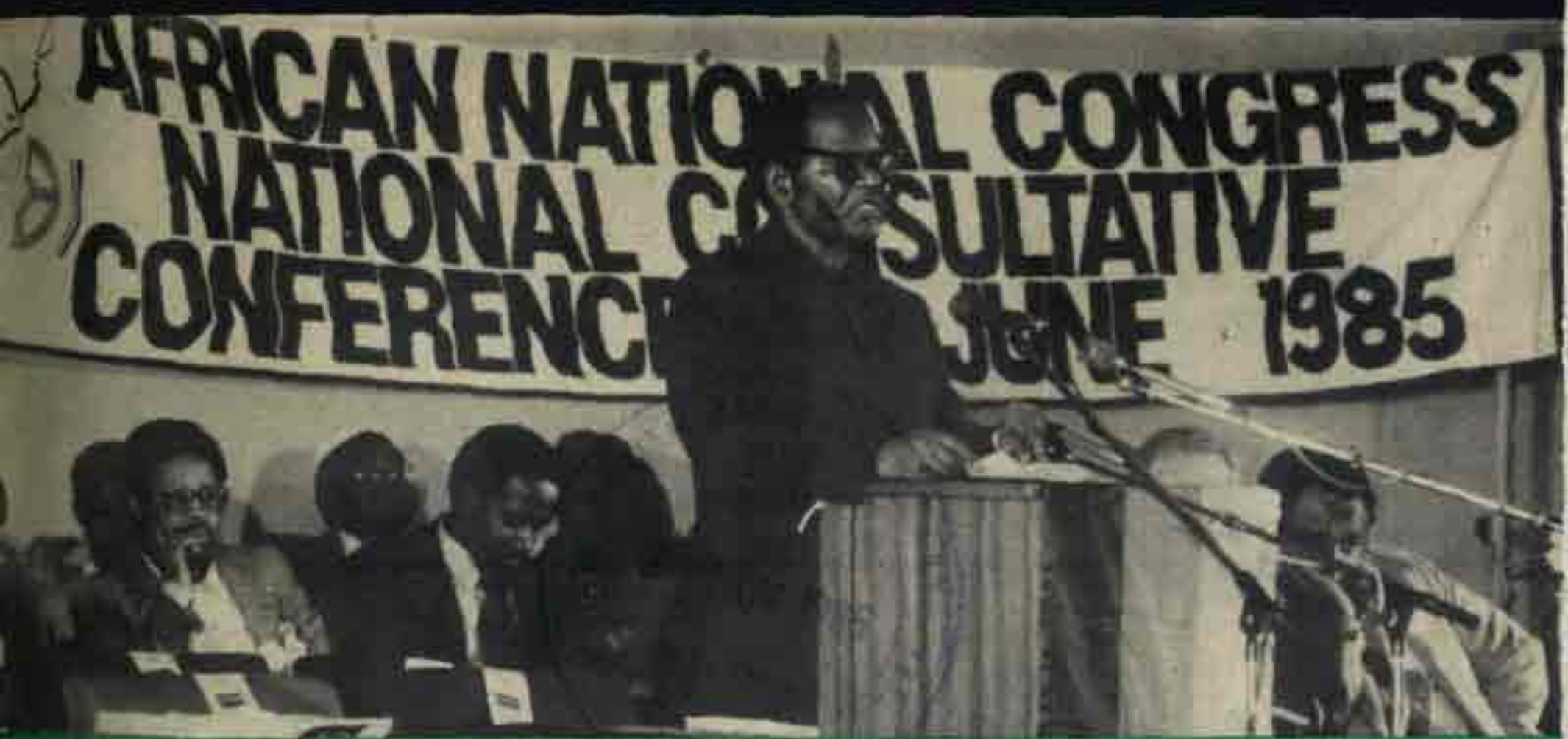


AUGUST 1985



SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



FROM CONFERENCE VENUE TO VICTORY



ANC CONFERENCE JUNE 1985

SECHABA

AUGUST 1985

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EDITORIAL

We Are Revolutionaries, Internationalists and Africans

When President O R Tambo said:

"We are Revolutionaries, Internationalists and Africans,"

at the opening of the Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC, which took place in Zambia from the 16th-22nd of June, the whole hall (about 250 people) burst into applause, enthusiasm, standing ovation and singing of our freedom songs. This revolutionary enthusiasm permeated all discussions, whether it was in plenary sessions, where people spoke their minds on all issues, or in commissions, where concrete suggestions were made about how to improve our organisational structures and striking power.

The ANC National Conference Preparatory Committee, had started its work after the June 1984 decision of the National Executive Committee to hold this Conference. It had made excellent preparations, and the host country, especially President Dr Kenneth Kaunda, had made sure that the Conference should be a success. President Kaunda — with his characteristic foresight — knew very well that a successful ANC Conference is also in the national interests of Zambia. This is another proof — if any was needed — to show that solidarity is a two-way traffic. This explains the unending slogans at the Conference: "Long Live Kaunda" — "One Zambia, one Nation" — "One Nation, one Leader — That Leader is Kaunda." This was not a question of just chanting Zambian slogans; it was a deeply felt appreciation of the role Zambia, under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda, is playing in our struggle for national and social emancipation. The Conference was teaching the delegates — in practical terms — the meaning of words such as 'solidarity.'

The delegates assembled — young and old;

men and women; workers, peasants, intellectuals; Marxists and Christians; soldiers of Umkhonto and media people. They spoke one language — the language of the ANC, the language which found expression in the slogans: "Long Live President Tambo; Long Live the ANC; Forward to War." Every section of our movement was represented: the veterans who participated in the 1967 Wankie operations and were sentenced to death by the Smith regime (this was commuted to life, and they were released after the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980); there were members who joined the ANC in the 1930s or '40s or early '50s, and those who joined the ANC after the 1976 Soweto uprisings or after the 1985 Eastern Cape incidents. They all spoke the same language; Forward to War. Some had not met each other for years, and others had not met each other at all. They all spoke the same language. Discussions took place inside and outside the conference hall. Messages came from all over the world (in our next issue we shall reproduce some of them). A message from Nelson Mandela to the Conference evoked indescribable emotions (it is reproduced in this issue).

The reports by President Tambo, Secretary-General Nzo and Treasurer-General Nkobi gave guidance and inspiration to the delegates, but also provoked a lot of discussion — healthy and controversial — from the floor.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The Conference, which took place on the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, re-dedicated itself to the ideals of the founding fathers of the ANC, and endorsed the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter. The Conference assessed the developments since

the Morogoro Conference of 1969, and re-endorsed its decisions. From the reports given it became clear that the ANC has not only had contacts with the developments and organisations at home, but has been part of those developments, and has grown with the struggle — at times giving guidance and advice, but at all times leading the masses in the right direction. Deficiencies and shortcomings in this regard were also pointed out. The recurring theme of the Conference was the need to intensify armed struggle — some people favoured the term "armed seizure of power" rather than "seizure of power."

It was this realisation which led to the decision that we must attack not only inanimate objects but also enemy personnel. This ANC Conference, which took the form of a Council of War, decided that the distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' targets should disappear. This was not a new idea. It had been discussed (like all other issues) in the numerous, continual, regional pre-Conference discussions which involved everybody, including all those who were not elected as delegates to the Conference. In other words, the ANC membership as a whole was involved for the last nine months or so in discussions which took place at the Conference. The delegates were not representing their personal views or their jackets. The attack on South African refugees ("very, very soft targets") in Botswana by the racist forces just before the conference, emphasised the need for our movement to bleed the enemy.

The question of intensifying armed struggle poses new challenges and responsibilities on the ANC and on the international community, which — by the look of things and the nature of the violence of the enemy — is going to be more involved in that struggle for our liberation.

Another important decision taken at the Conference was the question of opening ranks at all levels, inside and outside the country, to all South Africans who have come to join the ANC. This was not a light decision, considering the nature of the oppression of the Africans. But the Conference felt that the ANC composi-

tion at all levels should reflect the South African society — people who are fighting and sacrificing for the national liberation of the Blacks, especially the Africans. By the way, those Whites who join our ranks and make sacrifices (at times they sacrifice their lives) are fighting for Black liberation, which they have made their cause; but they are also fighting for their own liberation, because apartheid oppresses us all — it is the taxes of South African people (Black and White) which finance and maintain Bantustans and pay the salary of Matanzima (the most highly paid politician in South Africa) and the army of occupation in Namibia and Angola. Those Whites who might think that African and Black problems have nothing to do with them, have to start thinking seriously.

Conference also took decisions to intensify the struggle in the field of the battle of ideas — a battle which is very sharp inside the country and becoming sharper. We have to participate more energetically in that battle.

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On the final day, the delegates elected the new Executive, whose number was increased from 22 to 30, and it was decided that the Executive has powers to co-opt five more people. The elections were fair and free. Some members of the old Executive lost their positions, and new ones were added to those who were re-elected. All of them were elected by Conference. This experience of election was exciting, new and educative to some who, in their whole lives, had never exercised the franchise — up till recently franchise has been the preserve of the Whites in South Africa, and fair and free elections is something unknown in the history of South Africa. The whole Conference became a school in politics.

The Conference adopted a new constitution and a code of conduct. These, and the many reports from various commissions are meant to ensure that the ANC continues and develops the good traditions of the previous generations. These is more to it. These traditions are also meant to be the alternative to the *status quo* in South Africa.

The election of the new National Executive Committee was the final item on the agenda. Those elected were:

1. President: O R Tambo
2. Secretary-General: A Nzo
3. Treasurer-General: T T Nkobi

together with, in alphabetical order:

4. Steve Dlamini
5. Chris Hani
6. Pallo Jordan
7. Moses Mabhida
8. Mac Maharaj
9. Simon Makana
10. Johnny Makatini
11. Cassius Make
12. Henry Makgothi
13. Robert Manci
14. Thabo Mbeki
15. Francis Meli
16. Joe Modise
17. Florence Moposho
18. Ruth Mompati

19. Anthony Mongalo
20. Joe Nhlanhla
21. John Nkadimeng
22. Aziz Pahad
23. Mzwai Piliso
24. Reg September
25. Gertrude Shope
26. Sizakele Sigxashe
27. Joe Slovo
28. James Stuart
29. Dan Tloome
30. Jacob Zuma

They were charged with the task of implementing Conference resolutions and leading the ANC in the incoming battles.

The singing of *Nkosi Sikele' i Afrika* at the beginning and at the end of the Conference cast our minds back to the time it was composed in the 1890s by Sontonga, and we were all itching to go and sing it back at home. Perhaps this was what one of the slogans decorating the hall meant:

"From the Conference venue to victory!"



1 000 Uitenhage people welcome Comrade Vuyisile Tole, former MK activist, on his return home after 21 years on Robben Island.



"My spirit has not died. We have not attained our liberation yet, therefore I can't take the back seat."



CONFERENCE COMMUNIQUE

This communique of the Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress, was presented by President Oliver Tambo at a press conference in Lusaka, Zambia, on June 25th, 1985.

The Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC has taken place. It opened on June 16th, the ninth anniversary of the Soweto Uprising of 1976 and closed on the 23rd. We had originally planned to finish on the 26th of June, our Freedom Day, which this year is also the 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter. But so extensive and thorough were the pre-Conference discussions among the members that it was possible to conclude our work three days earlier than originally planned.

The venue of the Conference was Zambia. We would like to take this opportunity to thank H.E. President Kaunda and the Central Committee of UNIP most sincerely for allowing us to hold our Conference in this country. We are especially grateful for the invaluable assistance that they extended to us at very short notice to ensure that we had all the material requisites for a Conference of the size that ours was. We shall forever be indebted to the Zambian people and their leadership for this outstanding contribution to our struggle.

The Conference was attended by about 250 delegates representing our entire organisation. They came from every country in the world where we have members. They were drawn from all the national groups of our country. Among them were the leaders of our movement, all our diplomatic functionaries — the chief representatives, commanders and other members of our army, political organisers, trade unionists, administration, production, health and cultural workers, propagandists, students and other members who are employed outside the ranks of our organisation.

We met under the theme: 'From the Venue of the Conference to Victory.' Therefore the central tasks of our Conference were to assess our situation especially inside South Africa and agree on the measures we need to take in order to achieve victory over the apartheid regime. We characterised the Conference as a council-of-war for the obvious reason that even as we opened our meeting, the continuing massacre of our people loomed large in our minds, highlighted by the criminal invasion of Botswana and the murder of innocent people in Gaborone. Whether we wanted war or not, the Pretoria regime was telling us in action that the only way we could stop the blood-letting was to go to war.

Our Conference was fortunate to be addressed by our leaders who are in prison and whom Botha is still refusing to release. Shortly before it opened, we had received a message from the leaders on Pollsmoor and Robben Island Prisons signed, on their behalf, by Nelson Mandela. Here is what our leaders said:

"We were most delighted to hear that the ANC will soon have another Conference. We sincerely hope that such an occasion will constitute yet another milestone in our history. It is most satisfying, especially in our present position, to belong to a tested organisation which exercises so formidable an impact on the situation in our country, which has established itself firmly as the standard bearer of such a rich tradition, and which has brought us such coveted laurels.

"As you know, we always try to harmonise our own views and responses with those of the Movement at large. For this reason, we find it rewarding indeed to know that, despite the immense distance and the years which separate us, as well as the lack of effective communication channels, we still remain a closely knit

organisation, ever conscious of the crucial importance of unity, and of resisting every attempt to divide and confuse.

"We feel sure that all those delegates who will attend will go there with one central issue uppermost in their minds: that out of the Conference the ANC will emerge far stronger than ever before. Unity is the rock on which the African National Congress was founded; it is the principle which has guided us down the years as we feel our way forward.

"In the course of its history, the ANC has survived countless storms and risen to eminence partly because of the sterling qualities of its membership, and partly because each member has regarded himself or herself as the principal guardian of that unity. All discussions, contributions and criticism have generally been balanced and constructive and, above all, they have been invariably subjected to the overriding principle of maximum unity. To lose sight of this basic principle is to sell our birthright, to betray those who paid the highest price so that the ANC should flourish and triumph.

"In this connection, the positions taken by Oliver Tambo on various issues and also stressed by Joe Slovo inspired us tremendously. Both drew attention to vital issues which, in our opinion, are very timely. They must be highlighted and kept consciously in mind as we try to sort out the complicated problems which face the movement, and as we try to

hammer out the guidelines for future progress.

"These remarks are the clearest expression of that enduring identity of approach of members of the movement wherever they may be, and a summary of achievements of which we are justly proud. In particular we fully share the view that the ANC has raised mass political consciousness to a scale unknown in our experience. It is in this spirit that we send you our greetings and best wishes. We hold your hands firmly across the miles."

And so Conference "hammered out the guidelines for future progress." And what are those guidelines?

Our Conference agreed unanimously that the Botha regime is still determined to defend the apartheid system of White minority rule by force of arms. Accordingly, it agreed that there was no reason for us to change our broad strategy, which pursues the aim of seizure of power by the people through a combination of mass political action and armed struggle.

It however agreed that the possibility of victory was greater now than at any other time in our history. This requires that we should step up our all-round political and military offensive sharply and without delay. The masses of our people have been and are engaged in a struggle of historic importance directed at making apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable. They are creating the conditions for the escalation of our attack leading



From left to right: John Nkadimeng, James Stuart, Alfred Nzo, Dan Hoome, O R Tambo, Mandy Msimang, T T Nkobi, Joe Modise, Thabo Mbeki.

towards the situation where it will be possible for us to overthrow the apartheid regime.

The delegates agreed that it was vital that we take all necessary measures further to strengthen the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe inside of our country exactly to meet the demands of our people and our situation for a heightened and co-ordinated political and military offensive.

The Conference also resolved that we cannot even consider the issue of a negotiated settlement of the South African question while our leaders are in prison. It agreed that we should continue with the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of these leaders.

In the situation which obtains within the country in which the crisis of the apartheid system has become endemic, Conference agreed that the Freedom Charter provides the basis for the satisfaction of the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of our people. In this regard, the participants agreed that it was important that we should win as many Whites as possible to our side. We should also adhere to our opposition to and our struggle against the Bantustans as well as the apartheid tricameral parliament and related institutions. We must continue to pose the alternative of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The Conference endorsed the view advanced by our imprisoned leaders about the importance of unity. In a Call to our people inside the country, the delegates said:

"Those of us who are true liberators should not fight among ourselves. Let us not allow the enemy's dirty tricks department to succeed in getting us to fight one another".

Conference noted and paid tribute to the contribution that the United Democratic Front has made towards the strengthening of the unity of the democratic forces of our country, and condemned the arrest and prosecution of its leaders and activists.

The participants also agreed that this unity must find expression in the mass activity of all our people against the apartheid regime. Consequently, it is important that all our people

should be organised and mobilised, in the towns and the countryside, including those in the Bantustans.

The Black workers are of special importance in this regard and are, as we have said before, the backbone and leading force in our struggle for national liberation.

Conference also assessed the international situation. It agreed that we should further expand our system of international relations and reach out even to regions, countries and governments with which we might not have had contact before. It urged the international community to "declare the apartheid White minority regime illegitimate."

Addressing itself to the specific question of the planned New Zealand Rugby Tour of South Africa, Conference reiterated that "if the tour takes place, responsibility for any adverse consequences to New Zealand, her reputation and her future participation in international sport, as well as any threat to the lives of the players themselves, will rest squarely on the heads of the New Zealand Rugby Board." While saluting the opposition of the New Zealand government to the tour, it also urged this government to take further action to stop the tour.

Among other things, the Conference also addressed special greetings to each one of the Front Line States, Lesotho, the OAU and Swapo among others. It also agreed on an appeal to the international community.

The Conference was honoured with messages of solidarity from the international community, originating from governments and organisations from all corners of the globe. They included messages from the Presidents of Botswana, Algeria, the German Democratic Republic and Guinea Bissau, the Foreign Ministers of Finland, Ghana and Zimbabwe, the Central Committees or the equivalent committees of Zanu(PF), the Frelimo Party, the British Labour Party, the Swedish Social Democratic Party, the German Social Democratic Party, the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, Roumania, Bulgaria and others, trade unions, students', women's, youth, religious and solidarity organisations and the peace movement.

Naturally, we also discussed questions related to our structures and the personnel required to implement the historic decisions taken by Conference. Constitutional guidelines were adopted which lay down that we should meet in Conference at least once in five years and that the National Executive Committee should hold office for the same period. Conference confirmed the position taken in earlier constitutions of the ANC that membership is open to South Africans of all races who accept the policies of our movement.

The Conference also decided to increase the size of the National Executive Committee to 30 members and gave powers to the Executive to co-opt an extra five members if the need arises.

The Conference re-elected 19 out of the 22 members of the outgoing National Executive

Committee. Of these three, one did not stand for re-election. Conference therefore elected 11 new members of the NEC. Among these are one White comrade, two Indians and two Coloureds. The three most senior officials of the ANC, the President, the Secretary General and the Treasurer General were all returned unopposed and unanimously.

We have emerged out of our Conference more united than ever before. As our people and the international community observe South Africa Freedom Day tomorrow, June 26th, the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, the ANC will be among them greatly strengthened, of one mind on all questions and determined to take the battle to the enemy and persist in struggle until victory is won.



From left to right: Dan Tloome, O R Tambo, T T Nkobi

Call to the People of South Africa

THE ANC IS WITH YOU

We, delegates to the Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress, from all national groups, salute you, the heroic people of our country.

Brothers and Sisters, the old order in our country is coming to an end. The racist regime is losing ground. His morale is in decline. The Whites are splintered into hostile factions and parties. They can no longer sustain their old myths of *baasskap*, of a master race destined to rule over Black slaves for ever. All they can do now is to kill and corrupt.

The Black giant is rising to his feet, tall and strong. He is breaking the chains that have bound him for centuries. He is marching on in confidence and with strength to a new social order. He is determined to liberate not only himself but also the Whites themselves, whose lives have been corrupted by the apartheid system.

Brothers and Sisters, from this historic Conference we say to you that the end of apartheid is near. Our age-old dream of freedom, for which so many have sacrificed, is approaching realisation. Africa will come back. The people — all the people — will govern.

Unite, our people. We have a single goal. Those of us who are true liberators should not fight among ourselves. Let us not allow the enemy's dirty tricks department to succeed in getting us to fight one another. We know how to debate and resolve our differences. Our spears are meant for use against the enemy and not to destroy each other.

Forward, our people, in a single mighty current. The struggle is yet hard. There will be many more sacrifices. There is no easy road to freedom. But we are on the advance. The enemy is falling back. Let us turn his retreat

into a rout, the rout into collapse, collapse into surrender.

To those in the army, police and prison services of the regime and its *Bantustan* puppets, to those who administer the cruel laws against the people, we say: earn your place in the free South Africa that is coming, by organising to turn your guns against your masters: let your typewriters speak the truth. Let there be no place where the enemy can rest.

To all our people, in the factories, mines, on farms, the *Bantustans*, resettlement camps, schools and townships, churches, mosques, temples and synagogues, wherever you are, your place is in the struggle. The ANC is with you, your instrument, your weapon of unity, your spearhead of liberation.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is with you. It is the people's army, your army, the death point of our mighty battle spear which strikes fear in the heart of every oppressor and exploiter. Join it. Fight in its glorious ranks to bring into existence now, a free, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. We, the delegates, are resolved to intensify the struggle until final victory.

- Organise, unite and act for the end of apartheid.
- Work for the end of apartheid. Victory is in sight.
- Pray for the end of apartheid. Our victory is within our grasp.
- Fight for the end of apartheid. Our victory is assured.

**Amandla Ngawethu! Matla ke a Rona!
All Power to the People!**

CALL TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

This appeal to the world community was adopted by the Conference.

The Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC, attended by more than 250 delegates, sends warm fraternal greetings to all our supporters, friends and well-wishers throughout the world. Your firm and consistent support for our struggle and movement inspires us to fight for the liberation of our motherland with even greater vigour and determination. We are convinced that acting together with you we shall achieve our most cherished desire — to rid our country and the world of the evil of apartheid, which has already persisted for too long.

We welcomed with acclaim and enthusiasm the numerous messages of goodwill that we received from Heads of State and Foreign Ministers, political parties, trade unions, religious, student, youth and women's organisations, the peace and solidarity movements and international democratic organisations.

There was a special place in our hearts for the moving message received from Pollsmoor and Robben Island prisons, signed by Nelson Mandela on behalf of our imprisoned leaders.

Together with our members incarcerated in the racist dungeons we express our profound gratitude to the millions throughout the world who support our struggle and movement. Whilst the Pretoria terrorists face the wrath of humanity, the ANC continues to enjoy greater and greater support at home and abroad.

In the factories, mines, schools and townships of South Africa the people have risen. The racist colonialist regime meets the legitimate desires of our people with increasing violence and exports that violence into the countries of Southern Africa. The terrorism comes from the racist regime. To continue to

collaborate with the racists is to assist actively in and be equally responsible for the death and destruction they sow in our country and region.

We accuse those Western countries and their transnational corporations which collaborate actively with the regime of complicity in the commission of the crime of apartheid. The time has come to cease all collaboration and step up the all-round support for the ANC, the vanguard of the oppressed people of South Africa.

The racist regime continues to occupy Namibia illegally. We are confident the people of Namibia, led by our comrades-in-arms of SWAPO, will soon be free from the racist colonial yoke. Whilst claiming to stand for peace and reason the Pretoria murderers continue to commit barbarous acts of aggression against the neighbouring states. The latest cowardly and brutal attacks upon South African refugees and Botswana citizens clearly demonstrate that the racist regime can never be a force for peace. Our region will only become a zone of peace when we have destroyed the source of aggression — the racist colonial system.

We are conscious of our immense responsibility to the peoples of Southern Africa. Our immediate task is to raise the struggle to new and even greater heights. The oppressed and downtrodden have shown by their mass uprisings in different parts of the country that they will spare neither their energies nor their lives in the fight for national liberation.

Apartheid cannot be reformed. It has to be destroyed. To wipe out this crime against humanity requires a sustained and determined campaign on the part of our people and the international community. There must be no 'constructive engagement', only total opposi-

tion to the racist regime and active support and solidarity for our struggle and the ANC. In this year of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism and the founding of the United Nations, we appeal to the international community to honour its pledges and obligations under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter of the United Nations and all treaties and conventions calling for the elimination of the crime of apartheid.

- Intensify the campaign to isolate racist South Africa in the economic, political, diplomatic, military, educational and cultural fields.

- Impose mandatory sanctions through the UN Security Council.

- End all nuclear collaboration with apartheid South Africa.

- Demand the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

- Increase diplomatic, financial and material support and develop solidarity with the ANC.

- Demand the immediate independence of Namibia.

- Demand that the racist regime stop its aggression against the Front Line States and Lesotho.

- Give all forms of support to these innocent victims of fascist aggression and expansionism.

Freedom is at Hand!

Now is the Time to Act!

Now is the Time to Bring the Apartheid Regime to its Knees!



Rally, London, 16th June 1985

LET US ACT TOGETHER

Says President Tambo

This is the transcript of the press conference given by President Tambo in Lusaka on 25th June 1985.

The ANC lays great emphasis on unity. How do you see the question of unity with such groups as PAC and other small groupings inside South Africa?

The ANC has always encouraged the unity of our people inside the country. We have campaigned ceaselessly for united action. We've called on our people in the various organisational formations, in different political units, to fight on their own fronts; but also to address the common enemy, and to do so in unity with everybody else. That covers all political organisations, all ideological trends. It addresses the workers, the South African people as a whole who are opposed to the racist system of education. That is why the ANC was pleased, to say the least, when the UDF was formed, because that created a platform exactly for united action.

Now and again there are slight differences, but by and large the ANC pursues the position that whatever we differ about, let us be united in defeating and destroying the apartheid regime. Some organisations, for example, don't quite accept every word that the Freedom Charter says. We accept that. We continue to try to convince them that the Freedom Charter poses the alternative to the apartheid system; that there is no other answer. But, even when they differ with any article in the Freedom Charter — they still believe that the regime should be overthrown. On that basis we say — let us act together.

Your statement says that Conference resolved the struggle must escalate. In the light of the SADF aggression in Botswana, will the ANC be able to secure itself from such attacks?

When we decided on armed struggle we accepted its consequences. It was a declaration of a readiness to sacrifice. On the other hand, when the regime persists in its apartheid system in the first instance, and also in killing our people, subjecting them to a succession of massacres, it also must accept the consequences of its actions. We have declared war on apartheid. The regime has declared war on all opponents of apartheid. But we declared war because apartheid was war against the people anyway.

From 1948 when the Nationalist Party came into power it pursued policies which were a declaration of war on the people, on the international community. This has been particularly manifest during the last decade when the leaders of our region have complained of an undeclared war against their countries. So, the region is unavoidably in a state of continuing war of one degree or another, and it will be in that state of war until the war is ended. The war will end when the Nazis of our region are defeated by our people and the international community, which knows about Nazism.

The regime has been making changes to some of the laws that govern the system — the Immorality Act, Transport etc. Do you think that the changes taking place in South Africa will have an effect on the freedom struggle vis-a-vis the scaling down of the freedom struggle?

Apartheid expresses itself in many ways. Small ways, big ways. There is something fundamental about apartheid; there is something superficial. Not so long ago we were not allowed to go into the same lift.

When I say we, I mean Blacks — non-Whites, as we were called. That restriction was removed. That was many years ago. Since then the struggle has waged on — apartheid has continued killing, it has even crossed its own borders and killed freely in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Seychelles and in this country — it has continued despite the removal of that restriction, because the removal of the restriction of going into a lift was not what we were fighting about. We are not asking to be allowed to go into a lift with anybody. And the same thing applies to trains; now you can go into any compartment. That has nothing to do with what we are fighting about.

But if anything, this is a demonstration that the regime cannot rule in the same old way and is trying to appear different by ruling in a slightly different way, which is superficial and unrelated to the apartheid system, which remains as vicious, as murderous, as aggressive

as it ever was — as defiant of international opinion as it ever was, proceeding to instal puppets in Namibia in the face of the opposition of the international community. That has not changed.

These are manifestations that the regime cannot stand still any more. But it is not moving in any substantial way. We have to ensure that it moves. It's beginning to have doubts about the permanence of the system after all. It is hoping to perpetuate it nonetheless. It must be convinced that it cannot succeed and the struggle must develop and escalate to convince the regime that there will never be an end to this struggle until the system is abolished and a new system rises to take its place.

Do you see a difference between the terms non-racial and multi-racial? You use the term non-racial.

There must be a difference, that is why we say non-racial and not multi-racial if we wanted to. There is a difference. We mean non-racial, rather than multi-racial. We mean non-racial — there is no racism. Multi-racial does not address the question of racism. Non-racial does. There will be no racism of any kind and therefore no discrimination that proceeds from



At the press conference

the fact that people happen to be members of different races. That is what we understand by non-racial.

In the escalating struggle, how do you see the question of sanctions?

The South African regime is illegitimate in relation to the majority of the people in South Africa. It has imposed itself on them. It is White minority rule that is imposed on the majority of the people. Therefore the regime is illegitimate and we want this to be recognised with all its consequences. If anything, the declaration of the regime as illegitimate is a justification for action to be taken to allow the people of South Africa to have a legitimate government of their own choosing. So it goes back to the question of the removal, the abolishing, the destruction, of the apartheid regime and hence the isolation of that regime and all the measures that constitute pressures on the regime — sanctions, disinvestment, cultural, other economic pressures and other acts of isolating the regime. The regime has imposed itself as a kind of colonial power over us, but that is not enough.

It is also criminal and is perpetuating a crime against humanity. We are making the point here again that power in South Africa must be held by the people of South as a whole, not by a White minority, not even by a Black majority but by a majority of the people of South Africa as a whole. Such a government will be legitimate; it will derive its mandate and authority from the people.

There have been reports in the run-up to conference, some allegedly well-sourced, which say that ANC Conference might reconsider the movement's hesitancy in the past about hitting militarily what are termed soft targets. Did Conference arrive at any closer definition of what it would regard as a legitimate military target?

I will summarise the position taken by the Conference in these terms: that the struggle must be intensified at all costs. Over the past nine to ten months at least — at the very least — there have been many soft targets hit by the

enemy. Nearly 500 people have now died in that period. That works out at about 50 a month, massacred, shot down, killed secretly. All those were very, very soft targets. But they belong to this sphere of the intensification of the struggle because when people were killed they did not run away, they kept on at all costs, and went back into battle at all costs. In the process some innocent people were killed, some White some Black. What we have seen in the Eastern Cape and places like that is what escalation means for everybody. The distinction between 'soft' and 'hard' is going to disappear in an intensified confrontation, in an escalating conflict. And when the regime sends its army across the borders to kill people in Botswana, including nationals of that country, and nationals of other countries, they are hitting soft targets — very soft, and not even in their own country.

That is not the end of the story. Exactly because of that the regime must be removed, at all costs. Therefore the struggle must be intensified, at all costs. The question of soft targets was quite out of place during World War II, to mention a big war. Ours will be a small one, but we are fighting the same kind of system. It was Hitler who attacked, it is the apartheid system here which attacked, and we are fighting that system, our own version of Nazism. I think the distinction between hard and soft targets is being erased by the development of the conflict. I am not saying that our Conference used the word soft targets. I am saying that Conference recognised that we are in it. It is happening every day. It happened two days before we started our conference — a massacre in Gaborone. We did not complain that soft targets were being hit, because they have been hitting them, as I say, all the time. What we did was to re-commit ourselves to intensify our struggle until that kind of massacre, until the system which makes massacres and conflicts necessary, is abolished by mankind, and we stand ready to make the sacrifices necessary to achieve that objective. We call upon the African people everywhere to stand ready to play their role. We call on Africa and the international community to come to our aid

and also play their part in getting rid of a system which is abhorrent to themselves. The struggle will be escalated.

I've two questions. One, the excuse that has been given about not imposing sanctions against South Africa is that some of the Africans from the neighbouring states, about 1.5 million, who work in South Africa, would suffer, including some of the Blacks in South Africa itself. What does the ANC have to say about this? The other question, Mr President, is on the new members of the ANC (NEC) — one White, two coloureds and two Indians — you talked about. Do they hold any specific positions in the movement?

Well, for a long time now, of course, we have heard this question of the Africans in South Africa being the first to suffer; the African states in our region being the first to suffer, if sanctions are imposed on South Africa. Let us assume that this was true, as indeed it is. So what do we do — do we fold our arms! The Africans are afraid to suffer and so they surrender to the apartheid system and to their enslavement! The African states are afraid to suffer and so they must continue to have this aggressive, dominating regime in their midst! No. We accept that we will sacrifice. It's part of the struggle. It's not suffering. Suffering arises from feelings of pity, fear. These people who are involved in the struggle — the workers who get dismissed every day because they have gone on strike continue to go on strike, notwithstanding, until they have got what they want — know what sacrifice means. It's the only way to do it. It's not a genuine proposition. It's used by those who are in fact likely to suffer most. That is, those who are getting the best out of the status quo, out of the system — they will suffer.

But typically they push us forward and say no, it's the slave who will suffer if we end slavery. No. The countries of Southern Africa have made their position clear. They are not going to ask for sanctions, but they will not oppose sanctions. They won't go to the United

Nations and argue against sanctions because they agree that although it will cause problems for them, it is a correct strategy. And we are talking about countries which know suffering, which have lost thousands of their fellow men, women and children in struggle, in an armed struggle, which was a correct strategy to gain freedom. There is no country in this region which can say I'm afraid to sacrifice for freedom, because every country has witnessed how thousands of people were murdered — thousands in Mozambique, in Zimbabwe, hundreds in this country, thousands in Angola — all fighting for liberation. No country here can say we are afraid to sacrifice, we are afraid because our economies will be put into difficulties. It's more than economies which have been put into difficulties. Lives have been lost in struggle and it was a struggle basically against that kind of system that we are facing today.

Of course South Africa now and again gets representatives of these countries to say we'll be affected. But they are not saying there must be no sanctions, that the apartheid regime must stay put. Some of our own people are campaigning around, virtually defending the system, saying don't hurt Pretoria, no disinvestment. They are not speaking in the interests of the liberation of our country. They are speaking in their own interests.

The second question: No, the National Executive Committee was only elected at this Conference. There are only three people who are elected to definite positions, that is the President, well, I hold that position, the Treasurer General, Thomas Nkobi, was elected to a position; the Secretary General, Alfred Nzo, was also elected to a position. The rest will be assigned their portfolios, if you like, or tasks in due course. So far they don't hold any positions. We have been a movement that has been united in our actions. Some of those who have been newly elected, not just the White ones, but the Africans as well, have been holding positions of one kind or another. They will be assigned afresh, either to different positions or to the same position. So far no decision has been taken.

On your strategy of fighting: So far the ANC has been attacking only buildings and ... and offices, but avoiding attacks on the Whites themselves. Do you intend to change this strategy and start attacking the Whites ... ?

That's not quite the correct presentation of our position. We have not been avoiding hitting Whites as Whites. There was no policy of hitting buildings instead of Whites. This is not the distinction that we have been making. If

we have made any distinction it has been to avoid hitting people. But what I have said here is that in the course of intensification of the struggle the distinction between soft and hard targets — buildings and people — will naturally disappear. In the intensified situation, in the intensified conflict, in the course of escalation, that is not going to be avoidable. It has already (happened). Amongst the 500 people I'm mentioning, there are many Whites who have been affected.



7 days
a week

LOTION
& CREAM

**BOTH
DO NOT
DIVIDE US**



AUGUST 9 - SA WOMEN'S DAY



**WOMEN
UNITE**

**WOMEN
UNITE**

**WOMEN
UNITE**

**WOMEN
UNITE**



**WE
STARVE
IN RURAL
AREAS**



**MAY
WE PASS
LAWS**

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CONFERENCE EXPELS 'LEFT-WING' DEVIATIONISTS

By Claris

Some seven or eight years ago, five people who referred to themselves as 'Marxists' and 'trade unionists' joined the ANC and SACTU in London. Some had made an academic study of the workers' struggle in South Africa; others had been involved in the formation of Black trade unions in the country in 1973 — in the Wages Commission and the Durban strikes. They became more active in SACTU, and served on a committee in London known as the Technical Sub-Committee, which was concerned with the production and distribution of *Workers' Unity*, the official journal of SACTU, and of leaflets used in solidarity work. One of these people, Robert Petersen, became the editor of *Workers' Unity*.

The other four were Peter Collins (who worked in SACTU but was never a member of the ANC), Paula Ensor, David Hemson and Martin Legassick.

In April 1979, there was a meeting in Tanzania of the NEC of SACTU. Robert Petersen presented to this meeting a memorandum which led to his being dismissed from his job as editor of *Workers' Unity*. The memorandum began by discussing the role and nature of the paper, but its scope widened to include strong criticism of the present role and policy of SACTU, and, by implication, the role and policy of the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe. It also argued for a simultaneous struggle for national liberation and socialism, and argued that this struggle should be led by the workers, organised and armed as workers. The ANC, so the argument implied, was not fitted to lead this struggle because it organises on a national, and not a class, basis. Here Petersen was attack-

ing the policies of both SACTU and the ANC, and attacking the very basis of the alliance between the two organisations.

He also accused SACTU of dragging its feet in the matter of union organisation within South Africa.

Two months later, after he had been dismissed, he wrote a letter to the NEC of SACTU, in which he went further, accusing the movement of pursuing a deliberate policy of discouraging the working-class movement, and of being subject to:

"... right-wing and anti-working class pressures ... the right wing represents middle class interests against the interests of the workers ..."

In July 1979, the same month, SACTU disbanded the Technical Sub-Committee in London, on the grounds that it was not doing the work it was supposed to do, that its members claimed the right to write the material produced, and refused to produce material that did not accord with their own views. Another letter to the NEC of SACTU, also dated the 17th July, was signed by Collins, Ensor, Hemson, Legassick and Petersen in their capacities as members of this sub-committee. They presented the NEC with an ultimatum, threatening that if, within two weeks, it had not opened up a debate on the matters they had raised, they would do it themselves.

Contempt for Democratic Procedure

Collins, Ensor, Hemson, Legassick and Petersen were helpers in the SACTU office. They were not members of any union, and had never been elected to any position in SACTU, so they were not entitled to demand that their

disagreements over policy should be discussed within SACTU. Four of them, however, were members of the ANC in Britain, and as their disagreements concerned the role of the ANC as well as that of SACTU, they could have raised their problems within the ranks of the ANC. However, this they did not do: they ignored these democratic procedures that were open to them.

Instead, when the two weeks were up, they made the dispute public, and to do this they used the SACTU mailing list, which they had taken with them — without permission — when they left the SACTU office in London. SACTU used this list for the distribution of its information and propaganda material. They now used it for the distribution of material attacking SACTU, a pamphlet entitled *The Workers' Movement and SACTU — A Struggle for Marxist Policies*, which consisted of the documents and letters they had written so far, together with a foreword.

On the 26th October 1979, the ANC in London wrote separately to the four, charging them with having failed to seek the resolution of their disagreements "within the established structures of our movement," and suspending them from units and activities of the ANC as an "organised faction." In their reply two months later the four denied that they had any obligation to seek the resolution of differences in SACTU by using the structures of the ANC, and accused the ANC of seeking to dictate to SACTU and other organisations allied to it.

The suspension, too, became public, though this was not the doing of the ANC. The first contact the ANC had with the press in this matter was on the 16th January, 1980, when the London *Guardian* telephoned the ANC office in London, asking for confirmation of the news, and a spokesman supplied a short confirming comment. The next day, Ensor, Hemson, Legassick and Petersen made a statement to the press.

A Rival Body

Early in 1980 a new, expanded edition of the pamphlet, *SACTU and the ANC*, was published. In March, a body known as the South African Labour Education Project (SALEP)

was formed, with Hemson, Legassick and Petersen as three of the four 'co-ordinators.'

As soon as SALEP was formed, they set about seeking allies in the labour movement in Western Europe and particularly in Britain. They wrote a number of letters to head offices and local branches of British trade unions, trades councils and local constituency Labour Parties, enclosing an appeal for support and describing their plans for supplying:

"... booklets, tapes and other material dealing with questions which cannot easily be tackled in open work by the trade unions in South Africa."

They added, revealing a somewhat grandiose view of themselves:

"... the success or failure of our work will soon become apparent through the response and recognition which the Project meets with among workers inside the country."

In the minds of the 'co-ordinators,' SALEP had become an alternative to SACTU, a rival organisation.

Since 1980, SALEP has continued to work from an office in the east London borough of Hackney. Its attempt to get financial assistance from Hackney Council failed when the local trades council refused to support their application, but they do have funds, from donations whose sources — on the grounds of security — they decline to divulge. After the death of George Peake, originally their fourth 'co-ordinator,' they were joined by other 'co-ordinators,' and they changed their name to the Southern African Labour Education Project — a change intended to reflect the influence of South African capital throughout Southern Africa.

They have produced a number of slide-tapes and other material intended for workers' education in South Africa. They distributed reports for the years 1981, 1982-3 and 1983-4, and some leaflets, and in these, they claimed to have addressed several hundred meetings, and to have gained the support of about 20 trade unions (mostly local branches), about 20 local trades councils and 17 local Constituency Labour Parties. They also claimed the support of the Labour Party Young Socialists and the

"sponsorship" of the Labour Party Women's Section.

Some of these claims are not based on fact; for example, the claim that the South Wales and Derbyshire National Union of Mineworkers donated money to help in the production of their slide-tape about South African mineworkers has been denied by the NUM president in that region, and it seems that the money may have been given by some members in their individual capacity. However, SALEP has had some success in its efforts to win recognition in the British labour movement on a local, and even a national, level. It is true that both the Labour Party Young Socialists and the Labour Party Women's Section passed resolutions supporting them. Some of the members of SALEP are themselves members of the Labour Party. In particular, they enjoy the support of that fraction of the Labour Party known as the Militant Tendency, whose newspaper, *The Militant*, was the only paper to print in full the statement made by the four when the ANC expelled them, and which has since printed at least one piece in favour of SALEP's policy of 'direct links;' in this way, the South African struggle has regrettably been used as a weapon in disputes internal to the British Labour Party.

Riding On Our Backs

The support SALEP gained in Britain was, of course, to a great extent built on the consciousness-raising work done over the years by the external missions of SACTU and the ANC, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement; for it was these organisations that first made the British public aware of the unjust and exploitative nature of the apartheid regime. Many organisations and individuals in the British labour movement may well have been misled into thinking that the work of SALEP is in some way complementary to that of the ANC and SACTU, and that there is some kind of alliance between the three. SALEP has never discouraged this misunderstanding; in its earliest statements, and since, SALEP has claimed to stand "shoulder to shoulder" with the ANC, SACTU and the South African Communist Party; resolutions taken in local

organisations in Britain have on occasions mentioned the ANC, SACTU and SALEP together. It seems that many people think that in supporting SALEP they are also supporting SACTU and the ANC; and in this way SALEP has ridden on the backs of the very organisations it attacks.

Apart from publishing material and making connections in the labour movement, the other principal activity of this organisation is campaigning for, and organising, 'direct links' between trade unionists in Britain and in Southern Africa. These are not official delegations; SALEP envisages the 'links' as being at rank and file level; trade union centres and head offices of trade unions are bypassed when the 'links' are arranged. The 'links' take two forms; visits by Southern African trade unionists for 'training' in Britain, and visits by British trade unionists to South Africa.

The SALEP report for 1982 mentioned that a scholarship fund had been set up:

"... in order to assist in the training of trade union activists and Black youth and provide them with practical experience in trade union work together with technical skills, e.g. printing."

The 1983-4 report stated that six South Africans were undergoing training through the assistance of SALEP, and that visits had been arranged for four more "from countries in Southern Africa." These training schemes have had no connection whatever with SACTU or the ANC, and the young people being trained have not made themselves known to our organisations here externally.

The visit to South Africa of Roy Jones, a member of the North Staffordshire district of the British National Union of Mineworkers, was organised and paid for by SALEP. SACTU and the ANC were, of course, not consulted. Nor was the British National Union of Mineworkers. In a news sheet published after Jones' return to Britain, SALEP printed a facsimile of a letter from James Motlatsi and Cyril Ramaphosa, President and Secretary of the South African NUM, to the North Staffordshire president of the British NUM, thanking him for the "opportunity of being with Roy."

From this letter it seems that both Motlatsi and Ramaphosa may have believed that Jones represented his union, but if this was so, they had been misled. The British NUM was on a disciplined strike at that time; orders had gone out from national headquarters that no striking miner could leave the country to tour any other country without approval from headquarters; this approval had never been given in Jones' case, and his local president did not, therefore, countenance the visit.

On Jones' return, it appeared that in his mind 'direct links' had become an end in themselves, rather than a means towards the solidarity they are intended to encourage. He spoke the following words in an interview printed by SALEP in a news sheet dealing with his visit:

"The purpose of the visit was to build more direct links between the South African NUM and the British NUM ...

"Build, build, build direct links between the British and South African NUM at rank and file level."

SALEP has a presence in Botswana (where Paula Ensor now lives), in the Netherlands and in the Federal Republic of Germany — though it closed its office in the FRG in 1982, there are still SALEP supporters working there under the name of the Committee for Labour Education in South Africa.

Presence in Zimbabwe

Until 1985 it also had a presence in Zimbabwe. However, in March, Zimbabwean security police arrested Hemson (who had lived in the country since 1982), together with another SALEP supporter, Darcy du Toit, and du Toit's wife, Anneke Poppe. The three were deported from Zimbabwe in April. The Minister of State for Security, Emmerson Munangagwa, said:

"From the very beginning they did not want to associate themselves with any of the existing institutions whether in the Government, the party or in the labour movement. Furthermore, they tried to subvert our political system."

He said that they had held secret seminars and meetings, set up a formal structure with a

'central committee,' and had used invisible ink in some of their correspondence overseas. He said also that they had caused 45 Zimbabweans to be sent for training in Britain and Belgium in 1984.

In May 1985, in accordance with a decision of its NEC, the British Labour Party sent a circular to its constituency parties and its affiliated organisations, recommending:

"That Regions, CLPs and affiliates have no contacts with SALEP, do not use its materials or allow it facilities ..."

The circular was accompanied by an Advice Note on SALEP, in which the International Department of the Labour Party expressed its concern about the point of view and the activities of SALEP, and its policy of 'direct links' in particular. It was particularly critical of SALEP's "style and approach" in the matter of the Roy Jones visit:

"Particularly embarrassing to the NUM was the fact that SALEP had bypassed the NUM National Office."

SALEP replied in a pamphlet entitled, *SALEP's Socialist Education Work — Why Does the Labour Party Want to Ban It?* This was an attack on the NEC of the Labour Party, and the Advice Note. It attacked the ANC again, while at the same time professing once again to stand "shoulder to shoulder" with it — a strange loyalty! The claim was also made, again not for the first time, that the suspension in 1979 of Ensor, Hemson, Legassick and Petersen had been "unconstitutional" and "undemocratic."

The four who were suspended have now been expelled. In June, 1985, the democratically constituted Consultative Conference of the ANC endorsed the decision of the ANC branch in London, by passing a resolution to expel them once and for all, on the basis of their activities in the ANC and SACTU and their published statements over the years.

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We do not have the space here to enter into a full discussion of the self-contradictions to be

found in the ideology expressed in SALEP's statements, nor to discuss their attacks on our movement, direct and oblique, but some points need considering.

The Freedom Charter (which SALEP professes to support) was drawn up in the course of consultation with the people of South Africa throughout the country, and adopted at the Congress of the People, the most widely representative gathering that South Africa has ever seen before or since. In the meantime, it is well known that the Charter now has wide support in South Africa, and is eagerly read and discussed. It cannot be amended or rewritten — not by SALEP, not even by the ANC — until the day comes when the people themselves, at another such representative gathering, may choose to change it. The Preamble states that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.

This Charter is the guide for the ANC in the struggle for liberation. We have called for unity in action — the unity of all democratic forces — towards the overthrow of the ruthless and heavily armed racist regime.

'Workerist' Tendency

As we have already seen, SALEP's original disagreement with SACTU and the ANC was over the claim made by Petersen and the others that the workers of South Africa should be armed as workers, so that the armed struggle could be led by the workers organised as workers. They are critical of the social composition of Umkhonto We Sizwe — they want a workers' army. In his original memorandum, Petersen described his vision of the struggle in the following words:

"... it is a question of the organisation, mobilisation and arming of the mass of the people, headed by the organised workers, towards the eventual armed insurrection and seizure of state power."

In their letter of December 1979 to Cap Zungu, at that time the ANC Chief Representative in London, the expelled four said:

"The workers must be mobilised with the aim, at the decisive point, of defeating the armed force of the state ..."

The ANC stands for mobilising all forces in this stage of the struggle; SALEP stands for mobilising only one — an important one, to be sure, but still only one. Because of this, SALEP, in its first pamphlet, accused SACTU of:

"... a lack of political clarity."

This argument is linked to another put forward by SALEP — the argument for the 'independence' of trade unions. In a letter written in 1980, in which they appealed for support from the British Association of University Teachers, they wrote:

"SALEP is, to our knowledge, the only workers' educational body working inside or outside South Africa ... helping to educate workers in the need for independent industrial and political organisation."

The trade unions, SALEP is arguing, should be responsible only to themselves, and should, in fact, be their own political organisations. 'Independent' here means independent of all alliances with political organisations — independent of all other organisations, that is, except SALEP. In the eyes of the members of SALEP, they themselves are not only the spokesmen of the South African working class, but also its advisers and its educators. They themselves, however, are not workers, but university graduates — some with a string of degrees.

The argument that the struggle in South Africa should be led by the working class organised in the trade unions has as a corollary the argument that political organisations (such as the ANC) and community organisations are potential rivals to the trade union struggle because they contain middle class elements which dilute the strength of the working class. The thinkers of SALEP distrust community organisations, and they are suspicious of the strength of community organisations in the United Democratic Front in South Africa. Of the UDF they said in their report for 1983-4:

"Unfortunately, the UDF has thus far failed to live up to the expectations vested in it. This is because the leaders of the important trade unions have failed to take their members into it in an organised way, transforming the UDF into an organisation led by the workers and with a clear workers' programme in the interests of all the oppressed."

According to Petersen in his original memorandum of 1979, the working class, armed through its own organisations, means:

"The armed defence, in favourable circumstances, of strikes, demonstrations, 'squatter' camps and schools; against police raids, pass arrests, forced removals and so forth."

It is worth noting here that the insurrection desired by Petersen and his colleagues began, in places all over South Africa, in 1984. The decision to resist and protest was taken by the people themselves, unarmed as they still were, and some areas became ungovernable. The defence of squatter camps, townships, communities threatened with forced removal, and so on, has been conducted by local organisations in a determined, courageous and spirited manner, and it seems clear that such defence can best be conducted in this way, rather than by the multiplicity of trade unions that may be represented in each place. The argument that the middle class in a community organisation dilutes the force of the working class underestimates the strength of the Black workers in South Africa, and overestimates the Black middle class — how numerous is the middle class in Crossroads, for example, that place of poverty-stricken shacks?

Strength in Unity

The Transvaal stayaway of November 1984 was so successful that it caused great anxiety to the Pretoria regime and to investors overseas. It was organised both by the unions at the places of work and by the community organisations in the besieged residential areas. The two forms of organisation complemented and reinforced each other, and this is one of the strongest arguments against the 'one-stage' theory of the liberation struggle. To seek to divide the democratic forces now is not in the

interests of our struggle, and is an insult to the efforts and sacrifices of our people. It is a 'left-wing deviation,' about which President Tambo remarked at the National Consultative Conference.

The principle of unity in action applies also to our solidarity work in the rest of the world. The ANC appeals for the support of all democratic and freedom-loving people throughout the world, for the struggle for self-determination of the people of South Africa.

The huge swell of support for our struggle for liberation in Europe, and lately in the United States, has been built on this principle. Certainly, we welcome the support of working class organisations in countries overseas. But when citizens of the United States demonstrated in favour of disinvestment outside the South African Embassy in Washington, when tens of thousands of British people turned out in the streets of London to protest against the visit of P W Botha, we didn't stop them and ask all middle-class people to go home. All those people had united in their support of us, and their support was of tremendous value and encouragement to us.

It is apposite to mention again here the question of 'direct links.' The rank and file 'links' encouraged and financed by SALEP do not involve people who have been delegated by their organisations.

When we in the ANC are asked for a delegate to a conference, or a representative to some other form of gathering, we choose our representative ourselves, through our own structures. These structures are democratic; when we elected our delegates to the Consultative Conference, we gave them the mandate to elect a National Executive Committee, which would choose our future representatives for us, or give local bodies of our organisation the power to do so.

Roy Jones, however well-intentioned an individual he may be, was not such a delegate, and the British National Union of Mineworkers had not authorised him to speak for it. In its Advice Note of 1985, on SALEP, the Labour Party International Department commented on the fact that in sending Jones to South Africa,

SALEP had "bypassed" the National Executive of the British NUM. SALEP, in reply, mentioned:

"... the bureaucratic argument that Roy did not have prior "permission" from the NUM Executive."

In the twisted thinking and inverted logic of SALEP, democratic procedure is seen as "bureaucratic."

Approved by SALEP alone (perhaps in the company of some other individuals), selected without the approval of any organ of his union, Jones represented only himself when he went to South Africa. In the same way, the 45 Zimbabweans sent for 'training' in Europe were selected by SALEP and not by their unions. Just as it claims for itself the right to speak for the working class of South Africa, SALEP, in its middle class White paternalism, claims the right to choose representatives for working class organisations.

SALEP is a self-elected body, answerable to no one but itself. It thrives on creating discord and exploiting factions that may already exist. In its statement of the 21st November 1979, the NEC of SACTU said of the five people who had been sacked:

"Their criticism of SACTU ... is in substance identical with allegations broadcast by the South African racist regime."

In its attacks on the organisations of the South African liberation movement, SALEP has been doing the work of the Pretoria racists. Any progressive organisation is better off without these people. They represent a 'left-wing deviation' which is as bad as the 'right-wing deviations' which we have experienced in our struggle. Now that the ANC Conference — the highest organ of the ANC — has expell-

ed them, we trust our friends and supporters will have nothing more to do with them.

This is the text of the resolution:

The Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC held in Zambia June 16th to 23rd 1985, considered the decision of the RPC in London to suspend the following:

1. Rob Peterson
2. Paula Ensor
3. Martin Legassick
4. David Hemson

It found that, after having been suspended in 1979 by the London Region of the ANC for their disruptive activities in SACTU, the group organised itself outside the ANC under the title, 'The Marxist Tendency Within the ANC' and produced *Inqaba Yabasebenzi*, a journal claimed to be produced by a 'Marxist Wing' of the ANC.

This group contacted trade unions and solidarity organisations in several countries using a mailing list stolen from SACTU. They distributed their literature inside the country, propagated their theories in *Inqaba*, attacking the Freedom Charter, the armed struggle and Umkhonto we Sizwe. They want to create an alternative 'workers army'.

In violation of SACTU's policy, they have encouraged and maintained bilateral contacts with trade unions inside the country. They invited leaders of the South African National Union of Mineworkers to visit Britain without the knowledge of the British NUM. Recently some of them were arrested and expelled from Zimbabwe for activities contrary to the interests and independence of that country.

Conference considers that the decision of the RPC in London to suspend this faction was properly taken. It further resolves to expel the abovementioned from the ANC.

THE BOTSWANA MASSACRE



Victims Were Very 'Soft' Targets

By a Special Correspondent

South Africa is in flames; the nationwide resistance continues unabated. Our people, expressing a contempt for death unparalleled in our history, express in action how the words 'to live' have acquired the same meaning as 'to be free.'

Unable to maintain control, Pretoria has, over the past few months, focussed attention on Botswana as the 'route' of ANC and MK infiltration, and threatened military action. On the night of June 14th, just two days before the 9th anniversary of the Soweto uprisings, and only two days before the opening of the ANC Second National Consultative Conference, these terrorist threats became the reality. The Pretoria regime was, once again, telling us in action that the only way we will stop the bloodletting is to go to war.

How They Did It

Stationing tanks at the Botswana border for back-up if required, Pretoria's dogs of war came to Gaborone to kill. Ten 'ANC targets', widely scattered, were attacked simultaneously with heavy artillery, machine guns and grenades. After the attacks buildings were demolished with explosives; cars were burnt; every effort made to ensure there were no survivors.

Using loud-hailers, speaking in Afrikaans, English and Sotho, the South African forces of death instructed the people of Gaborone to stay indoors, keep their curtains drawn, switch their lights off. They then proceeded to carry out their bloody tasks.

General Constand Viljoen, Chief of the Army, declared the following morning:

"We destroyed ten ANC military bases. I want to state clearly that the operation was not directed at the government of Botswana or its people, but at clearly identified ANC terrorists ... The attack was a resounding success. It had become imperative to take the targets out and kill as many ANC executives as possible in the interests of peace and stability in southern Africa."

But just who were these "ANC executives" killed by Pretoria's executioners? Twelve people died that night — two Botswana citizens, one Somali, one six-year-old child from Lesotho, and eight South Africans — only five of these were ANC members, none of them MK combatants.

The viciousness of the attack is best conveyed through eye-witness accounts; reported below:

Five men in a white mini-bus encountered, at about 1 a.m., a Botswana youth driving home from the Oasis Motel, a local nightspot a few miles from the SA border.

"I thought they were the Botswana Defence Force, because they were putting on the same uniform ... but they pointed a machine gun at me and started firing. Then they threw a grenade at my car, so my car started burning. I hid under the seat and kept still so they thought I was dead,"

he recounts from his hospital bed.

Killed While Sleeping

Duke Mashobane's family was asleep when the lock on the back door of their tiny four-roomed house in the Nomatata area of Gaborone was blasted off. Their six-year-old nephew, Peter Mofoka, visiting from Lesotho, ran crying from the bedroom. Duke was sprayed with multiple rounds of machine gun fire at point blank range. His body sheltered his wife, Rose, who was allowed to escape, being told: "we're not interested in women, only terrorists." Clearly they saw the child as a potential terrorist, so they pumped six bullets into his small body.

It took several hours to extinguish the flames that engulfed the home of 71-year-old Dick 'Mkhulu' Mtsweni. His body was burned to a cinder, and the acrid stench of charred flesh lingered in the air. His 60-year-old wife managed to crawl out of a back window despite gunshot wounds in the legs. Their 10-year-old grandchild escaped uninjured.

At the home of George and Lindi Phahle, they came in shooting. George was to have left for Harare the previous evening, but had postponed his trip. A neighbour reports that about 20 SA commandos took part in this attack, shouting in Afrikaans:

"Come out George ... we're going to get you, kaffir."



Peter Mofoka — another soft target for the racists

They shot their way into the back room, firing at least 50 rounds — firing into walls, beds, cupboards. George and Lindi were hit again and again. George's brother, Livy, a frail young musician, survived, only inches away from them. Lindi's cousin, visiting from Johannesburg, died crouching in a cupboard for feeble protection. Says Livy:

"They just kept shooting; shooting, laughing, cursing — asking: "Are they all dead? Have we finished off the f- kaffirs?""

The bodies were kicked around, photographed — trophies from their blood sports.

Twenty-four-year-old Mike Hamlyn was a conscientious objector who had left SA in order not to serve in the South African Defence Force. A science student and a musician, he had just completed his course work at the University of Botswana. He died in a hail of bullets; the house was then blown up. Only ten days earlier Ahmed Geer, a Somali refugee, and his wife Roeli, had rented the front house from Mike. Both were Dutch citizens. Ahmed was killed; Roeli, eight months pregnant, escaped with severe bullet wounds in the legs as the cupboard in which she hid was machine-gunned.

Eugenia Kobole and Gladys Kelapi, two young Botswana women in their early twenties, died when the servants' quarters in which they lived was reduced to rubble by explosives. The head of one of them was blown 50 feet away, lodged in a window at the back of the main house. Two arms were found, three legs, chunks of flesh were strewn about the yard and hung from the trees.

Thami Mnyele, well-known South African artist, has his home and studio in Tlokweng. It was attacked shortly after 1 a.m., with tear-gas canisters thrown inside. Thami, fleeing, was shot in the back. Pretoria's thugs entered the house, firing into silk-screens, easels, art supplies.

Tim Williams, suspicious of the queries made about his house, took his wife and three children to safety and returned to his home. When the attack was launched, he managed to escape, but the house was totally destroyed.

ANC Residence Destroyed

The most powerful bomb was reserved for the official ANC residence, which was virtually completely demolished; its roof was blown off and only parts of two walls remained standing. But no one was there; so there were no casualties.

This was the third attack on South African refugees in Botswana since February. When the house of Nat Serache, refugee journalist, was demolished by explosives, 16 neighbouring homes were damaged in the blast. No one was killed. In May, ANC and Sactu activist, Rogers Nkadimeng, was blown to pieces by a powerful car bomb.

Gaborone seethed with the anger and outrage expressed at this blatant act of wanton killing. The local population expressed support for the ANC and the bereaved in many ways — providing food, accommodation, transport. They turned out en masse to the funeral service held in the Gaborone National Stadium on June 22. Busloads of our people also travelled from various parts of our country to attend the service, including a large delegation from the South African Council of Churches. The families of the victims came to mourn, to say farewell, but also to state clearly and unequivocally that they would not give up the struggle — their children will not have died in vain. Every facility was granted by the Botswana government and the Botswana Council of Churches pledged to make its priority the taking of the message to the people of Botswana what it means to be a refugee from apartheid South Africa.

Distinction Disappears

Between 'Hard' and 'Soft' Targets

The victims of the Gaborone Massacre, the more than 500 people who have died in the escalating conflict within our country over the last 9 months, have been very, very 'soft' targets indeed. Men, women and children, unarmed, unprotected, killed in sport, massacred in their sleep, tortured to death. The Second ANC National Consultative Conference was characterised as a Council of War, and in the escalating struggle to achieve our

freedom the distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' targets will disappear. For even as we bury our dead, the South African Broadcasting Corporation and Pretoria's spokesmen state that they will hunt down and kill ANC executives and functionaries wherever they may be; in any corner of the globe. This international terrorism is sanctioned, aided and abetted by Reagan's policy of 'constructive engagement' and Thatcher's fêting of Botha. It must urgently be countered by progressive mankind.

The struggle of the people of South Africa for liberation will be intensified at all costs. Our people, demonstrating readiness to pay the supreme sacrifice for the right to life, are acting as a united, invincible force to destroy the apartheid regime — the South African version of Nazism.

The time has come when we should avenge our martyrs! Hambani Kahle, dear Comrades. We dip our revolutionary banner in salute to you, Cecil George Phahle, Lindi Maunde Phahle, Dick 'Mkhulu' Mtsweni, Duke Mashobane, Mike Hamlyn, Thamsanqa Mnyele, Basie Zondi, and not least, Peter Mofoka. Your deaths will not be in vain!

Archie Mogwe Speaks

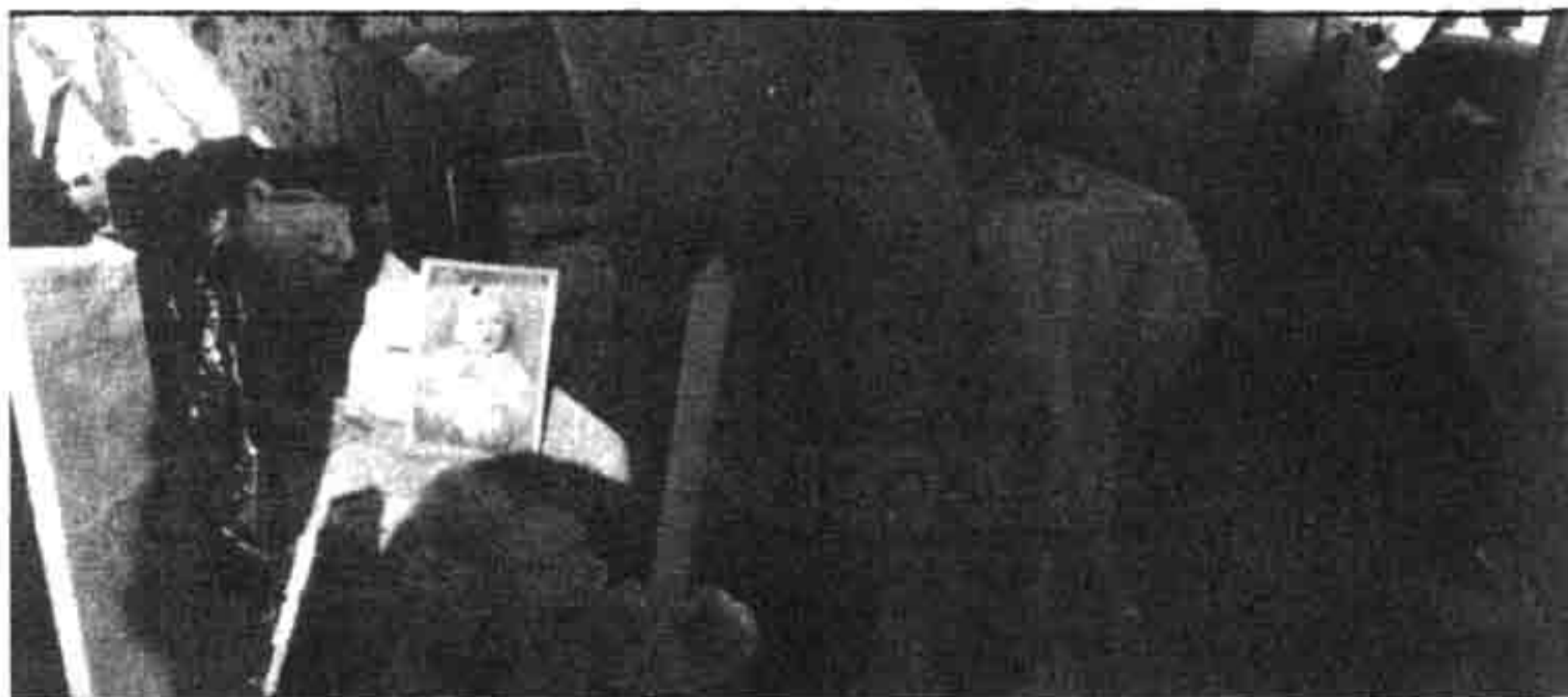
Mr Archie Mogwe, Botswana Minister for Mineral Resources, said these words at the funeral of the victims of the Gaborone massacre:

"... The people concerned had fled South Africa to find new homes where they could live and contribute to the future of mankind in peace, while their country of origin has denied them such right.

"Was it not enough for the authorities in South Africa to force these people to go into exile? Why follow them and murder them in their sleep, when they are unsuspecting and most vulnerable? Had they not suffered enough humiliation when they had to leave their country? Why follow them and massacre them in their country of asylum?

"This heinous act of murder must be condemned by all freedom-loving countries. Why do they make people live in a state of perpetual fear even when they have fled the oppression of apartheid? Apartheid has become the most indefensible philosophy both morally and politically since the Second World War ...

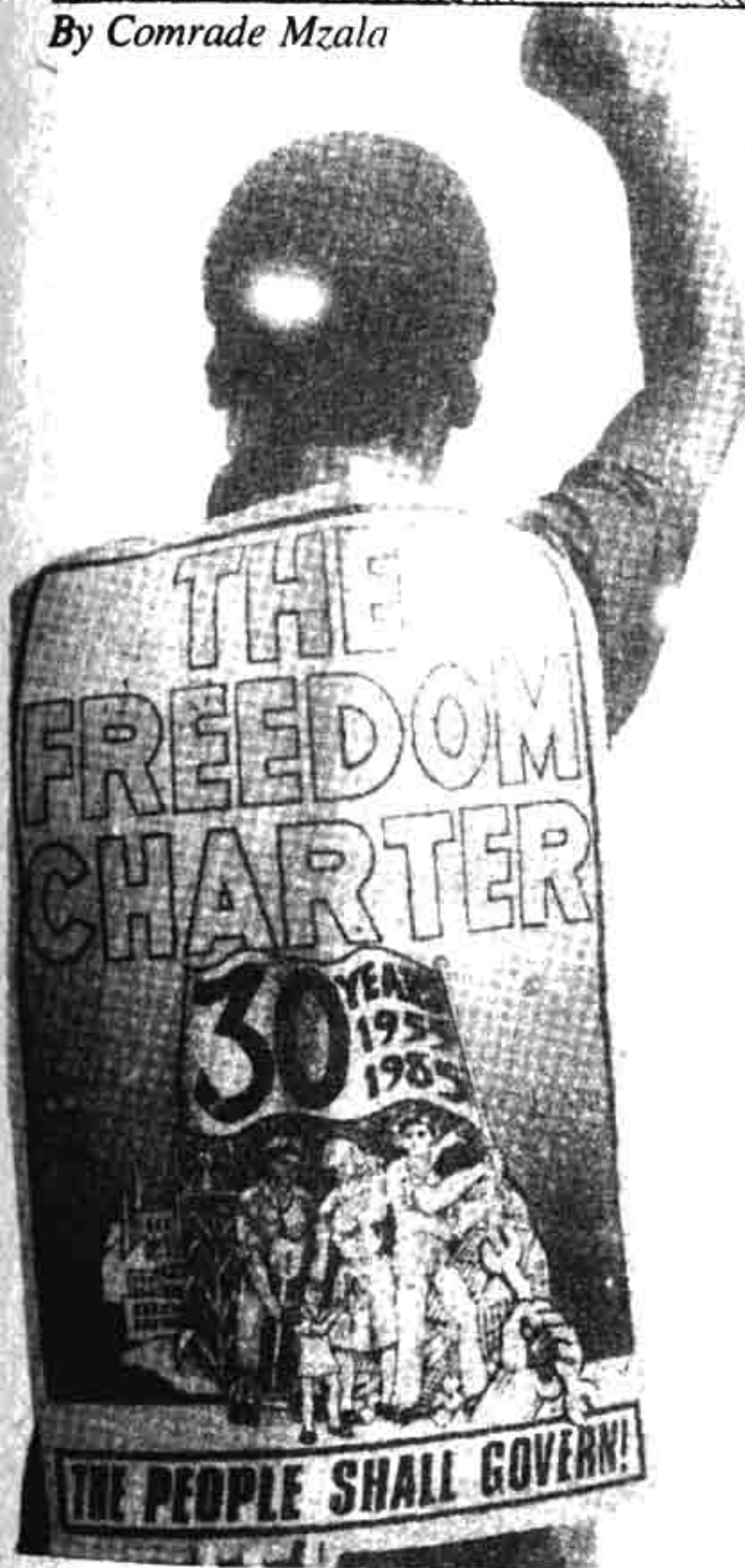
"Let it be known for a fact therefore, that Botswana will continue to receive and welcome refugees. We shall not and we cannot be deterred by this dastardly act ... of naked savagery and barbarism ... As the oppressed people of South Africa intensify their struggle for freedom and justice, South Africa will become even more desperate and commit even more desperate acts; and the innocent will suffer along with those who are waging the struggle."



Family life destroyed

THE FREEDOM CHARTER IS OUR LODESTAR

By Comrade Mzala



*Demonstrator outside Regina Mundi,
Soweto, 16th June 1985*

The real essence of the present phase of our revolution is not the winning of socialism but, as the Freedom Charter reflects, the winning of people's democracy, a true republic with power to the people, all the people! The drafters of the Azanian Manifesto fail to see the revolutionary significance of this step, that is, the significance of the struggle for true national independence and self-determination.

Nelson Mandela said in 1956, in the article already quoted:

"Whilst the Charter proclaims democratic changes of a far-reaching nature, it is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state but a programme for the unification of various classes and groupings amongst the people on a democratic basis. Under socialism the workers hold state power. They and the peasants own the means of production, the land, the factories, and the mills. All production is for use and not for profit. The Charter does not contemplate such profound economic and political changes. Its declaration, "The People Shall Govern!" visualises the transfer of power not to any single social class but to all the people of this country, be they workers, peasants, professional men or petty-bourgeoisie.

"It is true that in demanding the nationalisation of the banks, the gold mines and the land, the Charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold-mining monopolies and farming interests that have for centuries plundered the country and condemned its people to servitude. But such a step is imperative because the realisation of the Charter is inconceivable, in fact impossible, unless and until these monopolies are smashed and the national wealth of the country turned over to the people. To destroy these monopolies means the termination of the exploitation of vast sections of the populace by mining kings and land barons and there will be a general rise in the living standards of the people. It is precisely because

the Charter offers immense opportunities for an overall improvement in the material conditions of all classes and groups that it attracts such wide support."

Ideological Struggle

Imperialism maintains itself in power today not only through force but also by ideological manipulation, utilising in that respect the low level of ideological awareness of our toiling people. The real aim of imperialism in the ideological field is to mislead our people, to cause a split in our ranks, to attempt to diffuse our people's revolutionary zeal to an impotent quest for reforms. Not unusually, quasi-leaders are groomed like horses, miseducated and let loose to carry out these plans.

In view of this reality it would be ridiculous to ignore the fact that those who oppose the Freedom Charter become toys in the hands of imperialism, and everything must be done to enlighten our people, to equip them with tools to understand the line of march and thereby consolidate our democratic ranks. The imperialists, quite obviously, hate our Freedom Charter, and would love to see the South African people opt for a less revolutionary document, some kind of reforms or even, for that matter, one document that looks super-revolutionary in form but which is reactionary in essence.

In view of this ideological offensive against our national democratic movement, and its attempts to discredit the Freedom Charter, it becomes imperative to ask the question: are there ideological trends in the national liberation movement? The answer is: Yes. Those of us who have experienced factionalism during the long years of our struggle against oppression have also found that the oppressors always try to foment splits in the national liberation movement on ideological and other grounds — using as their main instrument racial prejudice, chauvinism, tribalism, anti-communism or ultra-left rhetoric. The question of ideological struggle is therefore not an abstract one, nor of purely academic interest. It is inseparably linked with the national liberation struggle, and is in keeping with the day-to-day historical demands of our revolution.

ANC Position Must Be Defined

Even in South Africa, where national oppression seems to dictate to all oppressed people the inevitable need to unite and agree on what to fight for, there are always remarkably different ideological trends. And our movement owes its present shape and position to the bitter struggle it has fought over the years (even within itself) for ideological clarity against narrow national opportunism, liberalism, ultra-left Trotskyist childishness, and so on. It sounds incredible, but our real life and actual history has meant exactly this ideological struggle.

Chief Luthuli once said, in a special Presidential message at the end of 1955:

"Faced as we are with the battle for freedom it seems a wise stand to say that the African National Congress should not dissipate its energies by indulging in internal ideological feuds — a fight on 'isms.' It is not practical and logical, however, to expect Congress to be colourless ideologically. She must in some way define or re-define her stand ..."

This is exactly how it should be!

A struggle against a trend, therefore, which our entire movement recognises as an ideological trend contrary to the interests of genuine liberation, may imply superseding considerations of unity at all costs. And the history of our revolution has shown that the struggle for unity cannot be conducted at all costs, even at the cost of losing sight of the sacred goals we are striving for, at the cost of diverting from genuine emancipation. We take our orientation in this political sea, not by the ships sailing with us on the sea, but by a proven guide, a 'Northern Star,' an ideological lighthouse built on an historic foundation and developed in the strategic political outlook of the whole world revolutionary process. Unity, yes, but for the struggle against the colonial system of White supremacy, not for the establishment of ideological peace with opportunism, either 'left' or 'right' wing.

So, there is no point in the convenors of the National Forum shouting themselves hoarse with cries of 'unity' or raising their hands tired with the banner of 'unity' without a historical

understanding of where we come from as well as an ideological understanding of where we are going to, while at the same time they shamelessly heap scorn and contempt on the Freedom Charter, a document drawn up by the people as an embodiment of their aspirations for freedom and democracy.

Theory of Revolution

The strength of our ideological creed must therefore not only be in its unifying force, but also in its ability to withstand the test of factionalism and ideological opposition. Today when we look back at the political history of the ANC and its allies, it becomes quite obvious that our movement could not have preserved (let alone developed) itself as the vanguard organisation in the South African revolution had it not upheld the principle of ideological clarity and formed a single front in the political, economic and ideological struggle against settler colonialism and imperialism. The leading place of our movement derives also from our vigilant attention to the ideological aspect of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed masses.

We anticipate a flood of accusations for these words; the shouts will arise that we want to convert mere freedom-loving people of South African into 'true believers' in the Freedom Charter and persecute 'heretics' for deviations from our 'religion' and so forth. There is not a grain of truth in these accusations. Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This means that if we do not have a theory of revolution, we equally do not have the right to differ with the PAC, the Gang of Eight, and so on; furthermore it means we do not have a right to exist as an ideological trend as well. To defend such a theory, which to the best of our knowledge we consider to be true, against unfounded attacks and attempts to corrupt it is not to imply that we are an enemy of all criticism. We are defending unity against the disrupters of unity, we are defending the theory of revolution that has been historically proven.

The Struggle Against Opportunism

It is this political and ideological cohesion of our democratic movement which makes us

stand as the leaders of all others, a position which is inconceivable without an irreconcilable struggle against political opportunism. This democratic movement that is developing in South Africa, inspired by the Freedom Charter, will retain and further develop its militant unity by also opposing opportunist ideological trends and correcting political mistakes at the level of the theory of our revolution and at that of practical politics, whether these are committed with good or ill intentions (it is often said that the road to hell is paved with good intentions).

'Socialism' is undoubtedly the most fashionable slogan at the present period, for even our liberal 'friends,' and narrow nationalists, understand that it is the position one adopts to socialism, generally speaking, that differentiates a progressive from a reactionary in all countries. But it is very important for our theoretically-grounded organisers to give to our people a concrete understanding of the course our revolution will follow, that is, the stages it will necessarily pass through. It is such an understanding, based on the theory of the South African revolution, that will make it clear that the political situation in South Africa does not by any means make the question of the socialist revolution the immediate task of the struggle. It will make clear, instead, that our immediate aim is to win the objectives of the national revolution expressed in the Freedom Charter, more particularly to achieve the national emancipation of the Black people and to destroy the political and economic power of the racist ruling class.

Anti-Communist Hysteria

There must be some strange mechanism in the thinking of the imperialists which makes them believe that once they have described something as 'Communist' then all members of the human race will want to run away from it. The racists of South Africa have always thought like this. When, in 1956, the Pretoria government arrested 156 of our leaders and charged them with high treason, arguing that the Freedom Charter was a document inspired by Moscow, they hoped they would scare the masses of our people from the Freedom

Charter. The masses, being oppressed by imperialism and racism, never moved in the hoped-for direction; on the contrary, they are irresistibly attracted by the Freedom Charter and almost everything that our enemies hate. In the end, the Treason Trial failed to diagnose Communism in the Freedom Charter.

Opportunism in South Africa has equally tried to call the Freedom Charter a 'Communist' document inspired by Moscow. It was the Liberal Party in the fifties, typical of opportunism, which joined the racist government in opposing the Freedom Charter, and saw behind it a Communist plot. This party's anti-Communism found its extreme exponent in Jordan Ngubane, a journalist who finally broke with the ANC in late 1955 and became a leading member of the Liberal Party. The Freedom Charter's ultimate aim, claimed Ngubane, was:

"to condition the African people for the purpose of accepting communism via the back door," (*An African Explains Apartheid*, New York, 1963, p.99).

"Condition" is the key word here.

He further charged that the Communists supported a deliberately vague document in order to accustom Africans to the idea of nationalisation. In a strange revelation of how liberalism and narrow nationalism finds itself embracing Pretoria's hatred of Communism, Ngubane further wrote in his book (p.179) that:

"the African's and Afrikaner's hatred of Communism on this plane is so intense that an alignment between the two is no longer as remote an eventuality as events might suggest."

Similarly, the PAC factionalists proclaimed that the Freedom Charter was a Communist document, in this way virtually joining the Pretoria government in proclaiming the moral justification for the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. And, as we all know, in terms of this South African legislation and judicial interpretation, a Communist is anybody who opposes apartheid, whether this is done in the form of a sermon from the church pulpit, a funeral oration at the graveside or sheer anti-apartheid campaigning in the cultural field.

It Is Apartheid That Robs Our People

By diverting the attention of the oppressed masses from apartheid to their manufactured version of Communism, giving it a distorted meaning to suit their intentions, the racists and their ideological allies equally play the game of the imperialists; except that they never score goals in the hearts and minds of our people. Our people know that it is not Communism but apartheid that deprives them of their most elementary human rights; that it is not Communism but apartheid that robs them of their right to take part in the administration of their own country; that it is not Communism but apartheid that deprives them of a fair share of the wealth they produce; that it is not Communism but apartheid that deprives them of the right to live together with their families wherever they might choose, and live as human beings.

The Communist bogey has never deterred our people from upholding the principles of the Freedom Charter and the democratic movement led by the ANC and its allies. Contemporary events show irrefutably that, slowly but surely, our politically conscious people are marching with the banner of the Freedom Charter held high above their heads — holding high the banner of people's democracy. Such a people's movement is invincible! Such a people cannot be deceived! Such a people cannot be stopped in their tracks by some 'inspired by Moscow' scare gimmicks.

Why on earth do our enemies and opponents imagine that they are the only ones who know what Communism really is? Why do they think they are the only ones who store Marxist-Leninist literature on the bookshelves? Why do they imagine that the people of South Africa do not know what the SACP is and what it stands for? Do our enemies and the opportunists alike imagine that the members of the ANC do not understand the basis of the alliance with the SACP?



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APARTHEID ATTACKS SOFT TARGETS



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