditions, they have to be dealt with cautiously. OMA would like to see the elimination of polygamy and dowries, for example, but takes a tolerant attitude in practise. As Hilda Carreira explains, 'the younger generation will gradually break with these traditions when they are better educated and have access to the benefits of economic development.'

The resolutions of the OMA Congress take particular account of the problems of working women, and stress the need for government to pay special attention to the situation of peasants. Nonetheless their problems and aspirations are placed in the broader context of the reforms envisaged by the MPLA-Worker's Party, which 'are still not apparent' in the countryside. Many projects and programmes have been drawn up to improve the standard of living in rural areas, particularly for women.

However, a number of 'subjective and objective factors have rendered them impractical for the time being'. Apart from the permanent state of insecurity caused by enemy action in some regions, OMA lays some of the responsibility 'with the Party and the State'. Leaders of the organisation note that the Party has always shown more awareness of women's problems - and those of peasants in general - than the state, but party officials have not always exercised their authority to ensure that their policy guidelines are respected.

Training for midwives

OMA has therefore called on the state to direct the greater part of its development initiatives towards the countryside, where the majority of the population lives. OMA has opened several centres for 'development promotion

'in rural areas. Already the ministry of health offices has been asked to take measures to retrain the traditional midwives. The rate of infant mortality is still very high in the countryside.

Equal rights in the family

In urban centres, OMA activities are centred more around 'universal' themes such as the struggle for the emancipation of women and the establishment of equal rights within a family, at the workplace and in society at large. Information campaigns on family planning and various forms of contraception inevitably arouse much more interest among the women of the towns than among their sisters in the countryside.

OMA officials believe that the state is still reluctant to accept the fundamental rights of women concerning contraception and abortion

. Last year, on March 2, the date on which the five murdered heroines of Angola are nationally honoured, Ruth Neto made a speech in which she declared that health institutions have put up 'some resistance to the application of measures relating to sex education, family planning and the punishing of illegal abortion. We all know of cases where women and children have died as result of repeated childbirth and where young girls have carried out abortions on themselves with primitive means at hand'. Since it was impossible to ignore the reality of the situation, she concluded, the institutions concerned should be encouraged to take a clearer stance on behalf of women's basic rights.

Adult education and literacy

OMA has also given consideration to the special problems of urban housewives. It calls for the recognition of the social value of domestic work and wants housewives to be given the opportunity to learn skills.

'Domestic activities simply do not enable women to flourish as individuals and as full members of our society', declares the organisation. This implies the need for intensified efforts to educate adults, particularly women. At present 300 000 Angolan women are literate, but there still is a large number who are illiterate.

Even today, though 46 percent of the children who start at primary school are girls, they represent only 23 percent of those who finish their education. Consequently, there is a need to help women to take on responsibility and assert themselves outside the family circle, especially in the towns, so they can play their full role in the development process and in the economic growth of the nation.

New family code

In modern Angola, nevertheless, increasing numbers of women occupy highly responsible posts, including top level positions in the Party, the machinery of state and the army, where they sometimes carry out tasks which were once performed exclusively by men. Employment figures in Luanda, however, show that women are generally more highly qualified than their male counterparts in similar posts. In cases of flagrant injustice, OMA is ready to intervene. 'We receive complaints where the law has been breached and we help the parties concerned to transmit them. Says Hilda Carreira, 'The law is on our side in many respects. The implementation of the new Family Code, once the proposed legislation has been put to the population, should represent major progress in the defence of women's rights'. Amongst other things, this Code will accord established de facto couples the same rights and duties as married people, with particular regard to their children.

The achievements made, and those to come, however, will always be at risk until the aggression against Angola ceases. Speaking to the OMA Congress, Prseident Dos Santos pointed out that 'special features of the situation of Angolan women should not make us lose sight of the wider problems facing the nation. In the last analysis, the emancipation of women depends upon the resolution of these difficulties. We cannot offer adequate solutions to the problems of women until we have dealt with the major threat against our country; that is to say, imperialist aggression and economic difficulties.

OMA's General Scretary, Ruth Neto, expressed the significance of the organisations activities against this dramatic background. 'We should all be aware that our own generation will be sacrificed to the war and the material and social problems this has occasioned,' she said. 'But our sacrifice will not be in vain, for it will enable our children to live in a free nation, on the right path to development.

Presidential Support for OMA's Objectives

In his speech to the First congress of the Angolan Women's Organisation (OMA), President Dos Santos had some strong remarks to make about attitudes and practices unacceptable in revolutionary Angola:

"Having established equality on the battlefield, in the difficult conditions of guerilla warfare and clandestine activity, the Angolan woman of today is rightly calling upon even the most reactionary and selfish of her compatriots to respect her independence and her freedom to make decisions about her own life and that of her family [...] This is not an easy matter, nor is it a struggle that concerns women alone, for it involves all the progressive elements in our society..."

"Male authoritarianism-commonly known as 'machismo' - is still a serious obstacle to the full scale participation of women in political and organisational work, and in the efforts we intend to make in the fields of production, national defence and education. Underlying the 'macho' phenomenon, there is often a male feeling of distrust and a reactionary, possessive attitude which reflects insufficient mutual understanding. This is also a sign of the lack of patient educational attempts to combat superstition and other prejudices, rumour, intrigue and even idle speculation."

"Both the Party and the Angolan Women's Organisation have a very important role to play in struggling for the real emancipation of women by creating the conditions for the raising of their cultural level; for helping them to participate fully and consciously in economic, political and social life; and, finally, for establishing their legitimate right to decide freely when they wish to have children..."

"The defence of the interest and rights of children should also be an integral part of the fight for emancipation..."
