

SEPT 1986



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



## EVERY PATRIOT A COMBATANT



# SECHABA

## SEPTEMBER 1986

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#### Correction:

In the August issue of „Sechaba“, page 20 should be page 13 and vice versa.

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## WHY BOTHA & THATCHER ARE INTRANSIGENT

On August 13, P W Botha, the racist President delivered his "Rubicon III" speech to the 1 600 delegates of the ruling National Party: a party which is neither "national" nor "nationalist". He accused the international community of "entertaining the idle hope of eventually pouncing upon the riches of our country". It is not our task to reply to his diatribe.

All we want to say is that the "intransigence for Thatcher and Botha has deep roots — economic and otherwise. Botha's and Thatcher's intransigence reflect this reality.

It has been recently revealed that British Conservative — and Liberal and SPD — leaders including MPs are connected to firms in South Africa who pay the "lowest sum possible" for a family to survive; ten Conservatives and one Liberal are connected to six companies who pay their Black workers below the EEC recommended rate; 71 British Conservative MPs (nearly one in four) including a cabinet minister, are directors, share holders, parliamentary consultants or advisers to 85 companies which directly or indirectly have a financial stake in South Africa; 18 more were guests of South Africa or Namibia in 1985/86. There are also 73 British companies with South African subsidiaries or associates who donated £1 203 700 to the British Conservative — Margaret Thatcher's — Party and one company, Coats Viyella, donated £5 000 to the SDP. Out of the £1.2 million donated by these companies, £961 238 came from 61 — nearly half — of the Tory's total donations from companies.

Seventy Tory back-benchers (23% of all Conservative MPs) have some connection with companies with a South African connection. In all 85 companies are involved through 69 parent companies — 31 companies have 179 498 employees and the UK companies employ something like 370 000 in subsidiaries and associate companies.

This is besides the fact that Britain is South Africa's biggest investor: estimates of UK share of total overseas investments in South Africa are put at between 38%—45%. That means 281 British companies are known to have subsidiaries and associate companies in South Africa. A further 14

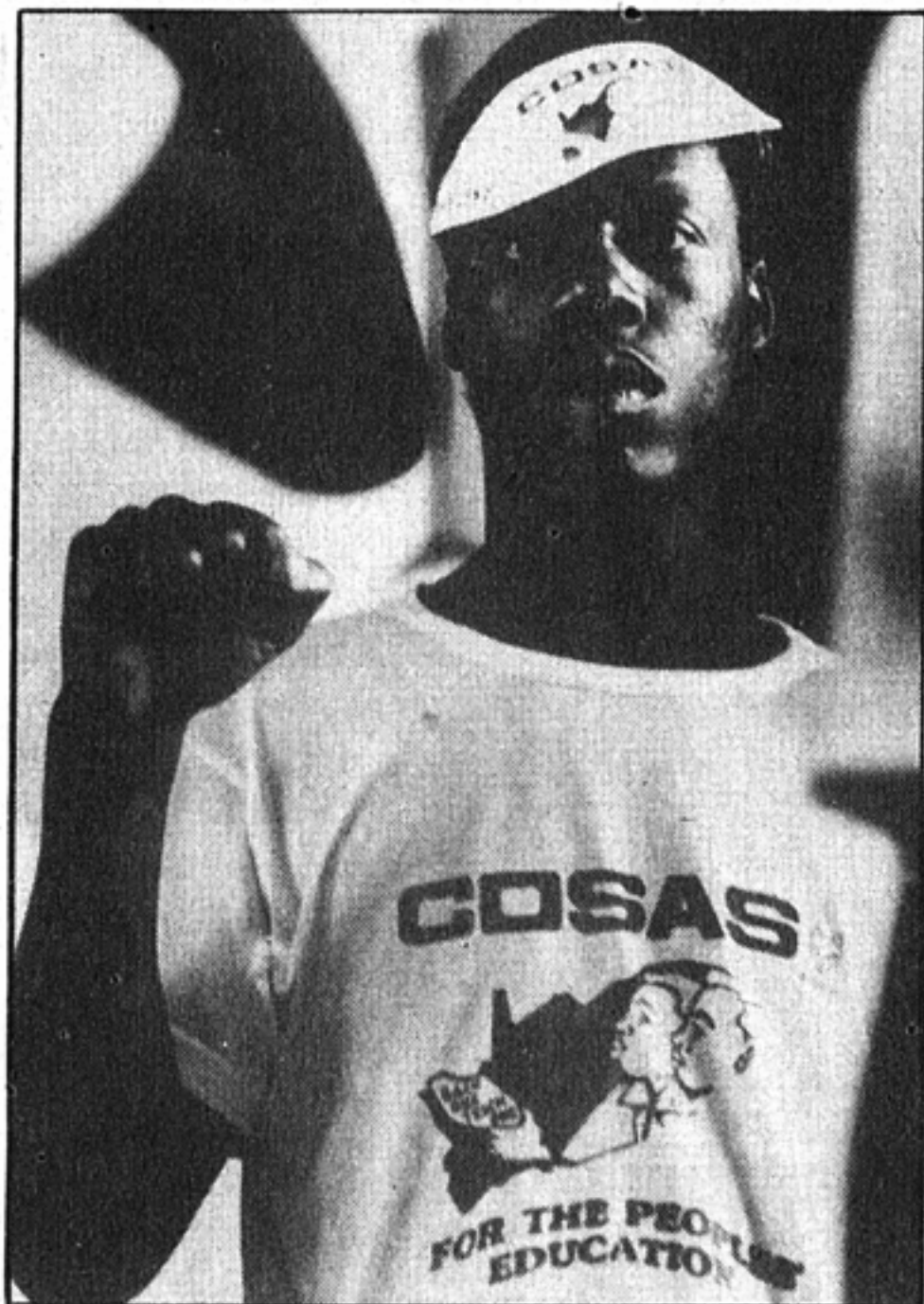
foreign-owned companies with British subsidiaries are listed as having a financial stake in apartheid.

This is just part of a bigger problem. We have not dealt with other aspects e.g. the kith and kin problem. What we are saying is that the British government and Parliament put commercial interests before solidarity with Black South Africans. Not only Britain. All Western countries. Apartheid delivers enormous profits because of cheap Black labour.

Botha's "boldness" and Thatcher's attitude towards sanctions simply mean we have to intensify the struggle — the battle — for sanctions, for this is just what it is.







# THE STRUGGLE FOR PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

*By Elaine Unterhalter*

The education crisis in South Africa is an area fraught with difficulties for the regime and rich in possibilities for the people's struggle. The education system is an area where the contradictions for the present phase of apartheid are sharply defined and where there are no easy solutions for the regime. The struggle over education has a long history; it has deep roots in every Black community. The demand for free, compulsory, equal, universal and democratic education in a democratic non-racial South Africa is a demand that has come to unite parents, teachers and students, urban and rural communities. It is a central demand of our liberation struggle and the education system is one of the important sites of that struggle.

For the mass of South Africans the outlines of the education struggle are plain to see. The education provision in the country is segregated. This means that White children have more money spent on their education: in 1984 R1658 was spent on the education of every White child, compared with R234 spent on every African child outside of the bantustans, R569 on every Coloured child, and R10 88 on every Indian child; inside the bantustans, where 70% of African

pupils are at school, R245 per child by Bophuthatswana, the highest spender, and R112 per child in KwaNdebele, the lowest.

The inequalities in spending mean that White pupils have small classes, highly qualified teachers, adequate classrooms, extensive school grounds, sports facilities, school libraries, modern laboratories, school halls, and free textbooks and stationery. Black pupils have none of these amenities. It was only in 1986, after prolonged student protest on this issue, that the regime agreed to provide free textbooks and stationery to all Black schools; and the provision that was actually made as a result of this promise has since been described by Black teacher spokesmen as ridiculously inadequate, an insult to both the children and the teachers, and a feeble cosmetic exercise.

## **Intense Racist Indoctrination**

But the significance of the segregation of education is deeper than the inequities in the provision of facilities. It lies in the subjects that are taught and the way they are taught. For decades White school children have been taught to command, to manage, to compete, to take on professional



and administrative jobs, to obey the instructions of teachers and prefects, and not to question the 'knowledge' in their textbooks that contain the lies about the colonial conquest of the African people, and that portray Black South Africans as forgetful servants in countless examples in arithmetic and language books. From the 1970s White school children have also been given courses in "youth preparedness", so that they will be able to identify those Black South Africans who are "terrorists" and "communists" and will be ready to withstand any attacks by them. They have been trained by the SADF in cadet corps and taken on "adventure weekends" that are really military training camps. Although some White pupils have been trained in technical subjects their numbers have declined, because of the low status of this work in the White community.

By contrast, Black students' education has attempted to train them for subservience, for unskilled and semi-skilled labour. Rigid school discipline, enforced through corporal punishment, is a foretaste of work discipline. Textbooks attempt to inculcate notions of Black servility and White authority and to force an ethnic identification with a bantustan. Each year the high costs of schooling and the poverty of the Black community force hundreds of thousands of children to leave school without basic literacy skills; their future, as unskilled workers, open to all forms of exploitation, is bleak. Teachers' low qualifications, the lack of libraries and laboratories, and overcrowding at school and at home make it difficult for high school students to study to pass exams. In 1983 only 48% of African pupils passed matric, compared with 80% of White pupils. Over the last decade the demands of employers for more Black skilled workers has meant some upgrading of school facilities for Coloured, Indian, and urban African children; the number of Black matriculants is increasing, but the content of education remains geared to authoritarian learning, rigid discipline, and perpetuation of apartheid stereotypes.

### **Education to Serve the People**

Zwelakhe Sisulu, who was later to be appointed convenor of the People's Education Secretariat, said in his keynote address to the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) conference in March:

"We are no longer demanding the same education as Whites, since this is education for domination. People's education means education at the service of the people as a whole, education that liberates, education that puts the people in command of their lives."

The education crisis facing all South Africans is that the education system provides, neither for White nor for Black, education that liberates and that puts people in command of their lives.

The education crisis facing the regime, however, has somewhat different dimensions.

The education system has been used by the regime for two purposes, which have not always complemented each other. Firstly, it has been used to create conditions of political stability for the regime, devaluing democratic processes, and fostering bantustan allegiance and racial and ethnic divisions. Secondly, it has been used to provide adequate labour in skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled categories, for economic growth to maintain political quiescence.

### **Resistance to Bantu Education**

In both these purposes the regime has failed. Since its introduction Bantu Education has elicited protests from the people. In 1953, at the beginning of the programme, the ANC called for children to be kept out of Bantu Education schools, and although the task of providing an alternative education system was too great at that time, the tradition of political criticism of education system was born. African schools and universities have been centres of protest and demonstration and frequent violent attacks by police and military for more than a decade. The attempts by the regime to restructure the administration of education by creating some multi-racial bodies and increasing spending on Black education have not lessened students determination to oppose gutter education.

These attempts at a reformation of apartheid education anyway went hand in hand with intense repression of student movements and student protests. The people's tradition of opposition to the education system can be counterposed with the regime's tradition of violent repression of such protests. From June 1976 when school children were first shot on the streets of Soweto and student activists detained, there stretches a long line of such brutalities. Students protesting at bantustan universities have been forced back into lec-



tures by police batons. Student leaders have been banned, detained, imprisoned and murdered. Student organisations have been outlawed. During the state of emergency in 1985 60% of detainees were younger than 25. At least 209 children were killed in that year. In some cases the whole school population was dragged into police vans; children were viciously beaten.

Such acts of brutality, however, have had the opposite effect to that the regime intended. Many students bear witness to the fact that the experience of repression politicised them. Funerals have become demonstrations of militant defiance, not despair. The tactics of the regime have led those engaged in the education struggle to devise new strategies and new organisations. Far from education now creating political stability for the regime, it is one of the areas where it is most unstable.

### **The Capitalist Lobby**

The political instability of the regime in the field of education is compounded by its difficulties in meeting the needs of employers for labour and using the education system adequately for its second purpose. From the early 1970s representatives of large capitalist concerns have lobbied the regime demanding an increased provision of skilled Black labour for technological advance and economic growth. Some small steps to increase the provision of Black technical education and urban schooling were halted by the recession of the mid-1970s. In the period after 1976 meeting some of the demands for skilled and professional Black labour became a major concern of civil servants in the education and manpower departments, many educationists, and corporate capital, which itself privately funded a number of schemes to upgrade the provision of Black education. The problem for the regime in this area is twofold. As long as their repressive tactics continue to create turmoil in the schools and politicise the students, they will remain unable to provide skilled and professional labour monopoly capital demands. Equally, as long as the recession continues, even those students who were not politically active and who passed their matric, will be unlikely to find the jobs they studied so hard to acquire; unemployment might radicalise those the regime intended to co-opt.

The education crisis for the regime is therefore its inability to satisfy its own constituency either

for political quiet or for adequate supplies of skilled and professional Black labour. The racist education system is contrary to the aspirations of the Black people. This crisis has led to divisions within the ruling bloc. Representatives of capital continue to demand far-reaching reforms in the educational system and large-scale desegregation facilities; the right-wing White political parties castigate the regime for even considering desegregation of some administrative structures and for abandoning the religious basis of education for technocratic training; civil servants dealing with education, desperate to see Black children back in school, have met with popularly elected education crisis committees; sometimes they have tried to meet some of their demands, and, in a few cases, they have demanded the SADF withdraw from schools to allow children to return. The present state of emergency merely exacerbates these divisions. While it is still too early to say how the ruling bloc will fragment over this issue, the lines of fissure are clear.

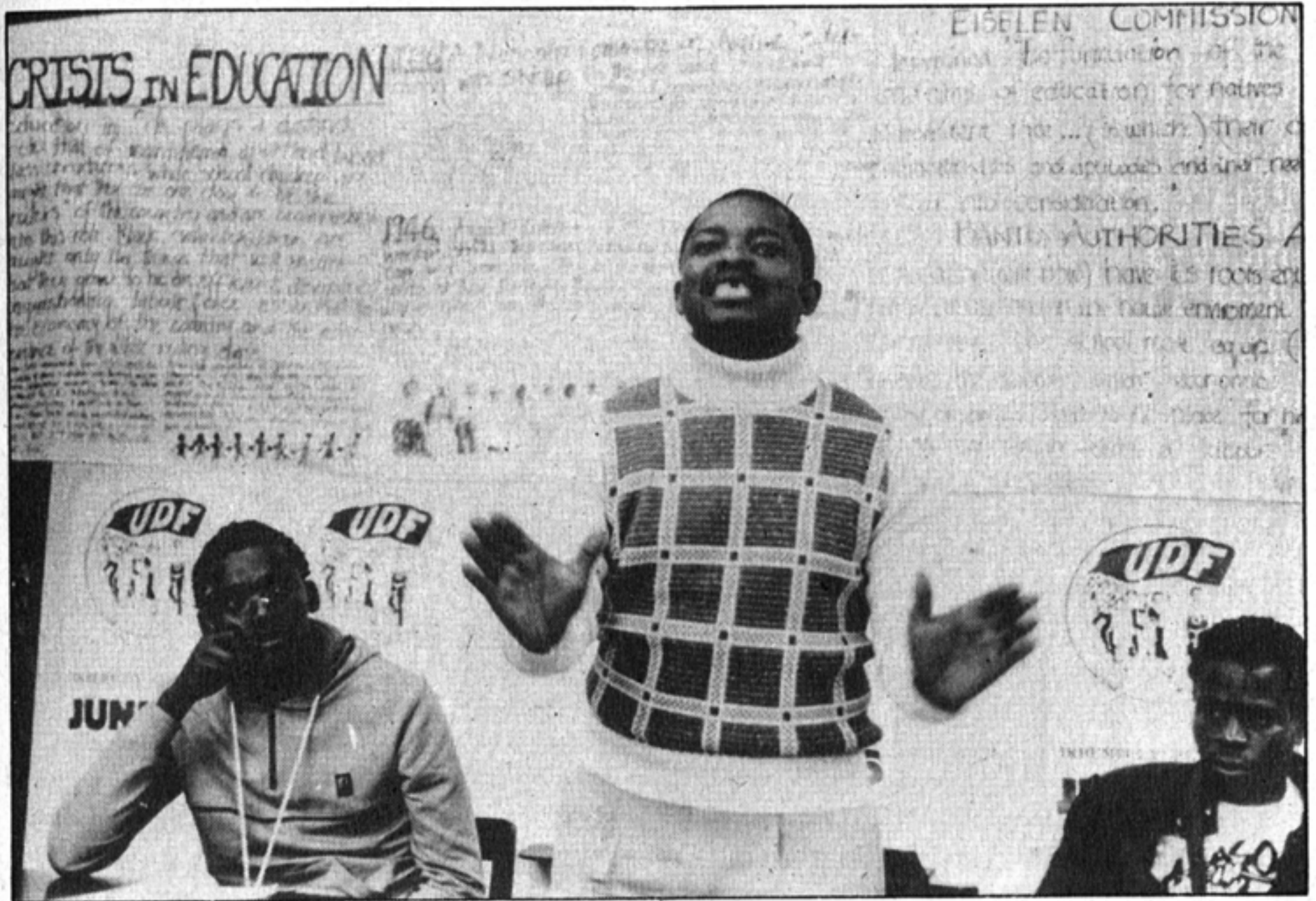
### **Blacks Demand People's Education**

The education struggle has widened considerably from the student demonstrations of 1976. The events of 1976-7 forced students to think about forms of organisation and tactics of the struggle. In some areas, like the Eastern Cape, students began to organise with teachers and parents, and regional student organisations grew up. A significant moment was the formation of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), the non-racial national school student's movement, in 1979. COSAS, which affiliated to the UDF, was engaged in campaigns in support of the general struggle for democracy and also in specific education campaigns, like the campaign for the Education Charter.

This campaign, which still continues, is an attempt to gather education demands from all over the country and to condense them into an education charter, which will be, like the Freedom Charter, a statement of people's aims and aspirations in their struggle against apartheid.

The mid-1980s have been a period of heightened student struggles. In some areas school boycotts went on for nearly a year, in others students refused to write exams. The disruptive presence of the SADF in Soweto and the conditions of terror which reigned in many schools led





*'Terror' Lekota, addressing an education crisis workshop. Since September, 1984, he has been one of the 22 Delmas Treason Trialists.*

to a large meeting of protest in October 1985. At this meeting, the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee (SPCC) was elected, which was mandated to negotiate with the Department of Education and Training for the lifting of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of troops from the townships and to try to postpone exams. They succeeded in the latter through their meetings with school principals, but not in the former, and in December called a national consultative conference on education.

### **Soweto Parents Meet ANC**

Before this conference a delegation from the SPCC had met with the ANC in Lusaka and discussed the then current students' slogan "liberation now, education later", by which students called for an indefinite school boycott to force the end of apartheid. The ANC indicated it would be guided by the decision of the conference on the appropriate strategy to adopt, but considered the long-term aims of the liberation struggle might be better served by students mobilising inside schools.

The SPCC conference, attended by a broad range of student, parent, teacher, community, religious and education groups from seven regions, considered regional reports on the education struggle and passed resolutions condemning bantustan education, the banning of COSAS, the detentions of students and teachers, and the stooge statutory parents' committees. In terms of strategy the conference resolved to abandon the use of long-term boycotts, because they tended to disperse, divide and demoralise students. Instead, it resolved that students should use the existing school structures and reformulate the present education system into people's education. The slogans for this strategy were "Education for Liberation" and "People's Education for People's Power".

The conference resolution on people's education read:

- "This conference notes that apartheid education
- i) is totally unacceptable to the oppressed people;
- ii) divides people into classes and ethnic groups;
- iii) is essentially a means of control to produce



- subservient, docile people;
- iv) indoctrinates and dominates;
- v) is intended to entrench apartheid and capitalism.

Therefore we resolve actively to strive for people's education as the new form of education for all sectors of our people, declaring that people's education is education that:

- i) enables the oppressed to understand the evils of the apartheid system and prepares them for participation in a non-racial democratic system;
- ii) eliminates illiteracy, ignorance and the exploitation of one person by another;
- iii) eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development, and replaces it with one that encourages collective input and active participation by all, as well as stimulating critical thinking and analysis;
- iv) equips and trains all sectors of our people to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to attain people's power in order to establish a non-racial, democratic South Africa;
- v) allows students, parents, teachers and workers to be mobilised into appropriate organisational structures which enable them to participate actively in the initiation and management of people's education in all its forms;
- vi) enable workers to resist exploitation and oppression at their workplace."

It is clear that people's education is intended to transform apartheid education, to turn education into an instrument of liberation, rather than oppression, as it is at present.

The SPCC December conference resolved that students should end their boycott of schools, return to school on a date set by the conference and not the DET, and that if demands for repair of damaged school buildings, the postponement of exams, the release of students and teachers in detention, the withdrawal of troops from the townships, the unbanning of COSAS and the lifting of the state of emergency were not met by March, a further conference should consider the boycott strategy once again.

### **NECC Conference**

The demands formulated by the SPCC conference were not met, although the DET did concede to a postponement of exams, and at the end of March a conference, called by the National Education Crisis Committee, which had been established in December, met in Durban. The

conference, with regional representation from around the country, met under tense conditions. Security police had hampered efforts to find conference accommodation and delegates were attacked by armed Inkatha thugs. Although delegates managed to beat off the attackers, the conference was forced to meet through the night to minimise the length of delegates' stay in Durban and the likelihood of further Inkatha outrages.

The NECC conference endorsed the strategy of education for liberation, and of using the existing school facilities for people's education. In his keynote address, Zwelakhe Sisulu placed the strategy of working for people's education in the context of building people's power through transforming conditions of ungovernability. He defined people's power as:

"... disciplined, democratic and an expression of the will of the people. It develops the confidence of our people to exercise control over their own lives and has the capacity to achieve practical improvements in our everyday lives."

He pointed out that the struggle for people's education had ceased to be a struggle for students alone and had become a struggle of the whole community involving all sections of the community. Teachers, represented by the traditionally conservative African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA), were coming to support the struggle; ATASA had withdrawn from its collaboration with apartheid structures. Democratic SRCs and parents' committees were being established, realising demands of the Freedom Charter that the people shall govern and the doors of learning and culture shall be opened.

### **Struggle for Education and Freedom**

He stressed how the demand for free, democratic people's education was inextricably linked with the struggle for a free, democratic people's South Africa. The resolutions of the conference expressed this too. The resolutions called for support for the COSATU and CUSA call for a national stayaway on May Day, for the international isolation of South Africa and the imposition of sanctions, for a lifting of the ban on all organisations including the ANC, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the return of all exiles, and the dismantling of apartheid. There were condemnations of US support for UNITA in Angola, and of Inkatha's attacks on the



democratic forces engaged in the struggle against apartheid. In the education field there were calls for students to unbanned COSAS themselves, for community participation in the education struggle for state provision of creche and nursery facilities for working mothers, and for students to return to school, to occupy the buildings if they were locked out, and to implement people's education programmes. June 16th, it was decided, would be marked by a national stayaway and would be commemorated as National Youth Day.

### **People's Education Secretariat**

In the wake of the conference a people's education secretariat was established, and the NECC began to establish its local regional structures in parent-teacher-student associations. But the regime has responded with customary brutality. Many delegations to the conference were prevented from reporting back to their regions by bans on meetings. When the June 1986 state of emergency was declared many prominent activists from the NECC were detained including Zwelakhe Sisulu and the secretary-general of ATASA, Hamilton Dlamlenze. New regulations

have been introduced in schools forcing children to carry identity documents and banning any non-registered student from entering school premises.

Clearly the regime wishes to disrupt the workings of the NECC and frustrate its efforts to build people's education and unite many sectors of the population. But for over a decade the regime has been unable to contain the education struggle. The contradictions of its own position make it almost impossible for it to achieve the level of spending on education and job creation that might buy off some student militants. Resistance increases, and strategies are refined, greater numbers of students, and indeed whole communities, are drawn into struggle. The education struggle, so central to the liberation struggle, shows how, despite massive repression, the people are poised to shift the balance of forces in their favour, continue the confusion in the ruling bloc over education policy and to build up centres of people's power.

The struggle for people's education is a struggle for people's power, an aspect of our overall offensive against the apartheid monster.



*COSAS was banned for fighting for a people's education.*



# BUILDING PEOPLE'S POWER

---

*By Mzala*

There are a number of practical and immediate reasons for discussing the theory of the state and the revolution in South Africa. One such reason is the emergence of liberated districts in various parts of our country and establishment of rudimentary organs of people's power where apartheid structures have been destroyed. In the Eastern Cape, the Reef, some areas of Natal and in the Orange Free State, whole districts have been 'liberated' by the people, and both civic government and administration of justice have become the business of the people themselves. Street-level infrastructure has established political communication between a single family and the whole executive committee of the civic organisation.

## **Democracy: People's Day-to-Day Views**

For the people of South Africa, democracy is no longer an abstract projection into a remote future, and neither is it any longer a mere theoretical ideal on a piece of paper. Democracy, in the words of Derek Swartz, the UDF Eastern Cape Secretary, "is something concrete that people must be able to practise in their day-to-day relations".

Gone are the days when leaders and organisations appealed to superintendents or community councils, or took their complaints to the police stations. The people have long discovered that the government is not prepared to listen to them, because, after all, it is not their government. Their groans and angry demands have been drowned in the sound of police machine guns. Any hope of consultation, concessions or even negotiation has been buried together with the massacred victims of apartheid terror. The state of emergency has become the norm of South African life.

People have now turned towards themselves in order to govern themselves; the people in the 'liberated' districts have been politicised and made to participate actively and independently in political life and in organisational affairs of the various civic associations. It is through these civic organisations that people have at last discovered direct participation in democratic life and are developing political self-responsibility, completely independent from government-created institutions. In some areas political power no longer flows from the apartheid regime and administrative bureaucracy down to the people (who have always been its objects and victims), now the wind is blowing in the other direction. Political power is flowing from the bottom upward, from the masses organised as a commune to their democratically elected committees.

## **The Emergence of People's Communes**

Political activity is not only the business of the elected committees, but there has arisen in the townships a whole political community of people, with practically everyone in the 'liberated' districts wanting to participate in all affairs of political and social life without supervision from the police and the administrative bureaucracy. In this sense, therefore, these 'liberated' districts are a kind of re-creation, in the South African context, of Karl Marx's Paris Commune (although, in our case, within the confines of the national democratic objectives) or that idealised Athenian *polis* in which all would participate in carrying out public functions.

This is the most remarkable feature of our revolution at the present time. This remarkable development is unparalleled in the history of the South African revolution; and those who have not given it sufficient thought, are overlooking



the crux of the matter in our struggle for liberation, precisely because the basic question of every revolution is that of state power.

And how correct are we in using the formulation "People's Commune"? We deliberately use the term "Commune," not to imply "Communism" or deny the national democratic socio-political character of these township organisations. Instead, the term People's Commune defines with political precision an organised political community, to which belong hundreds of thousands of residents. This formulation makes an essential distinction with the term "committee" which would be quite inadequate in defining a political phenomenon where various committees are actually co-ordinated from the street level up to a huge political community of residents. To repeat for purposes of clarity and emphasis, a closer study of this phenomenon

reveals that what is of political essence here is not just the organisation of committees on a street or area level (a matter which is of pure organisational significance), but the existence of a Commune organised under the leadership of a civic association and consisting of hundreds of thousands of active residents (a matter which is of political significance).

### **From Ungovernability to People's Power**

Although the article, *Dual Power and the Creation of People's Committees* by Comrade Alex Mashinini (*Sechaba*, April 1986) is a timely discussion of this important question, unfortunately this article has some shortcomings and some of its ideas are self-contradictory. Furthermore, the article also fails to raise the real and urgent questions posed by the emergence of organs of people's power in our national



*The struggle for Mandela's release, is a struggle for people's power.*



democratic revolution. Instead of identifying and elaborating on the process of transition "from ungovernability to people's power", this article is still trapped in elaborating questions about "ungovernability" (as we shall demonstrate in greater detail below).

The purpose of my contribution, therefore, is to provide positive complementary remarks to Comrade Mashinini's endeavour in the April article, so that our two articles can be seen as complementing each other, and whatever judgment is passed on his contribution, his ideas and mine can be taken as one single whole. In doing so, however, it is inevitable that I should criticise certain views put forward by him, but this is not by any means in a negative sense.

The climax of Comrade Mashinini's article is the call for the creation of what he calls the "local Revolutionary People's Committees," (pp.28-29), which, he says, must be "a rallying slogan" at the present moment. Then he proceeds to assign these People's Committees four "urgent tasks," namely:

1. Organising the masses and transforming the no go areas into strong mass revolutionary bases to provide the ground for the growth and development of our people's army and for the escalation of our people's war;
2. Transforming these areas into strong mass revolutionary bases to serve as organs of insurrection and self-government;
3. Ensuring, through action, that the expelled and rejected organs of apartheid power do not return to these areas;
4. And, escalating and spreading to yet unaffected areas, the campaign of making apartheid unworkable and rendering the country ungovernable..."

The calling for the creation of People's Committees, however, only has relevance to those areas of our country where none exist as yet, and where there is still direct rule in the townships by the apartheid organs like community councils and superintendents. Such areas have not yet made the crucial transition to rudimentary people's power, an issue which is the basic concern of Comrade Mashinini's article. Therefore, to merely make such a call at this point in time is to tail behind events, because People's Committees already exist, they have long been created by the people in various districts of the country.

### What Next?

For the hundreds of thousands of people living in the "liberated districts", where the country is already ungovernable, where apartheid has already been rendered unworkable, the real and urgent question is: What next?

Even the least attentive study of the situation in South Africa will show that taking place almost simultaneously with ungovernability is the creation of a new type of governability, that which is exercised by the people. In places like Port Alfred, Lingelihle, KwaNobuhle, Mamelodi, Alexandra and others, first, these areas already provide the ground for the growth and development of our people's army and for the escalation of our people's war; secondly, these areas are already implementing self-government and are ready to serve as organs of people's war and (when the masses have been armed) insurrection; thirdly, they have long started escalating and spreading to the yet unaffected areas the campaign of making apartheid unworkable and rendering the country ungovernable.

In short, the four "tasks of the Committees" referred to in the article under discussion have long been fulfilled, and any repetition of them may indeed sound as the distant echo of sonorous phrases or mere empty rhetoric. Now the people want to proceed! The issue on their agenda is to proceed from ungovernability to people's power, even if this is to be exercised at first within the confines of their townships.

It is, therefore, there, to this ground of people's self-government, that our theorists should turn their minds. An up-to-date writer on this question is obliged to explore the concrete forms of association which the people must practise in these 'liberated' districts, and clarify what form of government by the people must replace the destroyed local organs of the apartheid state, and try to guide our organisers in the direction of total seizure of power and the creation of a nation-wide People's Republic. Our analysis of this situation must proceed far beyond generalisations and the mere issuing of "rallying slogans;" instead we need a detailed discussion on how people's power should express itself in the sphere of "administration", "education", "justice", "welfare", "defence and security", "people's war" and "insurrection".

Mindful of this same approach, Raymond Suttner, when delivering a paper, *The Nature of*



*Repression in South Africa and the People's Courts*, told students at the University of Cape Town Law Conference in April this year that many people in the audience would probably be sceptical of the concept of "people's justice", but there was an important distinction between people's power and ungovernability. "With people's power" he said, control is being exercised. Where there is ungovernability there is no control by the people or the authorities".

### **Liberated Districts and the Freedom Charter**

In attempting to answer the question, "What is to be done in those areas where the local organs of apartheid power have been destroyed by the people?" Comrade Mashinini's article should have unambiguously and explicitly put forward the Freedom Charter as a guiding programme of action in these districts and as an alternative political principle to racist-colonial rule.

Instead, this article creates the following self-contradiction: on page 29, under the subtitle "The tasks of the Committees," the author first writes:

"The urgent tasks of these People's Committees is to seek to implement the provisions of the Freedom Charter".

But then towards the end of the very same paragraph, after the listing of the four tasks, the author concludes:

"It is clear from this that we are far from suggesting that these People's Committees, where they exist, should implement the democratic provisions of the Freedom Charter".

At one time the urgent task is to implement the Freedom Charter and at another we are far from suggesting the implementation of the Freedom Charter! In other words, according to this concluding paragraph, the People's Committees should at this stage place the Freedom Charter on the top shelf, far from anybody's reach, and go about their political business of "rendering the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable" as though there were no already 'liberated' districts where the Freedom Charter can begin to serve as constitutional principle for the new democratic life .

Anyway, the shyness of the article from boldly advancing the Freedom Charter to the foreground in the programme of the "liberated" districts at the moment is an inevitable conclusion so long as our conception of what is taking

place in South Africa is not beyond the limits of protest politics, which is what the Tasks of the Committees are all about. The other issue of our struggle at the present moment, however, as Derek Swartz told *SASPU National* during an interview, is that:

"We must not only challenge these dominant relations as a form of protest politics, but we must set about transforming them. Democratic organisations must turn people's vision of an alternative society into practice, so that the Freedom Charter is not only a vision on a piece of paper, but becomes a living document".

### **The People Shall Govern**

Our whole conception of People's Power at this stage is, as we have argued, decentralised and autonomous nation-wide People's Communes, where the people implement the Freedom Charter's principle: The People Shall Govern. Of course there is nothing to prevent the civic association of one township from linking up and co-ordinating with that of its neighbour and working out joint projects and engaging in common tasks. This "linking up" and "co-ordination" of townships, however is still far from the uniform and centralised nation-wide power envisaged at the higher stages of revolution, when there will exist, even if from the underground, a people's government operating parallel with the oppressor state. But, in so far as certain districts in South Africa are already being governed by the people themselves, the principle: The People Shall Govern, and its practical meaning, assumes a special place among the paramount issues of our strategy and tactics. Its importance has grown particularly due to the fact that our strategy emphatically calls for seizure of power in contrast to the reformist call for power sharing.

Comrade Mashinini's article misses this aspect of people's power in its administrative sense, when it argues from page 27-28:

"As a result, there has emerged (but not yet on a national scale) a peculiar form of dual power, not in an administrative, but in a political sense".

Yet it has been conspicuously in the administrative sense that the People's Committees in the "liberated" districts have been asserting themselves. Let us illustrate this point by referring to the situation in Port Alfred, in the Eastern Cape, which was reported in the City Press of



the 27th April, 1986 this way:

"People's power is no longer a slogan- not to the tiny Black community of Port Alfred in the Eastern Cape, anyway. For since the collapse of the community council in May last year, the residents have made big changes. Not only has the township become self-governing; its residents have also renamed the township after gaoled

ANC leader Nelson Mandela. The decision to rename the area was taken by 10 000 residents at a recent mass meeting, according to Port Alfred Resident's Civic Organisation (PARCO) president Gugile Nkwinti.

"Since PARCO has started governing the township, it has taken over all the administrative functions of the community. We are now running the community the way we feel it should be





run," Nkwinti said."

The significance of the Freedom Charter in the sphere of people's administration, education, and so forth, should not be ignored or belittled.

### **Embryos of the Future State**

The establishment of people's education, people's courts, people's militia, people's army and other organs of people's power in various districts of our country is a product of political struggle and a decisive pre-condition of the development of the presently scattered, decentralised and autonomous communes to a fully-fledged people's government. These organs of people's power should be regarded as historically inevitable, as they are clearly destined to be the embryos of our future democratic state.

The people do not need superintendents and the administration boards, they are quite capable and prepared to elect their own leaders democratically to represent their political aspirations; people do not need police, they are ready to create an armed people's militia composed of men and women alike; they do not need the SADF and bantustan armies, they are prepared to develop their own mobile guerrilla units, *amabutho*, as part of MK, to defend their revolutionary gains and to extend the war towards general insurrection; students do not need Bantu Education or to be linked with any government department for that matter, they are ready to provide people's education. This means every power, from the remotest rural village to the complex urban district, must belong to the People's Communes organised on a committee basis.

In other words, the emergence of these organs of people's power has been called forth and motivated not only by subjective momentary conditions but also by the objective level of development of our revolution towards seizure of power by the people. It is this objective status of the people's communes that determines their historical task, which is to ensure that on the ruins of apartheid structures, revolutionary power of the people is asserted in all spheres of life.

Let the racist magistrates and lawyers shout their lungs out in scorn of the 'necklace' method of punishing collaborators, let them call the people's courts "kangaroo courts" if they want to, but we shall always reply to them by saying: When we say power to the people, we also mean the right to suppress the enemies of the people,

we also mean the country's administration and control by the ordinary people. We shall not suddenly be anarchists simply because we refuse to abide by the conventional legal norms generally associated with courts of law in South Africa.

### **Dual Power**

Two powers exist today in South Africa, and our task is to demonstrate and prove that there is dual power, that it is no longer the power of the racists only that exists inside the country and that, despite the fact that the racist state power has not yet been smashed and dismantled, people's power in its rudimentary form does exist already. One power is the actual government of the racists and the other is the People's Communes; one holds in its hands all the organs of state power, the other holds no organs of state power as yet, but directly rests on the support of the indisputable majority of the South African population; one is based on laws passed by parliament and defended by constables and the generals, the other is inspired by the ideals of the Freedom Charter, and is already linked (even though indirectly) with MK, the People's Army.

Let us stretch this argument a bit further but without getting carried away, without going beyond the solid foundation of facts. Inasmuch as People's Communes exist, inasmuch as they are a power in the townships and have replaced apartheid institutions of rule, we have in South Africa today a "government of a new type," as yet underdeveloped and comparatively weak to withstand occasional harassment by the racist state machinery. But its weakness does not remove a single inch of the fact that it is a form of "people's government" at an embryonic stage, and it expresses the aspirations and interests of the oppressed population. In fact, our deliberate emphasis on the words "inasmuch as" signifies precisely our recognition that this is an incipient power.

### **Shifting of Power**

Events in South Africa have moved the question of the state and the revolution from the business of the legal experts in the seclusion of their studies to the hands of the revolutionary people in struggle; also from the tables of some "National Convention" to the theatre of people's war and armed insurrection.



The emergence of these organs of people's power is proof that our people no longer have faith in promises of reforms and power sharing; is proof that our people do not trust any government other than their own; it is proof that the question of political power in South Africa can be resolved in the interests of the people against and without the racists; it is proof that the people in struggle can seize power despite the economic military strength of a regime. This trend in our revolution therefore confirms through practice that our objective of armed insurrection and our insistence on seizure of power in our *Strategy and Tactics* document is not an idle proclamation.

The creation of these People's Communes, while it is a step in the right direction, still remains, however, only the first step. To have these communes in Mamelodi, Lamontville and New Brighton remains purely the consolidation of the political gains thus far achieved in the people's struggle. But Mamelodi, Lamontville and New Brighton and Durban are still controlled from

Pretoria. If these People's Communes remain within the confines of these ghettos, and if they will have to constantly put questions to the White city councils about electricity, about water, about transport, and wait for answers from them, then they will remain a plaything and will amount to very little in the equation of revolution.

Two powers cannot exist permanently in a single state; one of them must pass away. If these People's Communes, however, become organs of people's war and armed insurrection, and lead immediately and despite all odds to engulf the White areas, extending the war to the very industrial centres and White farms, involving in the process wider and broader sections of the White community, then our revolutionary struggle shall have taken the road towards decisive victory, the kind of victory that will not be dissolved or replaced by racists and their military forces, the kind of victory that will open the way to the full implementation of the Freedom Charter, probably first in the first city or town and then in the whole of South Africa.



*The people go back to the Freedom Charter and move forward to freedom with it.*



# 65 YEARS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

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## SPEECH BY ALFRED NZO

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*The South African Communist Party celebrated the 65th anniversary of its founding on July 30th, in London, at a meeting packed with friends and supporters. One of the speakers was Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, who delivered the following fraternal message on behalf of the National Executive Committee.*

It gives us great pleasure to convey to this meeting, convened to mark the 65th anniversary of the South African Communist Party, the fraternal greetings of the National Executive Committee and the entire membership of the African National Congress. On this day we congratulate the Central Committee and all the members of the South African Communist Party and salute them for the sterling contribution they and their Party have made during six and a half decades to the common struggle for the national and social emancipation of our people.

The anniversary of your Party is taking place at a time when events of great historical significance and importance are taking place in our country, South Africa. Breaking through the stifling barrier of illegality, imposed on them by the fascist apartheid regime, both the ANC and the SACP are emerging as defiant standard-bearers marching at the head of the militant formations of the democratic movement engulfing the length and breadth of South Africa. The banners of our two organisations constantly flutter defiantly at the head of the revolutionary columns proclaiming the imminent demise of the hated and dying apartheid system.

The struggle in South Africa continues to mount. The general crisis confronting the apartheid system is deepening without stop. The day of liberation draws ever closer. And yet, comrades, exactly because the common enemy realises that our victory is in sight, the period ahead of us will be one of the most intense con-

flict between the forces of progress and of reaction, a conflict which will be very costly in terms of human lives.

### **Political Experience and Maturity**

During the testing times in front of us, we are certain that the experience and maturity which the South African Communist Party has accumulated and achieved over the period of its existence will stand our broad movement for national liberation in good stead. Constituting an important component part of that movement, the SACP is called upon further to heighten its contribution to the common cause as we march side by side towards the destruction of the apartheid system of White minority rule.

Comrades, the imperialist domination of our country has produced one of the most abhorrent social systems ever known to mankind. It is no accident that apartheid has, like Nazism, been solemnly categorised and denounced as a crime against humanity. To this system, as to Nazism, belong the theory and practice of the denial of the very humanity of an entire people, resulting in the veritable daily commission of the crime of genocide against our people.

### **United Front Against Racism**

The struggle inside and outside South Africa to destroy this system has drawn into action literally hundreds of millions of people of all races and nationalities, of different classes and peoples of various ages and ideological, political and religious persuasions. The African National Congress is proud of the contribution it has made to the achievement of this truly remarkable united front against racism and apartheid, both at home and abroad.

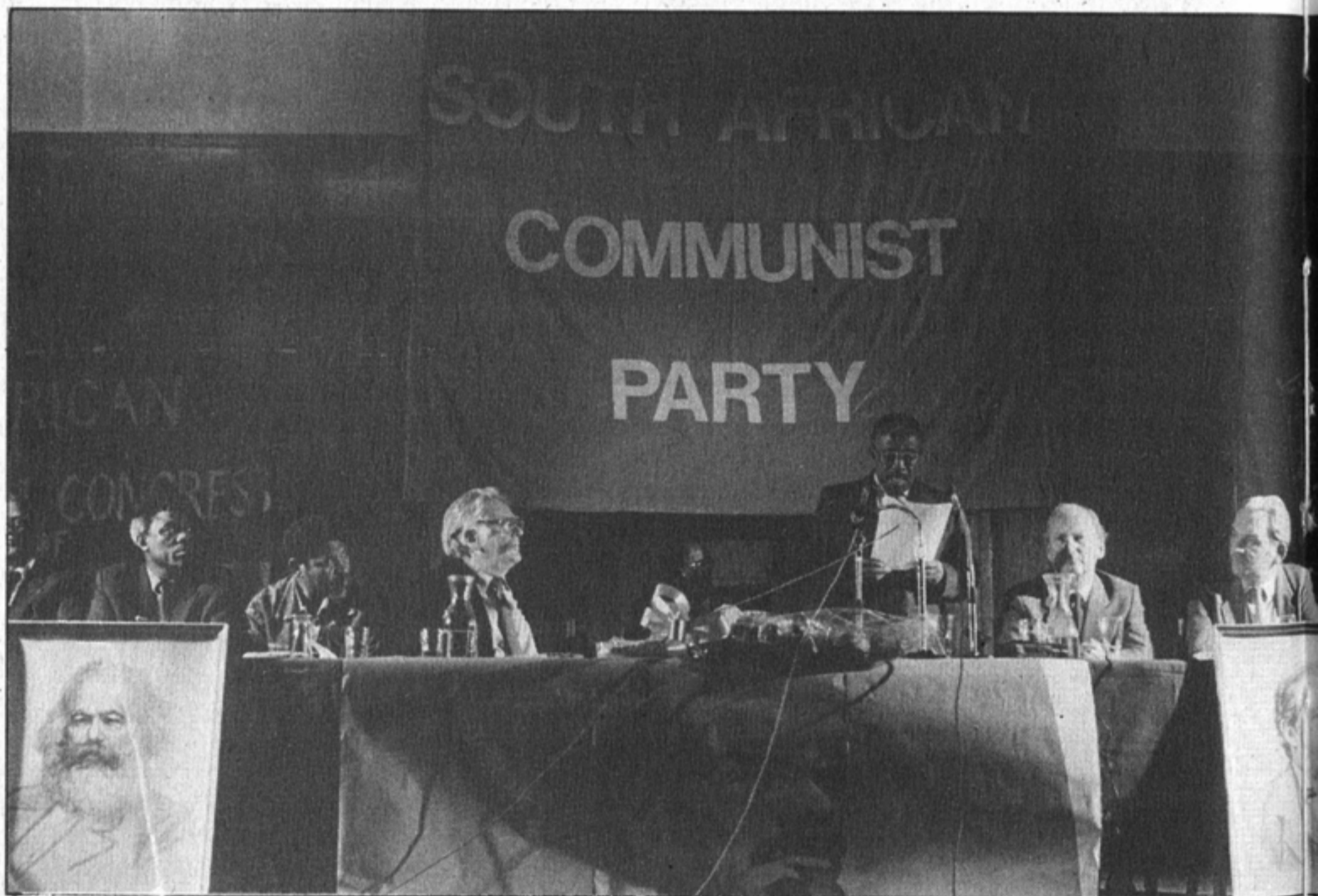
Outside the ranks of this front are to be found some of the most backward elements in world politics, including racists of varying hues, neo-



# AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS & SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY **LEADING** **THE PEOPLE IN ACTION**

'... ours is not merely a paper alliance, created at conference tables and formalised through the signing of documents and representing only an agreement of leaders. Our alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle.'

**President OR Tambo, July 30th, 1981.**



65th SACP Anniversary meeting. From left to right: Solly Smith, ANC Chief Representative, UK; Shapua Kaukungua, SWAPO Chief Representative, UK; Zola Zembe, SACTU Representative of UK and Europe; Joe Slovo, SACP Chairman; Dan Tloome, ANC Deputy Secretary General; Alfred Nzo, ANC Secretary General; Gordon McClennan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain and James Stewart, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland.





Above: The funeral of the seven murdered by police, Gugulethu, Cape Town, March 1986.  
Below: The funeral of Comrade Peter Nchabeleng, Apel, Sekhukhuneland, Transvaal, April 1986.





Nazis and those who seek world imperialist hegemony. As we get nearer to our goal, so do these forces including, of course, the Botha regime itself, work more feverishly to undermine and break this unity down; to immobilise as many anti-racist forces as possible; to reduce the international isolation of the apartheid regime and to weaken our movement by dividing and severing its links, especially with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

As did its Nazi progenitor, the Pretoria regime, supported and echoed by its allies, relies on the use of anti-communism as its principal ideological weapon. The focus of attack of those who seek to keep us in servitude is today centred on the role and position of the SACP in the South African struggle, the extent and depth of the influence of communists within the ANC — to the point of questioning the independence of the African National Congress, the veracity of our own leadership and the honesty of our publicly-declared intentions, policy and programme.

### **Pretoria's Ideological Counter-Offensive**

This counter-offensive has gone so far that detailed studies are published which purport to identify the ideological positions of each one of the members of our National Executive Committee. Each one of us, members of the leadership of the ANC, find ourselves confronted insistently and with great persistence, with the task of having to explain whether we are or are not members of the Communist Party.

Many a South African democrat was faced with the question as the decade of the Fifties began. In terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, people were asked to pronounce themselves as opponents of communism or face the consequences of being banned and prohibited from being quoted by the mass media. It was surely no accident, and is instructive in terms of what is happening today, that these developments in South Africa occurred when McCarthyism in the United States, and the Cold War globally, had reached great heights — all of them fuelled by an hysterical and maniacal anti-communism.

As the Suppression of Communism Act was passed in 1950, the memory of Nazi tyranny was still fresh in the minds of our people. When they were asked to purchase a circumscribed freedom by denouncing communism, all true South

African democrats refused. They refused because they remembered that the denunciation, persecution and murder of communists would be but a prelude to the suppression of our entire democratic movement. Today we have once again returned to that position.

There are members of our National Executive Committee who have been singled out for assassination. According to the plans of the enemy, it will be said that these have been killed by anti-communist nationalists within the ranks of our movement.

The hope which the forces of reaction entertain is that if they can sell this story, they can then persuade the bulk of humanity to accept as legitimate an intensified campaign of terror directed against the national liberation movement of our country. The most recent statement by the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, serves exactly as encouragement to the Botha regime to go all out to try to smash the African National Congress.

### **We Are United**

As we know, the US special services and those of Britain and of other imperialist countries, including Zionist Israel, are supplying the Pretoria regime with the information it needs in order to carry out well-planned and precise murder operations against leaders of the African National Congress. With this scenario as a background, the Botha regime is offering an olive branch to those within the ranks of the African National Congress it characterises as moderate nationalists, asking them to return to South Africa to participate in the constitutional, evolutionary process aimed at the solution to the South African problem on its own terms.

Needless to repeat here that these reactionary and divisive manoeuvres will not succeed. The African National Congress is solidly united, as was graphically demonstrated by the Second National Consultative Conference held last year in Zambia. It shall not at any time be persuaded to forgo its alliance with the South African Communist Party, as the history of our struggle has unmistakably demonstrated that it is the unbreakable unity of all the democratic and progressive forces that will successfully mobilise and rally all sections of the oppressed masses of our people to speedily destroy the hated apartheid system.



It is appropriate to recall here the statement of our President, Comrade O R Tambo, who said, on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the South African Communist Party, when referring to its alliance with the ANC, that:

"... ours is not merely a paper alliance, created at conference tables and formalised through the signing of documents and representing only an agreement of leaders. Our alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle."

Dear comrades, the African National Congress is a committed detachment of the international anti-imperialist movement. Were it to rise as it did in 1936, we would defend the Spanish Republic. Were it to break out again, we would support the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression. Today, we must defend the Palestinian people as we do those of Namibia under the leadership of our ally, SWAPO, Nicaragua, El Salvador, East Timor, Afghanistan, Mozambique and Angola. We must denounce the invasion of Grenada as we must condemn the attacks against Libya, and even more vehemently condemn the imperialist-supported South African aggression against Front Line African states.

National self-determination and independence, the right of every people to freedom, equality among the people — all require that we must condemn all attempts to limit that freedom. Humanity has a right to peace and life. This right must be defended by all who oppose the bellicose policies of international imperialism, first and foremost American imperialism.

### **Our Democratic Perspectives**

Comrades, the African National Congress will continue to defend the right of any South African who so chooses to belong to the South African Communist Party. So shall we respect the right of any of our compatriots to belong to any party of their choice as long as that party is not a vehicle for the propagation of racism and fascism. Our democratic perspectives impose these obligations on us.

Faced as we are by a common enemy, so shall we also continue to maintain our relations with the SACP and all political and other formations that genuinely strive for an end to the apartheid system and the victory of the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

To take any other position would be to condemn to failure the very struggle which the ANC is waging for the realisation of these objectives.

Indeed, comrades, we shall continue to work to activate all national groups and social forces in our country to be involved in the struggle to destroy the apartheid system. We want the working class to be involved in this struggle as a leading force, while we also seek to ensure that the capitalists, as well, act against the apartheid regime of national oppression. Religious people and atheists must join hands against the common enemy. By their participation in the struggle, all these forces place themselves in a position to participate also in determining the future of our country.

### **Imperialism Fears Democracy**

What we have said strikes terror into the hearts of those who are opposed to our liberation, including some who proudly proclaim themselves as democrats. The fact of the matter is that imperialism is opposed to a democratic order in South Africa. Imperialism is afraid of democracy because it is unwilling that the people of our country should, in their entirety, determine their destiny. It seeks to ensure that its local representative in Southern Africa — the Botha regime — should continue to rule the roost, in its own name and in the interests of international reaction.

It is obvious enough that to achieve this objective our adversaries must work to destroy the ANC, its allies and the democratic movement as a whole. The recent disclosures that the US and British intelligence services have been passing information about the ANC to their South African counterparts does not come as a surprise. The fact of the alliance against democracy in South Africa demands that this and other forms of cooperation must exist between the fascist regime in Pretoria and the right wing establishment in the Western countries whatever its democratic pretensions.

Fifty years ago it took mass popular pressure to compel the ruling group in this country to break its relationship with the Hitlerites. Churchill, Roosevelt and De Gaulle emerged as giants because they stood on the shoulders of millions of ordinary Britons, Americans and French people who would not appease Nazism. Today, the peoples of these countries and others, such as the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, are call-



ed upon once more to break the immoral alliance which their governments have formed with the offspring of Nazism in South Africa.

### **An Instrument Created by our People**

Dear friends, the duty of all those who hate apartheid racism, national oppression, aggression and war to join with us in the struggle against this system does not in any way imply any right on the part of these forces to transform the nature of our movement or to define its objectives. Thus we reject entirely and will always oppose the efforts of the Reagan Administration to recreate the ANC into a creature of their liking, a product of the wishes of governments which are allied to the Botha regime and no longer an instrument created by our people to realise their fundamental aspirations.

Similarly, we will continue to reject all efforts to impose on us a definition of democracy which entrenches racism and the continued exploitation of our people. To talk of White minority rights is to propagate an anti-democratic principle. The government of our unitary, non-racial, democratic state will be based on the will of all our people exercised through one person one vote. To categorise the population of South Africa in racial or ethnic terms and advance a perspective of a federation of such entities is to seek to perpetuate apartheid and deny our own people a democratic system.

To question the right of our people to share in the wealth of our country is to circumscribe our democratic rights and to prepare for a situation in which it will be impossible radically to change the material conditions of millions of our people. It is to seek to create the circumstances in which it would be impossible to secure the equality of all our people, both Black and White.

Comrades, the masses of our people are, in their millions, engaged in struggle precisely to achieve these objectives. This struggle has not only plunged the ruling class in our country into an enormous general crisis from which it becomes increasingly impossible to extricate itself; it is winning an increasing array of allies both inside South Africa and internationally. No states of emergency, massacres, assassinations, arrests and detentions will stop the movement forward towards the transfer of power to the people. Three and a half centuries of colonialism are now coming to a close. The rudiments of peo-

ple's power are beginning to emerge even now, thanks to the enormous sacrifices that our people are making to establish a democratic order in our country.

The democratic movement heading our people's onslaught against the apartheid system has grown tremendously in strength in terms of mass following. But, more importantly, it has fully absorbed the lessons necessary to defend and protect its underground political formations that form the bedrock of the people's thrust forward. The indestructible unity and the growing capacity of this movement is graphically demonstrated during these days, characterised by the most brutal fascist onslaught of the apartheid regime. The Black working class, the backbone of this movement, has raised its struggle to a high point marked by a series of political strikes defiantly demanding the end of the state of emergency and the release of the detained leaders. The newly established Congress of South African Trade Unions towers at the head of the workers revolutionary actions.

### **The Roots of MK Are Deep**

Our glorious people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has intensified its military campaign against apartheid in pursuance of the programme charted by the leadership of our movement, marking 1986 the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe. It has sunk its roots deep among the masses of our people whose combat formations it is leading to confront the military machine of the apartheid regime.

Thus comrades, on many fronts, millions of our people, in their various formations, are at war with the apartheid regime in pursuance of our strategic objective of seizure of power.

We are happy that the communists in our country are to be found among these millions, side by side with religious people, with people of other ideological persuasions, nationalists and others, all united by a common perspective of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. We are greatly strengthened by the fact that the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, China and other socialist countries stand with us in the struggle to accomplish the noble objective of the national and social emancipation of our people. These countries, too, share the anti-apartheid ranks with the non-aligned states and many countries in Western Europe such as





Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Greece and others, and above all with the African Front Line States and the Organisation of African Unity in general.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC takes this opportunity to pay warm tribute to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement for its consistent leadership of the British people in opposition to the connivance of the ruling circles of this country with the genocidal apartheid regime of South Africa. Your movement, acting in concert with the rapidly expanding 'Free South Africa Movement' in the United States, has fully exposed the bankruptcy of the policies pursued by the Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan Administrations, designed to protect the Botha regime from effective international isolation, including the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory economic sanctions. Yet this remains the unshakeable demand of our people.

### **We Must Maintain Vigilance**

We must maintain constant vigilance to defeat

the deceitful manoeuvres of these imperialist administrations and of groupings such as the EEC, as reflected in the just-concluded visits by the British Foreign Secretary to South and Southern Africa.

Dear Comrades, as we congratulate the South African Communist Party on its 65th anniversary, we call on all democratic anti-racist forces at home and abroad, committed to fight for the destruction of the criminal apartheid system, to unite as never before. The road we still have to travel may be difficult and bloody, but it will be made shorter exactly by the fact that we will proceed along its length as a united force.

Long live the SACP!

Long live the anti-fascist alliance between the ANC and the SACP!

Long live the unity of all democratic, anti-racist forces!



# **SOUTH AFRICA DESTABILISES MOZAMBIQUE**

*By Peter Tomkins*

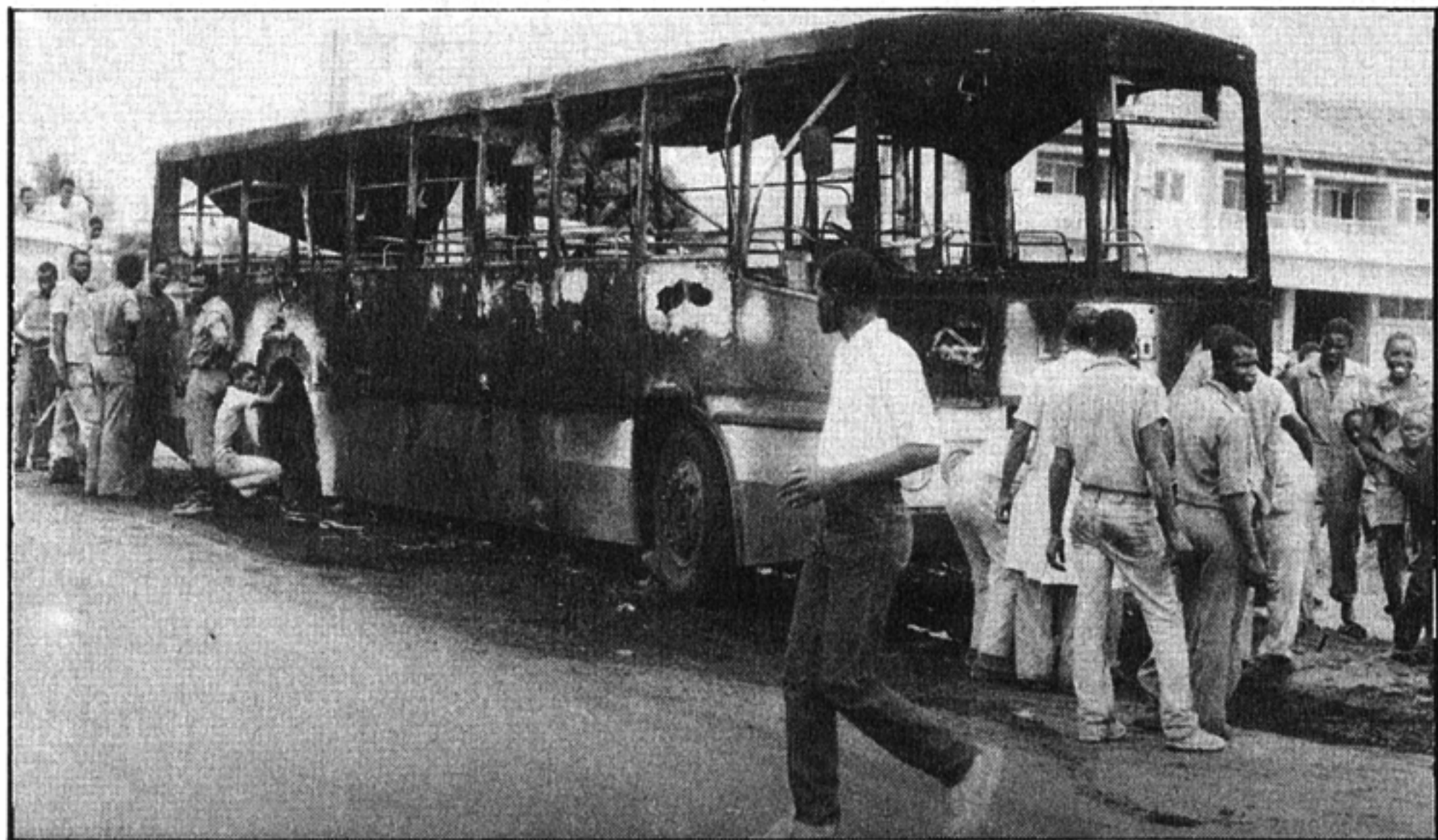
Ten years ago, when the young combatants from Soweto and other townships started off on the 'Freedom Trail' to join up with Umkhonto We Sizwe, those who turned eastwards and made their way through Swaziland arrived sooner or later at the frontier town of Namaacha. Situated at the meeting point of the territories of South Africa, Swaziland and Mozambique, and lying partly within Swaziland (where it is called Lomaasha), the town, or that part of it on the Frelimo-led terrain of Mozambique, seemed to them a gateway to freedom.

Early in May 1986, a Lisbon radio report announced that the MNR had captured Namaacha. On examination, it turned out to be a complete fabrication. The place had not even been attacked, let alone captured. But this had not prevented the MNR's sympathisers in the Portuguese media from putting out a false story whose accuracy could have been easily checked out.

It was in fact just the latest of a string of pro-

paganda claims made on behalf of the 'armed bandits,' as they are universally known inside Mozambique, about military 'victories.' This year alone, they had claimed also to have captured Cuamba in Niassa province (near the Malawi border), Murrupula in the northern province of Nampula, and Bela Vista, which lies roughly midway between the capital, Maputo, and the northern border of Natal. None of these claims was true.

The decade lying between these two moments has witnessed not only a brutal imperialist offensive, spearheaded by the apartheid regime and aimed at bringing the People's Republic of Mozambique back into the sphere of influence of the West, but also the failure of this offensive. The gloomy predictions in some quarters, inspired by the Nkomati Accord, that it was only a matter of time before the MNR entered the ranks of the Mozambique government as Pretoria's Trojan horse, have proved premature



*The MNR attack civilian buses, Maputo, March 1986.*



<b>Marketed Production</b> (in thousands of tons):	<b>1975</b>	<b>1981</b>	<b>1983</b>	<b>1984</b>	<b>1984 as % of 1981</b>
<b>A</b>					
<b>Export crops</b>					
Cashew nuts	160.0	90.1	18.1	25.3	28.1
Raw cotton	52.0	73.7	24.7	19.7	26.7
Sugar (processed)	228.0	177.2	73.7	39.3	17.2
Tea	59.1	99.2	51.1	59.8	60.3
<b>B</b>					
<b>Food crops</b>					
Rice	94.0	28.9	17.3	19.7	68.2
Maize	95.0	78.3	55.8	82.6	105.5
Beans	14.8	14.9	4.7	3.5	23.5

and defeatist — the reverse side of an attitude towards this poor and backward country which had taken for granted its people's capacity to sustain indefinitely a position of all-out support to the armed struggle in South Africa, whatever the economic and human cost.

Pretoria's continued destabilisation of Mozambique since the Nkomati Accord was signed in March 1984 has brought the economy of this war-torn country to its lowest point ever — which was doubtless part of the aim of the racists, who have continued to direct, equip, train and transport the armed gangs of the MNR. In 1984, global social product (roughly equivalent to gross national product) was down to 55.6 million *contos*, down from 63.9 million the previous year, and from 71.1 million in 1975, the year of independence. (1 *conto* is equal to 1 000 *meticaís*.)

Bearing in mind that 1981 was the best year for the economy since independence, and that South Africa's take-over of the MNR in 1980 only began to reveal itself in terms of economic impact in 1982, one can see, from the table of figures given here, the catastrophic decline provoked mainly by destabilisation.

Even with a constant population, these figures would indicate a steep drop in living standards. But in fact, the population of Mozambique has been growing at the rate of 2.4%-2.6% annually.

And if the 1984 production figures were poor, those of 1985 were even worse. Detailed statistics have not yet been generally released, but it came as no surprise when the Finance Minister, addressing the People's Assembly in December 1985, announced that economic activity in 1985 had been about 20% down on 1984. His modest

recovery plans, if fully achieved, will realise a level of production this year still only 90% of that of 1984.

### **Hard-Hitting Speeches**

In a series of hard-hitting speeches recently, President Samora Machel has spelled out with utmost clarity the ultimate cause of the problems Mozambique faces as a result of destabilisation. Speaking in Japan at the end of May, during his first official visit to the country, he denounced apartheid as "the monster of our times," and added:

"Only the downfall of apartheid will allow the establishment of a just and lasting peace in Southern Africa."

Talking to Japanese journalists, he amplified:

"Apartheid is not reformable, it has to be eliminated. There is no such thing as democratic apartheid. Apartheid is the source of all the violence in South Africa, and of instability in Southern Africa."

The visit to Japan followed last year's visit to the United States, in a continuing effort to neutralise South Africa's main political and economic partners. On the eve of President Machel's meeting with Reagan, the Mozambique government had summoned Pretoria's Foreign Minister to Maputo and confronted him with irrefutable evidence, in diary and notebook form, of the wholesale violation by Pretoria of the non-aggression agreement of March 1984, including details of visits by the then Deputy Foreign Minister Louis Nel to the MNR bandits' head-



quarters at Casa Banana in the Gorongosa region of central Mozambique.

Casa Banana, now largely dismantled, and defended only by a small garrison, was retaken by the bandits in February this year. The loss was by no means as significant in military terms as the capture of the base had been in July/August 1985 as a result of a joint offensive by Mozambican and Zimbabwean forces, and it was in any case, easily recaptured in April. But while there were tangible improvements in the security situation in much of the centre and the south, the intensified South African support to the bandits required a fresh assessment and the adoption of new measures. Nor was this the only development requiring the Frelimo leadership to take stock and give a new lead.

### **The Youth Speak**

A steady trickle of Mozambican refugees across the borders into Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Swaziland was around the same time beginning to develop into a stream, if not yet a flood. Basically impelled by the need for survival, for escape from the ravages of war, this movement of people also contained many young workers in search of consumer goods. It revealed, said Zacarias Kupela, General Secretary of the Mozambican Youth Organisation (OJM) in his report to the Second National Conference of the OJM in March, partly "a low level of patriotic awareness," and partly a feeling amongst some youth that they were under-valued and incorrectly used by their own country.

The OJM conference was a significant political event. Kupela himself devoted a substantial section of his opening to the role of youth in defence of the country, touching upon several aspects of the problems that underlie the poor organisation and performance of the armed forces. If the bulk of young Mozambicans in the army were illiterate or poorly educated, it was partly because of the failure to call up skilled and educated youngsters — "as if the defence of the country and of the revolution was somehow second-rate," he said.

He contrasted the efficient and politically well-conducted operation of registration for military service with the chaotic and arbitrary call-up. (All Mozambicans from 18 upwards are obliged to register, but only a small proportion of these are called up, because the government lacks the resources to sustain a large conscript army). The

call-up, Kupela pointed out, "has no political mobilisation, obeys no defined timetable, adheres to no criterion of age." Many are never called; and some who are called up for two years find themselves spending three, four or five years in uniform.

A teacher from Namaacha pointed out another malpractice that damaged military (and civilian) morale — the virtual press-ganging of youngsters into the army. People are picked off the streets randomly, or youngsters rounded up after parties, bundled into military lorries and taken to training camps, he alleged, instancing the fate of several teachers and students in Namaacha. Such people, he pointed out, would not make good soldiers — they would run away at the first opportunity, and their arms might end up with the bandits.

President Machel intervened to point out that "by acting like this we are recruiting enemies." He reminded delegates that the government has condemned arbitrary recruitment, and that some recruiting officers had been punished for abuses.

Poor logistics, corruption and irregularities in the control of food and fuel supplies within the army, delays in supplying uniforms and paying wages — these and other problems in the armed forces were criticised, in a constructive spirit which showed that the will to resolve such problems was strong. What was needed was leadership.

### **Crisis Demanded a New Response**

The combination of economic, political and military problems confronting the Frelimo leadership was, in its essentials, nothing new. But in a new degree of acuteness, and certain new elements, as we have seen, the deepening crisis confronting the beleaguered country called for a qualitatively new response from the top. So it was that the Party's leading organ, the Political Bureau, went into closed session for an unprecedentedly protracted review of the situation, lasting from 18th February to 3rd March.

The outcome of these deliberations was first a lengthy analysis of recent political developments and the measures needed to respond to them, and second, on 24th April, an extensive government reshuffle. "We have relaxed our vigilance, lost our sharp sense of the enemy and forgotten that the enemy is defined by its daily actions. All this has led in practice



to difficulty and slowness in implementing decisions, in punishing offenders, and in placing politics in command," said the Political Bureau, in a characteristically incisive self-criticism.

The words and actions taken as a result of the meeting of the Political Bureau indicate that the leadership of the Frelimo Party has given three main forms of impetus to the political process. The first of these is to revitalise the Party itself, in order to make the Party's leadership and control over the state apparatus more effective, and the Party a more dynamic force. Reversing the trend of decentralisation that followed the Fourth Congress in April 1983, all but one of the ten members of the Political Bureau itself are back in the capital, where they will be able to resume the virtually continuous process of assessment and co-ordination of responses and positions which used to be a hallmark of its style of work, and gave it a high degree of unity, cohesion and effectiveness. Whether this will be deepened to the level of the much larger Central Committee, which has met infrequently since the last Congress, and played no active role in the evolution of policy before and after the Nkomati Accord, remains to be seen.

The in-depth training of Party cadres by the Party's schools is to be speeded up, and at the same time members of the Political Bureau have been given clearer (and, in some cases, wider) areas of responsibility for aspects of government policy. The role of the People's Assemblies, as the legislative arm of government, is to be strengthened, and the standing commissions of the national body to be re-activated. The holding of twice-postponed general elections later this year must be made, in the words of the Political Bureau, "a high point in the consolidation and intensification of political and military action to transform the struggle against the armed bandits into a war of the people as a whole."

Another main thrust of recent changes has been the slimming down of the government. In two fields, transport and communications, and trade, mergers of separate ministries and state secretariats have concentrated power and made possible better co-ordination, while changes in personnel in other sectors of the government have brought in new blood and given the left more influence on economic policy.

Thirdly, the leadership has begun to grasp the

nettle of the overdue shake-up within the military. Bringing back General Chipande from Cabo Delgado, where he has been provincial governor, to resume his role as Minister of Defence, plus the identification of a number of measures by the Political Bureau to improve the living conditions of soldiers, make better use of skills within the army, and forge closer links between the army and the people. They also signal a determination to tackle the complex of political, organisational and material problems which have handicapped the military effort to turn the tide against the South African-backed armed bandits.

### **The War Being Won - But Slowly**

The war is in fact being won, but far too slowly. Some provinces, notably the southern ones of Inhambana and Gaza, and much of the central ones of Manica and Sofala, have seen a tangible improvement in the security situation in recent months, as has the northern province of Nampula. But Zambezia, the most populous of the ten provinces, sandwiched between northern Sofala and Nampula, has suffered a rapid deterioration in the same period. Its long border with Malawi makes it vulnerable to the re-deployment from Dr Banda's country of MNR forces who have been expelled from and dispersed in other parts of the country. "South Africa uses Malawi to infiltrate armed bandits into our territory," accused President Machel recently, showing Mozambicans' mounting impatience with their northern neighbour, whose economic self-interest requires an end to destabilisation and the restoration of Malawi's natural rail links to the closest east coast ports of Beira and Nacala.

There can be little doubt that, in the context of the generalised offensive Pretoria has been conducting against the Front Line States since December, which peaked with the raids on Harare, Gabarones and Lusaka on 19th May, Mozambique's relations with its aggressive South African neighbour have hit rock bottom recently. This made all the more significant the high importance attached by the Frelimo leadership to the burial of Comrade Moses Mabhida in Maputo on 29th March. Such a visible and marked strengthening of the links between two of the major anti-imperialist forces in the Southern African region can only be of interest to progressive forces throughout the world.



# WINNIE NOMZAMO MANDELA

## A 50th BIRTHDAY PROFILE

By Nyawuza

This month, on the 26th, Winnie Nomzamo Mandela (she prefers her African name Nomzamo) celebrates her 50th birthday. This is a birthday of an important personality in the political struggle of our people.

Internationally she has always been referred to as the "wife of the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela". This is the image the western media wants to impose on us. There is nothing wrong with this. The problem is that she is more than that. Over the years this image is gradually changing; she is becoming Winnie Mandela, a leader in her own right.

Many articles and even books have been written about her — book reviews have appeared in



*Defying her banning order, Winnie attends a funeral of victims of the vigilantes, Brandfort, November 1985.*

numerous newspapers — a film about her has been produced in America and she has been interviewed on radio and television. There are varying opinions about her. But in her "autobiography" which consists of lengthy tape recorded interviews with her over a considerable period of time, she comes across as an honest, sincere, dedicated and open woman. In this book — *Part of My Soul* — we are told Winnie "dislikes talking about herself."

There is nothing dramatic about Winnie's childhood and upbringing. Like many African children she grew up in the countryside where she attended school. Her family had its own impact on the young mind of Winnie:

"When my father taught me history, I began to understand. I remember distinctly, for instance, how he taught us about the nine Xhosa wars. Of course we had textbooks, naturally written by White men and had their interpretation ..."

She left the Transkei for Johannesburg where she qualified as a social worker and met ANC leaders and rank and filers. She met Adelaide, and through her, Oliver Tambo who subsequently became Adelaide's husband. This automatically led to a meeting with Nelson Mandela whom she married in 1958 at the age of 24. She has this to say about this period:

"I knew when I married him that I married the struggle, the liberation of my people."

Winnie calls her life with Nelson "the most unmarried married couple" because they had little time together. Nelson Mandela was busy with the Treason Trial — both as an accused and as part of the defence team of lawyers; he had to attend meetings of the NEC of the ANC; the phone would be ringing for him to go and bail out somebody at some police station:

"Our life as a family continued to be just as abnormal... So there never was any kind of life that I can recall as family life, a young bride's life, where you sit with your husband and dream dreams of what life might have been, even if we knew that it would never be like that."



Why did such a situation arise?

"You just couldn't tear Nelson from the people, from the struggle. The nation came first. Everything else was second. His commitment is total, yet he exudes this love. The love we have known from him, my children and I, I don't think we would ever find anywhere else. The understanding, the faith, the confidence he gives us — even when it is shared by the whole nation, he always makes you feel, at the same time, that you are special to him."

When the Sharpeville shootings took place in 1960 and the ANC was banned Nelson Mandela had to lead a hazardous underground life — meeting Winnie under difficult conditions, rarely and secretly. In 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, was formed and Nelson Mandela became its first Commander in Chief. This meant added responsibility on Nelson Mandela.

On August 5th, 1962 Nelson Mandela was arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment for leaving the country illegally, and in 1964 — before the 5 years were over — he was called to appear before court as Accused No 1 in the Rivonia Trial. He, together with Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Kathrada, Mlangeni, Motsoaledi and Goldberg were sentenced to life imprisonment. During the Rivonia Trial Winnie was not allowed to wear her traditional dress in court.

The following years were — to use her words "utter hell"; solitude, loneliness which was "worse than fear"; which she described as the most wretchedly painful illness the body and mind could be subjected to"; she was maligned by the gutter press, accusing her of all sorts of things and the police informers were ever ready to harass and embarrass her.

From 1958 when she was arrested and imprisoned for two weeks for participation in the women's demonstration in Johannesburg against issuing of passes to women, not a single year passed when Winnie did not have a confrontation with the police or was not arrested for some "crime" or "violation of her banning orders".

The cases are so many, we shall be selective.

The first time she was banned was in 1962, a banning order which was renewed for more than 20 years. There were other forms of harassment: in 1977, during a court case, she was being cross-examined by a prosecutor who asked why she

was dressed in the colours of the ANC:

"I stood in the dock and said, "Mr Prosecutor, I want to tell you that of the limited rights I still have in this country, I still have a right to choose my own wardrobe". The prosecutor just said, "No more questions".

In 1969 Winnie and 21 others, were detained and she had to spend 491 days in detention, most of it in solitary confinement. They were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act; they had "furthered the aims of an unlawful organisation"; they had "acted in concert and with a common purpose to re-establish and build up the ANC";

they gave the ANC salute, sang ANC songs, recruited members, discussed or possessed ANC literature and "polluted" the youth. All in all 99 counts.

Winnie describes the jail conditions vividly and the life of political prisoners, especially Black female political prisoners, as inhuman to say the least. "And I had to use my panties to wash my body because there was nothing else. During menstruation we only got toilet paper or they would say, "Go and use your big fat hands..." We had inspection every day in prison. Two wardresses walk in ... They start by inspecting your shoes as you stand there stark naked. They go through your panties, your bra, they go through every seam of every garment, they go through your hair and — of course, they never succeeded with me, but with female prisoners its common practice — they inspect the vagina ... Nothing is more humiliating. And you are all alone in that cell."

Winnie Mandela is a fighter. She never accepts insults and humiliation without fighting back. One incident — there are many anecdotes in her life — is sufficient:

"I don't in fact remember any junior court finding me not guilty except when I had assaulted Sergeant Fourie. The irony of it — the things I have not done, I have been found guilty of, and the only thing I did to my heart's satisfaction, I was not guilty of.

"Sergeant Fourie came to my house in Orlando one day — without knocking he came in, put his hand on my shoulder and mumbled nonsense in Afrikaans which I didn't understand. I do believe it's true that people don't plan to kill. If I had had anything in my hand at that particular time,



I might have killed that man. Such disrespect! Such intrusion of my privacy. I was in my bedroom, I had my skirt half-way up — heavens! and he walked in like that, he didn't retreat and say "excuse me"; he finds me standing in this humiliating position in the bedroom and he continues as if I am just a piece of furniture! And then he puts his hand on my shoulder! I don't know how he landed on his neck. All I remember is grabbing him, and throwing him on the floor, which is what he deserved. I remember seeing his legs up in the air and him screaming, and the whole dressing stand falling on him. That is how he broke his neck (he did recover). I did not know half the army was outside. I was carried to the car by six of them — with one stocking on, one shoe; I went to prison like that!"

One of the strengths of Winnie is that she never acts individually although as an individual she makes an input and at times an indelible imprint on the developments in South Africa. This was the case when she was banished to Brandfort. She left the place politicised. When she went back to her home in Soweto she continued to experience all the hazards and horrors of harassment.

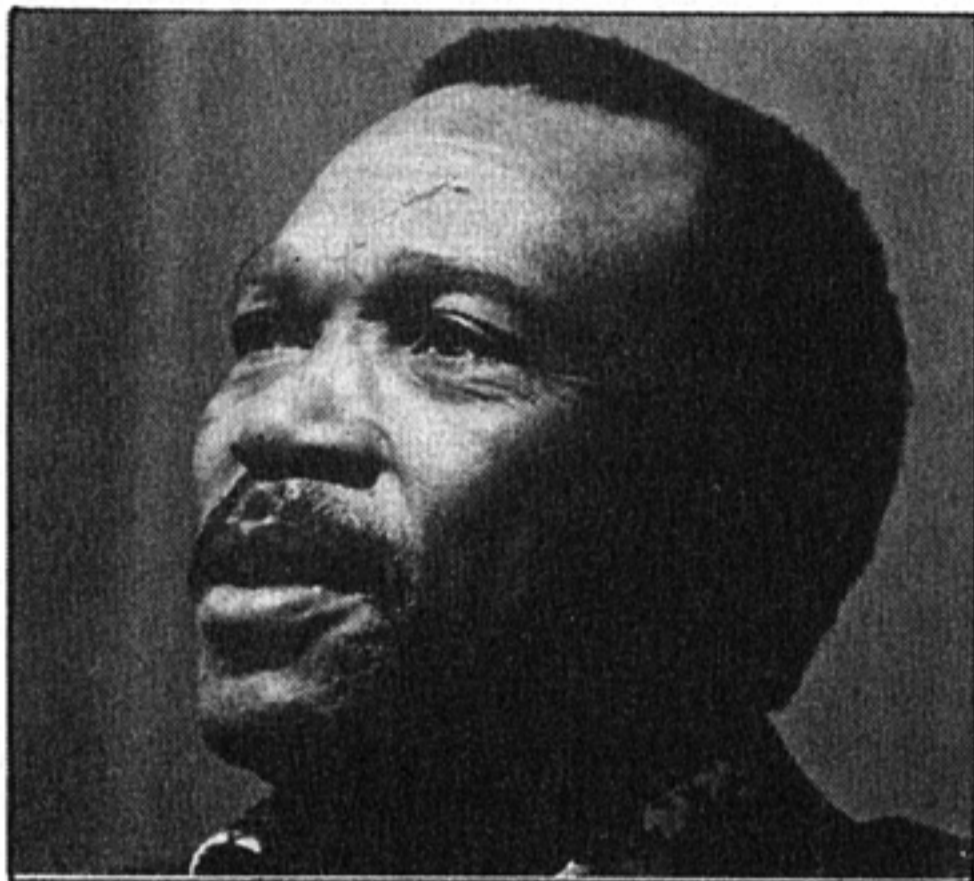
Winnie Mandela is a product of our struggle in a true sense. Because they were seldom together with her husband, it is obvious that she learnt her politics from the ANC, from the people whom she's always with and inspires. Recently she made two interviews with a Soviet and Cuban journalist. Her internationalism, her understanding of the international machinations of imperialism and commitment to international struggle against colonialism and racism is another dimension which shows her humanity and the true nature of our struggle.

Winnie Mandela has been inspired by Nelson Mandela's principled stand and she in turn has given him strength. Here is a couple dedicating everything and in a sense sacrificing everything — including their future, to the struggle.

One day Winnie and Nelson will walk tall in a free South Africa. Let us intensify the struggle against apartheid on all fronts so that we can hasten the advent of that day. The 50th birthday of Winnie Nomzamo Mandela is the right occasion to do just that.

# INTENSIFY BRITAIN'S ISOLATION

*Interview with Comrade Makathini*



*We asked Comrade Mfanafuthi Johnny Makathini, a member of the NEC of the ANC and Director of International Department to assess the impact of Howe's visit to Southern Africa, in view of the verdict passed by the Commonwealth mini summit on Britain's policy towards Pretoria.*

Makathini: We welcome the fact that it was a failure, because after all, it was intended to invalidate and replace the EPG report and recommendations. All this was intended to break the momentum in favour of sanctions and to buy the Pretoria regime time which it badly needs. But there are other reasons why Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher sent Sir Geoffrey Howe on this futile mission. It was intended to create the impression that there was some negotiation going on. This was to be done through meetings with President Kaunda and the other heads of state in Southern Africa and the President of the ANC Comrade Oliver Tambo. And he would then have been hopping between Lusaka and Pretoria, backwards and forwards. In other words, this visit was intended as a replay of the contact group over Namibia.



## **Can Britain in any case play that role, as an honest broker between the regime and the Blacks, now or in the future?**

Definitely not. The ANC cannot accept Britain's role as an honest broker. Not just the ANC; I am absolutely convinced the Organisation of African Unity could not do that, because Britain's role is not just one of a current or contemporary complicity as evidenced by Margaret Thatcher's stubborn refusal to impose sanctions, and in fact campaigning against sanctions. But it is one that can be traced way back to the creation of this problem. It is a British-made problem, the problem of South Africa. Britain has handed over power to a settler regime without the indigenous people of South Africa having to exercise their right to self-determination.

Therefore this disqualifies Britain as an honest broker. We have got to be clear that in the case of SA there is no administrative power, neither Britain nor the US nor any other western country can justifiably play the role of honest broker, because these countries have all the time given sustenance to the apartheid system from which they draw colossal profits. Apartheid ensures profitable business to these countries. And it is for that reason that the British collaborate, because cheap labour assures them the highest net profits.

## **What do you think is the main reason for Thatcher's refusal to implement the Nassau Agreement at the Commonwealth mini summit?**

All I can say is that it came as no surprise to us, the position taken by Margaret Thatcher, but I am sure that, I am expressing the views of many that there was hope up to the eleventh hour that perhaps reason will eventually prevail on 10 Downing Street. So that they would have realised that the position they have taken is fraught with far reaching negative consequences for the Commonwealth and the British government in particular.

She has unmasked and isolated herself as the most committed friend, ally and protector of the Pretoria regime and we fully agree with those who say this makes Britain now guilty as an accomplice in all the crimes being perpetrated on a daily basis by the Pretoria regime. Whatever happens in the direction of what the EPG's report says, in the direction of a bloodbath, Britain will

be one of the accused. History will show that in the event of a Southern African Nuremberg Trial, the Pretoria regime cannot be alone in the dock. Britain will be the immediate co-accused.

But I think it is a very short-sighted position of Margaret Thatcher's because she is out of step not just with the rest of the Commonwealth, which therefore means that Britain loses the leadership role, historically. But she is also out of step with the public in Britain, with the EEC countries and in the international community. This makes it clear that really she's motivated by more than what she has articulated. We go further than those who say she, is motivated by material interests. We think it's racism.

We seize this opportunity to commend Zimbabwe, Zambia, New Zealand, India, Canada and Australia, the six who have taken a principled position that makes the six countries decide to opt for credibility rather than unprincipled unity. We commend them because this makes them part of the solution of the problem. And this will definitely give a psychological impact that can only help to strengthen the momentum in favour of sanctions. We are not that despondent, because we are convinced that this short-sighted position by Margaret Thatcher, the claim of victory, is going to be short-lived as the days and weeks roll by. I am convinced we are going to witness the position where the British people will need to face up to the challenge before them. They will definitely redouble their efforts to further strengthen what has become a groundswell support for sanctions in Britain, and the struggle in South Africa led by the ANC.

So in a way, we are witnessing or will soon be witnessing in Britain what we have seen in the US, where, thanks to Ronald Reagan's embrace of the Pretoria regime as a friend and ally, and pledging that the US under his leadership will not leave SA in the lurch, that has brought about, and triggered, groundswell support from the American people including US legislators who are today defying the president and proposing far reaching though not yet comprehensive sanctions.

**The West has been saying sanctions will hurt Blacks, and Pretoria itself has taken on this theme threatening to shift the effect and consequences of sanctions onto the shoulders of South African Blacks and the neighbouring**



**states. Zimbabwe and Zambia have already been picked out for particular attention by the racists who are taking economic measures against them. What is your comment?**

First we must blame this on the Margaret Thatcher administration, because of the position she took which suddenly emboldened the Pretoria regime, encouraging its intransigence because she feels she is not alone, she is with the administration at 10 Downing Street. But now it is bound to boomerang, this move by the hawk that is beginning to crawl as it approaches death and the writing on the wall, can only enrage, bring about an outrage. There will definitely be more people now supporting sanctions because of the position that is being threatened and taken by the Pretoria regime.

**Comrade Makathini what and how do you think the international community can control the openly declared policy by some countries such as Britain of making meaningless announcements against the Pretoria regime termed 'measures' and 'gestures', while practically acting as sanctions busters? Especially Switzerland whose not being a member of the UN is said to be ideal for sanctions busting?**

Well, the ball is now in the court of the African countries and the Non-Aligned and other progressive forces around the world. The OAU summit whose position has now just been endorsed by the Non-Aligned summit takes care of that. They have done a very clear programme of action. We are happy that the ANC position has been endorsed. From Harare we proceed to the convening of the Security Council which will be called upon to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. And we have no illusions; we know for a fact the Margaret Thatcher government and the Reagan Administration will veto this move.

We are convinced that this will then leave the international community with no other option but to take the matter to the General Assembly, to evoke the precedent calling on the United Nations General Assembly on the basis of uniting for peace. To perform the task that the Security Council has failed to perform, because of the

abuse of the veto by South Africa's protectors. When that happens we are absolutely confident that the outcome will be the endorsement of a call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

And in order to deal with the fact that these will be recommendations, since they will not be enjoying the support of the Security Council, we are then and we have been making preparations for this — we will then be at the stage of calling on the peoples of the world, to apply and implement the sanctions that enjoy world-wide consensus. And a special focus will be directed on dock workers around the world, who will be mobilised through their trade unions, and will be expected to refuse to service, load or to off-load ships and aircraft going to and from South Africa. Anti-apartheid groups around the world, church communities, men and women of conscience around the world, will be called upon and will respond to the campaign, to join the campaign for the total boycott of South African products.

We are aware that South Africa has for some time been setting up a group aimed at studying ways and means of circumventing the anticipated sanctions. These measures that I have referred to will in some way be part of the efforts to deal with that situation. Even those goods that enjoy the use of conduit countries, exportation through conduit countries, or importation through conduit countries, will still be targeted, but in addition, we think that time will bring about the implementation of the resolution first adopted by the OAU summit, which has since been broadened by the Non-Aligned countries, the one that calls or commits the African and Non-Aligned countries and other justice-loving countries of the world, to impose, to take measures against Britain, and other countries that circumvent sanctions against South Africa; measures of their own choosing, such as sports boycott, economic measures and the severance of diplomatic ties.

Now the same goes for companies that will be, and we know will be circumventing sanctions and will do so increasingly. They are going to be targets for either loss of business as a punitive or retaliatory measure, or even total nationalisation.



# BOOK REVIEW

*The Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons' Mission to South Africa. The Commonwealth Report, with a forward by Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General, London 1986.*

The independence from Britain of African and Asian countries in the post-war period changed the relationship between Britain and the "empire" and this affected many aspects: social, racial composition and even political outlook. This metamorphosis meant that Britain became one ordinary member and did not lead and hold sway over the empire. But did this mean Britain has lost its pre-eminence?

It goes without saying that these changes were a result of the struggles of the peoples of the empire — and this includes the British people and the struggle within the Commonwealth itself. Not all ex-British colonies opted to join the Commonwealth, but South Africa was expelled in 1961. The 1977 Gleanegles Agreement which decided on a sports boycott against apartheid was an expression of this struggle. The question of apartheid has featured prominently on the agenda of the Commonwealth meetings — partly because the culprits violating commonwealth decisions are commonwealth governments: Britain being the main culprit. British ruling class attitudes have always been out of sympathy with African aspirations.

At Nassau, Bahamas, the Commonwealth Summit decided to send a delegation, which was called Eminent Person's Group (EPG) to South Africa. As its framework the EPG had five preconditions which were to be satisfied by the apartheid regime within six months and failing which a mini-summit of the Commonwealth would consider further and tougher action.

These preconditions were:

1. the system of apartheid should be dismantled and specific and meaningful action taken in fulfillment of that intent;
2. end of the state of emergency;
3. Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and

detainees should be released immediately and unconditionally;

4. political freedom should be guaranteed and the ANC and other political organisations should be unbanned; and

5. in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides, a process of dialogue should be initiated across the colour line, political and religious with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government.

This is what is called the Nassau Accord which had to be implemented by the London-based Commonwealth Secretariat set up in 1965.

The book under review is the report of the EPG on their findings and discussions with the racist authorities Black opposition including UDF, Cosatu and Azapo. They talked to Gatsha Buthelezi whom they call "an important political figure in his own right" (p.93) and also met Chief Mabuza, chief minister of Ka-Ngwane, and the "Foreign and Manpower Ministers" of Bophuthatswana. They met Nelson Mandela on three occasions, discussed with the ANC leadership in Lusaka, held discussions with Winnie Mandela, Allan Boesak and Desmond Tutu amongst others.

Right from the beginning the EPG had teething problems: "None of us was prepared for the full reality of apartheid" (p.23). But in the short period of their involvement — because this was what it actually was — they seemed to have grasped the seriousness of the crisis in South Africa. Their assessment on some of the issues comes very close to ours and they have interesting things to say about Mandela and the ANC leadership in Lusaka:

*"There was no visible distance of outlook, however between Nelson Mandela and the ANC leadership in Lusaka" (p.68)*

And continue:

*"Among the many striking figures whom we met in the course of our work, Nelson Mandela and*



*Oliver Tambo stand out . . . If the government finds itself unable to talk with men like Mandela and Tambo, then the future of South Africa is bleak indeed" (p.134/135)*

There are many such striking assessments in the book and open attacks on the apartheid regime. But the report has its limitations. The authors themselves admit:

"No serious person we met was interested in the fight to the finish; all favoured negotiations and peaceful solutions" (p.101) This is not meant as a critique but a remark that in South Africa there are other people who are "interested in a fight to the finish". There are some terminological inexactitudes and even terminological instability in the book and surely "Wilton Mcquai" (p.60) is supposed to be Wilton Mkwayi.

All in all, this is a welcome contribution to the body of anti-apartheid literature. Its weaknesses, language etc., and its strengths reflect the strengths and weaknesses of the international drive against apartheid. One thing can be said without fear of contradiction: that the struggle for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid — an ANC position — is an integral aspect of the struggle against colonialism and apartheid racialism, in South Africa; a struggle for self-determination of the oppressed Blacks. The ANC has never been under any illusions on this score. Sanctions won't bring apartheid to its knees. They will definitely weaken apartheid and by doing so lessen the flow of blood in the streets of South Africa and shorten the life-span of apartheid. The question of sanctions does not mean an appeal to Botha, Thatcher and Reagan. It means a struggle against them and this is the lesson we draw from the commonwealth summits, and by the way this is implied in the book. We recommend this book to all those interested and involved in our struggle.

FM

## The Legend is Born

*When the clock is about to noon  
And the noon is about to clock  
And is not too late nor soon  
The legend is born in the folk*

*When we fight this war with death  
And we also die for this fight  
Only for peace to keep health  
The legend is born in the night*

*When the work compasses the proletarian  
great notion  
To satisfy man's well-being work  
And take man to paradise motion  
The legend is born in the work*

*When reality strike the whole precious world  
And everyman see the objective reality  
Our chorus is only one great word  
The legend is born in the unity*

*Tehepo Wa Dikapeso*

## Pretoria's Propagandists

*I hear South Africa  
Screaming  
Words you would not have me hear*

*I see South Africa  
Burning  
With rage you would not have me see*

*I hear your reasoned voice  
Soothing  
Those for whom the facts would disappear*

*I see your pink and dimpled hands  
Shooting  
Black skulls, raised fists, the truth, the light,  
the free*

*I hear South Africa  
Singing  
Songs of peace, songs of life,  
with blood bought, without fear.*

*Kenneth Klonsky,  
Toronto*



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**Radio Lusaka**

short wave: 31 m. band, 9580 KHz  
7.15-8.00 p.m. Monday to Friday  
10.05-10.35 p.m. Wednesday  
10.30-11.00 p.m. Friday  
7.00-8.00 p.m. Saturday  
8.00-8.45 p.m. Sunday, 17895 KHz.

**Radio Madagascar**

short wave: 49 m. band, 6135 KHz  
9.30-10.00 p.m. daily.

**Radio Ethiopia**

short wave: 31 m. band, 9545 KHz  
9.30-10.00 p.m. daily.

**Radio Tanzania**

Short wave: 19 m. band, 15435 KHz  
Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday,  
8.15 p.m.  
31 m. band,  
Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday,  
6.15 a.m.

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