

ORGANISE AND ADVANCE TO PEOPLE'S POWER

On the eve of the whites only elections, the Botha regime is openly intensifying the use of naked terror and fascism to break our people's determination to be free. All our mass organisations have been seriously affected by detentions and today it is even illegal to demand the release of detained children. In the African townships the enemy administration has been rendered useless. The only way that the enemy can maintain its presence there is by deploying the SAP, SADF, kitskonstabels and witdoeke, who in the name of law and order are daily perpetrating untold miseries on our people. This enemy strategy is calculated to flush out not only the people's leaders and activists, but also cadres of our people's army, MK. The bankruptcy and incapability of the racists to provide solutions has led to the further deepening of the politico-economic crisis facing this country. Inflation, unemployment, poverty, disease, crime and death are on the rampage. Yet, even at this late hour, whites are preparing for another round of racist elections, to decide the future, without consulting us, the people of South Africa.

Despite the heavy repressive machinery unleashed on us, the enemy has not been able to conquer our people's resolve to be free. From Bonteheuwel to Laalplek, from Nyanga to Zwelethemba, and across the entire country, the struggle continues. Our people have decided not to submit but to unite, organise and hit back. The recent successful launch of SAYCO in Cape Town, and the supreme sacrifice made by two MK guerrillas recently in New Crossroads and Nyanga, who decided to take their own lives rather than to submit to the enemy, are two excellent examples of the spirit of no surrender of the oppressed masses.

But there is still a big danger. While the enemy has lost the strategic initiative, it still commands considerable force. Let there be no illusions that the enemy is determined to ensure that rivers of blood must flow before it is defeated. This situation demands extreme vigilance. Harder and more serious work must be done in our mass organisations. We must prepare ourselves now for an even harsher situation to come. Radical steps to address the weaknesses and mistakes in our organisations should be taken urgently. Old ways of organising which are causing unnecessary casualties should be discarded. New and better tactics should be sought. The mass democratic movement must find clandestine and yet democratic ways of carrying out its work and rally the people to mass action. At the same time, high profile mobilising work remains a crucial compo-

ment of our revolutionary tactics - an important weapon that should be used wherever possible.

The ANC has declared 1987 the year of ADVANCE TO PEOPLE'S POWER. What is the significance and concrete meaning of this declaration for us here in Cape Town and elsewhere? How do we take all four pillars of our struggle - mass action, underground political work, armed struggle and international isolation of the Apartheid regime - forward in an integrated way?

THE MASS DEMOCRATIC & TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS

The mass democratic and trade union movement is a fundamental aspect of the four pillars of our struggle. Its main components are the workers, youth, women, religious organisations, cultural, student and professional organisations. Their main task is political mobilisation of the masses and creation of effective structures through which the masses can unite and confront the enemy. Without this systematic and persistent mass political and organisational work, our revolution can never succeed. Yet it is extremely important for comrades and activists working in the democratic and trade union movement to understand the perspectives of building the mass movement not in isolation, but within the context of the overall strategy and tactics of the entire liberation movement, i.e. when and where and how does the mass movement interconnect with the other pillars.

Legalism, or the fear to defy racist laws through mass action, is sometimes the obstacle in understanding this process, and some see the four pillars as neatly defined areas of responsibility for different organisations and people. Whilst different organisational structures, styles of work and programmes of action are necessary for each pillar of the struggle, unity in action and coordination between them is absolutely necessary precisely because all of them are directed at the same goal - the overthrow of the racist system and the seizure of political power by the people. As we read in the January 8 statement, we must develop a firm grasp of the interconnection between the four pillars. There are no Chinese walls between these aspects of the ANC's politico-military strategy. All our cadres in the mass democratic and trade union movement, in the political underground and structures of MK, must develop a common strategy of advancing our struggle.

The first major and common political task facing all patriots today is the building and consolidation of people's power through building democratic organisations in all areas of our lives. Our experience so far teaches us that our organisations need to give deeper political content and direction to the building of our people's ability to govern themselves. Everybody should be mobilised for the realisation of this task. The practical involvement and

and participation of the people, especially the working class, at street and factory level in this process is of utmost importance. We must always insist that the masses must be responsible for their own lives through their organisations that are controlled and run by them. The task of the people's committees is to ensure that their communities are run democratically and in order. But also and more importantly to ensure that the people in a particular street are mobilised not in vague terms but firmly behind the political programme of the liberation movement. The working class, being the most reliable and disciplined force in our struggle, has a central role to play in the building of people's power. All attempts aimed at denying and undermining the central role of the workers and their organisations in building people's power should be dismissed as counter-revolutionary.

The civics in the African townships, the comrades reviving CAHAC and other comrades who have begun to build people's power in their areas should come together and urgently come up with a common coordinated effort of building and consolidating people's power, especially in the Coloured community. The absence of strong mass organisation in the Coloured community renders the entire mass democratic and trade union movement in the Western Cape vulnerable to enemy pressure and repression. This situation has to be corrected immediately. Mass organisations should initiate people's street committees which can build soup kitchens for the unemployed and pensioners, cooperatives, health education and other projects which will improve the quality of people's lives. Through the formation of defence committees, neighbourhood care committees and street committees, coordinated through the civics in conjunction with the mass organisations and workers' locals in the area, the people must build their power to control and shape their own lives. The projects, cooperatives, creches and clinics set up through these street committees must at all times be under the control of the people, so that they benefit the community and not self-seeking individuals.

The mass and workers' movements need to come up with a strategy to mobilise and organise the migrant workers and hostel dwellers, so as to undercut the base from which the enemy recruits witdoeke and kitskonstabels, and to do away with the migrant labour system. The hostel dwellers association has an important part to play here. The unity between hostel dwellers and township residents is crucial, and so is the need to extend ungovernability to the rural areas and to build **strong mass** organisation in the rural areas. Here again migrant workers should be the spearhead.

It is the responsibility of street committees to ensure the security and defence of their communities from attack by enemy death squads and to mercilessly uproot the enemy informer network in our townships. Members of the street committees must ultimately become the eyes and ears of the movement, and provide protection to MK members within their midst.

CAYCO, JWCO, CAHAC, CIVIC, DETU, WECTU, WECSO, SANSCO, NUSAS, UDF AREA COMMITTEES and religion based organisations must become real militant champions and carriers of our people's demands and aspirations and not paper organisations. Without strong branches these organisations will remain weak. A lot of attention should be paid to build our branch work, precisely because the branches are the lifeblood of our organisations, and are daily in touch with the people. The main duty of the central organs of our organisations is to guide and co-ordinate the work of the branches. We need to give a deeper political content to our education and training programmes and implement them more systematically and consistently. The education programme should be geared towards producing and reproducing cadres who are equal to the present day tasks of the struggle. Reportback skills are crucial to sustained democratic work in our organisations. Without clearly politically motivated reportbacks, co-ordination and united action becomes a joke. The tasks of building national unity in each sector of our struggle must be pushed forward, at all times ensuring comprehensive reportbacks are being given to the rank and file membership. Without political understanding of national unity at the base, the ability of organisations to embark on united national action is minimal.

In the relative absence of mass rallies and other high profile activities, propaganda is the best way in which organisations continue to communicate with the people. The propaganda of the mass democratic and trade union movements must be geared towards making the masses understand that the task of overthrowing the government lies in their hands. Our propaganda must make the masses understand the political and organisational tasks of the time and must agitate for resolute implementation of those tasks. Slogans on the walls should not be vague and out of touch, nor should they be the task of spontaneous individuals or groups, but a carefully planned political activity of our mass organisations.

The alignment of political forces in our country is changing daily. It is the task of the democratic movement to broaden the alliances that constitute the people's camp, while ensuring the leadership of the black oppressed masses and the working class within that alliance. The Muslim and Christian leadership must be called upon to identify themselves not only theoretically but also practically with the people's camp. Democratic Afrikaners must make a clean break with their past and become the new Voortrekkers by joining hands with democratic forces. The broad range of women's organisations in the churches, rural areas, self help groups and so on must be brought together under the umbrella of the Federation of South African Women, led by the mass-based women's organisations. Our professional comrades must work hard to draw more and more professionals into using their skills to build people's power, and should put their skills at the disposal of mass organisations. Within the white community, democrats should put their resources at the disposal of young conscripts on the run from the SADF.

All mass organisations should participate in the building of people's

culture and people's education. The work started in the last year by our cultural workers must be taken further and given deeper political content. The NECC structures should expand their focus to answer the crying need for non-formal education by our working men and women. Students and teachers, organised into non-racial unity, should not only take forward their fight against gutter education, but also use their skills to share their education with their parents.

COSATU and other trade unions, whilst demanding a minimum wage for all workers, should simultaneously demand jobs for the unemployed workers. These demands of our workers should be advanced together because one cannot be realised without the other. Unemployed workers should be united and organised into one structure under the umbrella of COSATU. Literacy programmes and basic skills like bookkeeping and driving etc. should be given to unemployed workers, so that they can build and maintain their own workers' cooperatives. In this way we begin now to build our people's ability to run and govern their own country and economy.

Militant united action and solidarity within the trade union movement, especially for workers on strike, is a key precondition for our victory over the enemy. It is the unshakeable policy of MK to register its militant support for workers on strike. Our uncompromising demand as workers is that this year and forever, May Day must be an effective workers holiday. It is the political responsibility of our unions not just to identify themselves with the struggle for liberation, but also to participate practically in the difficult task of overthrowing fascism and seizing political power.

The trade union movement has diverse political and ideological tendencies. But this diversity should not be allowed to be the source of disunity and confusion. Rather we should unite in action around concrete and common demands of our people and workers. The task of organising and integrating the workers who were previously in TUCSA unions into COSATU requires our urgent attention. International and local reaction have embarked on a feverish campaign to split our unions into many factions. The first aim of this campaign is to keep our trade unions and workers out of the struggle for liberation, and to limit their activity to the factory. The second aim is to purge and expel all "radical", revolutionary elements from COSATU unions and leadership. The ICFTU and other reactionary international trade union bodies are spearheading this campaign. These dangerous counter-revolutionary imperialist plans should be exposed and fought. They are aimed at destroying our militancy and unity, to reduce us to toothless and docile bodies of workers who are no threat to their capitalist interests. Viewed from this angle, the coincidence between the sectarian and sometimes reactionary position of workerists within our trade unions, and these imperialist aims, is quite disturbing. The best way to ensure that our unions are not hijacked by dubious elements is for the workers themselves to lead and control their own unions, and not to put university intellectuals who have never experienced exploitation in their whole lives in control of the unions. Those intellectuals who are really committed to serving the workers will not seek

to hold positions of power within our unions, but will assist to build the workers' ability to control and lead their own unions.

THE ANC & SACTU UNDERGROUND

The underground political and propaganda network of the ANC and SACTU is the main engine and pillar of our struggle. This is an organised and disciplined network of political revolutionaries whose main mission is the effective mobilisation and organisation of masses around the political line of the ANC and SACTU. It is the task of the ANC underground to ensure that mass organisations are militant people's weapons and not talk shops; that hostile and reactionary tendencies within our midst do not hijack or mislead our organisations; that effective coordination between mass organisations themselves and between the mass movement and the underground exists. In short to ensure that the masses are welded into a conscious, cohesive and militant political army capable of conquering the racists and establishing people's power. Our political line is correct precisely because it embodies the just demands and aspirations of our people. Non-racial people's democracy formed on the basis of one person one vote, is the key principle of this political line. This is the national cry and demand of the oppressed masses and workers of South Africa.

There is a small but quite vocal tendency within the democratic and trade union movement which dismisses this immediate political demand of the oppressed majority as "bourgeois democracy" and sometimes counterposes this to socialism. This sectarian political attitude is in fact extremely critical and hostile to all the fundamental political perspectives of our struggle as seen by the ANC and its allies. Whilst these gentlemen dismiss us, the Pretoria fascists do not mince their words about who presents the real threat to their interests. The oppressed and exploited majority of South Africa, the international progressive community and the workers of the socialist countries have correctly identified the liberation alliance led by the ANC as the only political force capable of delivering our people from centuries of brutal white rule. All attempts to undermine and denigrate the ANC, its political line and its leadership should therefore not be tolerated.

The role of SACTU underground structures is to ensure that the correct revolutionary trade union perspective is instilled amongst the workers. Our workers must understand that the struggle for higher wages and better working conditions is inextricably linked to the struggle for social emancipation. Apart from the consolidation of workers' organisations into industrial unions and into one federation, the role of SACTU comrades is to deepen the workers' understanding of their role within the liberation movement, and to build a capable working class leadership within all organisations and fronts.

ARMED STRUGGLE

The SADF, SAP and all other death squads have become the last line of enemy defence. It is therefore the strategic task of our revolution to destroy this pillar of the Apartheid government. The time for an all out embracing people's war has come. This is a war waged on all fronts simultaneously, through mass political and trade union action, organised mass revolutionary violence and specialised military action. This war should be geared towards ultimately a simultaneous armed uprising of all the people, and the armed seizure of all strategic government installations and buildings. Armed struggle can no longer be the task of trained groups of MK cadres alone, but must be the task of each and every patriot, black and white, man and woman. MK's role is to lead and direct this people's war, to harrass and disperse the enemy by striking it repeatedly until it is too weak to crush our resistance. The people should continue to hit the enemy not only in spontaneous mobs, but in small disciplined groups as well. Spontaneous outbursts of people's violence

are inevitable but it is important that the people must begin to understand the importance of organised disciplined violence. This people's violence should be organised along principles of guerilla warfare - dedication and loyalty to the cause of our people : discipline, secrecy and vigilance; attack the enemy where he is weakest, and when he least expects you. We must therefore start now to teach and organise our people for insurrection. Why? Because we fully understand that even under the most severe crisis, the regime will never fall on its own. It has to be destroyed politically and militarily by the people themselves.

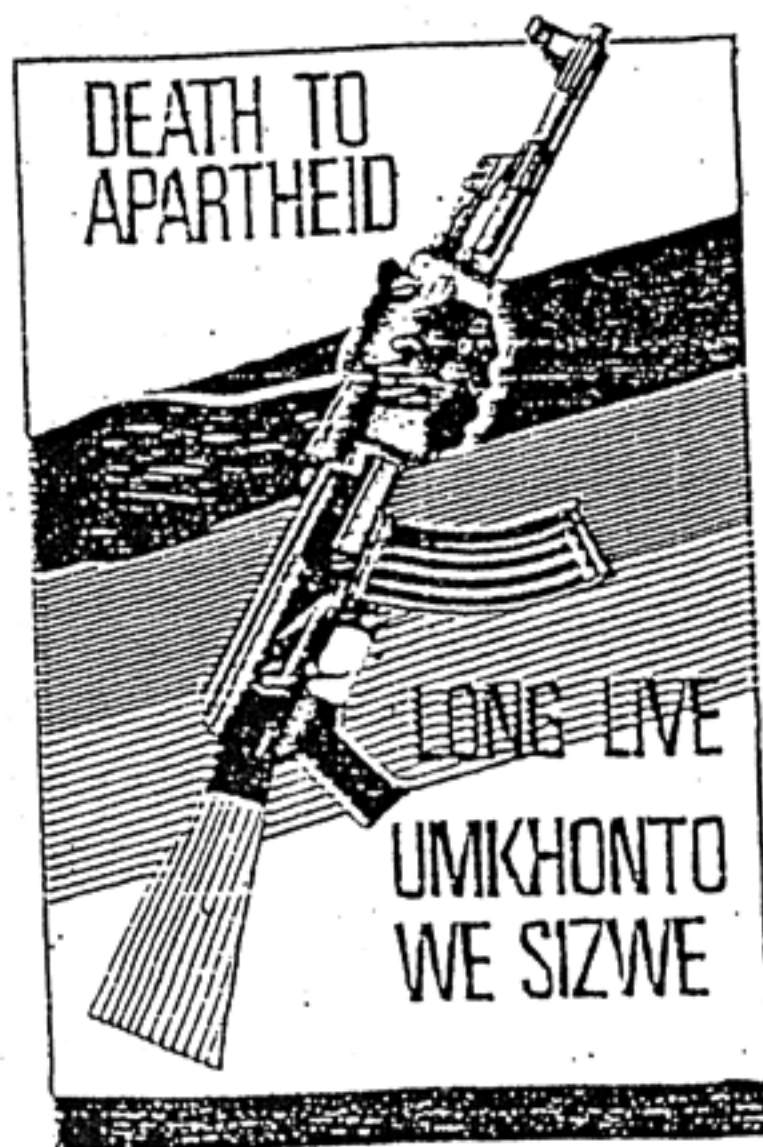
THE CAMPAIGN TO ISOLATE THE RACISTS INTERNATIONALLY

To isolate the Apartheid regime and to mobilise support for our struggle is an indispensable part of the ANC's strategy and tactics. Any isolated and despised government is weak. This is the main purpose of our international activity - to weaken and isolate the regime and finally destroy it. This is the content and essence of our call to the international community to boycott and apply sanctions to Apartheid South Africa. Intensification of this international campaign is not possible without stronger organisation here at home. Organisations in areas of culture, universities, trade unions and among unemployed workers are essential if the liberation alliance is to be able to take a clear and effective stand on the cultural boycott, the academic boycott and the disinvestment and sanctions campaigns. The sports boycott has shown already how selfless sportsmen have sacrificed their individual opportunities for the benefit of the struggle as a whole. Within our mass democratic organisations and trade unions, it is essential that our membership has a clear understanding of the interaction of the international and national aspects of our struggle. This will enable us to fight not only against the Apartheid regime but also against its main sponsor and protector, world imperialism.

WORKERS AND PEOPLE OF SOUTH
AFRICA UNITE!

LET ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, BLACK
AND WHITE, ADVANCE TO
PEOPLE'S POWER

VICTORY OR DEATH - WE SHALL WIN
IHLOMILE!



READ THIS AND PASS ON TO TRUSTED COMRADES.
KEEP OUR DOCUMENTS OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE ENEMY.