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THE PEOPLE UNBAN THE ANC!

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EDITORIAL

Gatsha Buthelezi — A Violent 'Moderate'

It was Shaka's Day, an important occasion in the history of the Black man's struggle in South Africa. Gatsha Buthelezi said it all. But Buthelezi was not interested in continuing Shaka's tradition. He had different aims. But he had to use the traditional regalia. But his traditional leopard skin regalia contrasted seriously with the high technology of the microphones before him. Surely Gatsha Buthelezi was not Shaka.

Even his words sounded hollow:

"I yearn for open politics in which my own leadership role and that of people like Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and others can be judged by the people in broad daylight."

The problem is that people have done that. His actions and particularly his speech on that day made it possible for people to do just that. He attacked the ANC vehemently. He attacked President Tambo. And as if this was not enough in the middle of his speech a senior Inkatha member and deputy chief whip in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Prince Gideon Zulu left the rally at the stadium with three busloads of armed supporters of Inkatha and travelled to Lamontville to attack houses, smash windows and doors of houses of ordinary people to terrorise, injure and kill. This happened a few weeks after Victoria Mxenge, loved by all but intensely disliked by Inkatha leadership, was murdered.

Gatsha Buthelezi is worried about what he calls a 'frightening degree of ANC mania.' The media were unrealistically elevating the ANC's importance. Even businessmen were 'trotting off to Lusaka to sip tea with the ANC mission in exile.' Armed struggle in South Africa will never win, he said. Reform which

is an inevitable consequence of economic progress, was the only solution. He said much more and in a quite forceful way.

But why should Gatsha's Inkatha attack Lamontville? Two reasons immediately come to mind. Lamontville is a stronghold of the UDF and the people have repeatedly refused to be incorporated into KwaZulu. There are strong anti-Inkatha feelings in the area. Inkatha has decided to 'force the UDF out of Lamontville' even if that is at the cost of human lives and Lamontville must belong to KwaZulu.

What worries us is that the developments in Natal seem to be symptomatic of a bigger problem. UDF leaders have literally become refugees in their own country. They are harassed by the regime's security forces, by death squads and Inkatha. Are these separate forces or wings of the same apparatus? When it was said Goniwe, Calata and others were killed by Azapo nobody believed that. Azapo? Of all places in the Eastern Cape where it has no presence? Who killed Victoria Mxenge?

The death squads, the state of emergency and Inkatha thugs are terrorising both the people and UDF activists. The people and the UDF activists are very vulnerable to these attacks and Gatsha Buthelezi is very much aware of this. He does say that the regime is very powerful. Perhaps that explains why he will not lift a finger against it. That is why they call him a moderate. But looked at from the eyes of the people he is far from being a moderate. He lacks modesty. He is a tyrant. He won't even allow people to choose whether they want to belong to KwaZulu or not. He is 'jealous.' The ANC has become more popular than his Inkatha.

It is usually said that movements like Inkatha express the aspirations of an emergent Black bourgeoisie. But the problem is: can this emergent Black bourgeoisie exist outside the present confrontation or polarisation in South Africa? Our experience teaches us that it cannot. Inkatha can only be either with the people or against them. It has chosen to be against them. One wonders whether it is not a wing of the ruling Nationalist Party or of the SADF.

We warn those who always regard Gatsha Buthelezi as the 'authentic voice of the Black people' to reassess their judgement. The peo-

ple at home are very, very angry. Not only against the racist regime but also against Inkatha and particularly Gatsha Buthelezi who is increasingly playing the role — in a literal sense — of Botha. He has learnt a lot from him. We are not talking just about 'reforms' but about how to handle those who differ with him and after doing all that he wants to be regarded as a 'leader' of the very people he is murdering! The people have decided to render South Africa ungovernable. To Gatsha this is a nightmare. The people are saying: their nightmares are our dreams.

DEATH OF ALEX LA GUMA

At the time of going to press we learnt the sad news of the death of Comrade Alex la Guma, well-known writer and our chief representative in Cuba. Comrade Alex died in Havana on the 11th of October after a heart attack. He was 60 years old.

As a young man he was an active member of the South African Communist Party until it was banned in 1950. Later he took part in the preparations for the Congress of the People and was one of the 156 people charged with treason in 1956. When Nelson Mandela called for the staging of a three-day strike in May 1961, Alex la Guma, one of the leaders of the Coloured People's Congress which supported the strike call, was again arrested. In 1962 he was placed under house arrest, and in 1963 both he and his wife, Blanche were detained under the 90-day-no-trial law and held in solitary confinement. He was detained again in 1966. The repression had become so intense that Alex and Blanche were forced to leave their country.

At the time of his death he had been secretary of the Afro-Asian Writers Organisation for several years, and in 1969 was a winner of the organisation's Lotus prize for literature. Earlier this year he was awarded the Order of Friendship of the Peoples of the USSR.

Internationalist and freedom fighter, writer and comrade, Alex la Guma was loved and respected wherever he went, not least by his own people, who will deeply feel his loss. **Hambe Kahle, Comrade Alex.**



Comrade Alex la Guma

THE EYES OF THE PEOPLE ARE FOCUSED ON THIS CONFERENCE

Part 2

The forces of counter-revolution continuously seek to separate these tendencies ('nationalist' and 'socialist' tendencies within the ANC) both politically and organisationally, set them at loggerheads and thus divide the national liberation movement. That is why the enemy always speculates about divisions between 'Marxists' and 'nationalists' within our ranks. It is on this basis that the PAC was formed, as well as the group we have spoken of which called itself ANC (African Nationalist). Our enemies had entertained hopes that the BCM would emerge, survive and grow as the organised representative of the 'nationalist tendency' within the national democratic revolution, independent of the ANC.

These issues are of relevance to this day particularly because certain elements within the country, which describe themselves as belonging to the black consciousness movement, have set themselves against the democratic movement. At the same time, significant numbers of democratic activists, particularly from among the youth, see the ANC as a socialist party and project it as such. Though it came into being later than the period up to 1974 that we have been talking about, it might be appropriate at this stage to refer also to the formation within the ANC of a 'left' faction which dubbed itself the "Marxist Tendency" within the ANC. This faction came out in opposition to our ally, the South African Communist Party, and sought to shift both SACTU and the ANC in a so-called left direction. Members of this group are no longer within our ranks. It is, however, true that some of their ideas have penetrated sections of the democratic movement inside our country. These need to be combated, once more, to ensure that this movement does not splinter into left and right factions.

We cannot over-emphasise the strategic importance of ensuring the unity of the ANC, the broad democratic movement and the masses of our struggling people on the basis of our programme, our strategy and tactics. In the five-year period immediately following the Morogoro Conference, we can report that our movement achieved these objectives in the face of actual attempts to divide us.

We have already referred to the contribution that the BCM made to the activation of our people into struggle. This is a positive contribution that we must recognise and to which we must pay tribute. We should also recognise the significant input that the BCM made towards further uniting the black oppressed masses of our country, by emphasising the commonness of their oppression and their shared destiny. These views were built on political positions that our movement had long canvassed and fought for. Nevertheless, we must still express our appreciation of the contribution that the BCM made in this regard while recognising the limitations of this movement which saw our struggle as racial, describing the entire white population of our country as "part of the problem."

Unity of Forces

Taking into account the collective experience of our people, our principled positions and the tasks of our revolutionary movement, our Conference will also have to address itself to the question of the unity of the motive forces of our revolution and the need, at all times, to take correct positions on the national question.

We should also draw attention to the fact, whose organisational and operational implications will be spelt out in the NEC report as presented by the Secretary General, that the

Morogoro Conference viewed our struggle as politico-military. The Revolutionary Council was mandated to conduct such a struggle. The document on strategy and tactics adopted at the Morogoro Conference discussed at length the issue of the relationship between the political and military struggles, emphasising the primacy of the former. In the actual conduct of our struggle in the period up to 1974, we concentrated on political work, especially on the task of establishing contact with our people at home and rebuilding our organised presence inside the country. On the military side, we also emphasised organisational work, namely, the building up of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside the country in terms of both men and materials.

We raise this question because we shall have to discuss it once again, but in the light of our experience, the current situation and our perspectives. This issue bears not only on the conduct of our struggle inside the country, but also on such questions as our structure, the training and deployment of cadres and the exercise of the function of leadership. Thus we need maximum clarity on this issue so that we can proceed towards the seizure of power in the most effective and efficient manner possible.

When we entered the second five year period after the Morogoro Conference, we were better prepared to face the challenges that this period posed. With the benefit of hindsight, we could possibly describe the years 1969-74



as, for us, the Period of Regrouping and Recovery.

Reversal and Reconstruction

It was during this period that we fully took into account the fact that our reverses at home, particularly during the years 1963-1965, compounded by the death of our late President, Chief A J Luthuli in 1967, had imposed on our External Mission the task of representing and leading our movement as a whole, including its internal units. We had to carry out the process of reconstruction from outside. There were no structures inside the country to receive the units of the Luthuli Detachment that had trained outside. It was the response to this reality, the fact that this External Mission took on those internal tasks in a serious and determined manner that gave the period 1969-74 its distinctive character and enabled us to recover the possibility to move further forward, confidently, to exploit the greater possibilities that emerged in the next five year period.

We could perhaps characterise this latter phase as a Period of Consolidation and Further Advance. It was a period during which our movement worked to defend the gains we had made and to use those gains further to step up the struggle, finally to liquidate the achievements that the enemy had scored when it launched its campaign of extreme reaction in the early Sixties.

When the NEC considered the implications of the accession to power of Frelimo and the MPLA in their respective countries, it concluded that there has emerged in Southern Africa a new kind of state power. Fundamentally new types of property were being established and consequently new social relations were emerging. For the peoples of Southern Africa, Mozambique and Angola were the latest examples demonstrating that exploitative relations are a transitional phase in the development of human society.

We were convinced that the option made by Angola and Mozambique for a socialist orientation of development was viewed by the imperialists as a declaration of war on their economic and ideological positions in a region that has traditionally been one of their

preserves on the continent. Imperialism was therefore bound to use all means and methods at its disposal to seek to destroy the popular power that had come into being in our sub-continent.

We also concluded that the white minority regimes of Salisbury and Pretoria, together with their imperialist allies, saw in SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and the ANC, liberation movements that were determined to dismantle the colonial economic structures and install a new socio-economic order in the region. We were certain that the imperialists knew that such a victory would put an end to the continued plunder of our region by international capital and reinforce the advances made in Angola and Mozambique towards complete national and social emancipation.

Counter-Revolution in the Front Line States

As Conference will recall, Mozambique attained its independence on June 25, 1975. In this regard, we might consider sending a message from this Conference to the people of Mozambique on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of their independence. Angola became independent on November 11th of the same year.

Between these dates and the time of the revolution in Portugal, a complicated situation obtained both in Mozambique and in Angola, with the forces of counter-revolution involved in a series of desperate assaults aimed at destroying Frelimo and the MPLA and preserving Mozambique and Angola as objects of imperialist plunder. The most determined counter-revolutionary offensive took place in Angola, spearheaded by an open invasion of that country by the racist army of the Pretoria regime and supported by US imperialism and puppet forces within Angola. At the same time, the progressive forces in Africa and the world were forced to wage an intense struggle for the recognition of the People's Republic of Angola.

The Heroism of Angola

Our National Executive Committee kept this situation under review continuously. We took the positions that we must defend the MPLA

as the proven representative of the people of Angola, assert the legitimacy of the People's Republic of Angola, as well as support the right of the people of this country to determine their own path of development and to establish their own system of international relations.

In this way, supporting the positions of the MPLA, we came out against the notion of a government of national unity that would have legitimised the puppet UNITA and FNLA. We stood for the immediate expulsion of the Pretoria invasion force from Angola, and fought against all imperialist intervention.

The Struggle for Our Continent

We were convinced that the counter-revolution had to be defeated. Failure to achieve this victory would have constituted a severe setback not only for the people of Angola, but also for the liberation struggle in our region and the process of the progressive renewal of our continent. Accordingly, we battled within the OAU in particular for acceptance of our positions, which coincided with those of many countries on our continent. The heroism of the people of Angola, the firm and timely support rendered to them by the socialist community of nations and the world anti-imperialist movement, coupled with the relative weakness of the forces of reaction, succeeded to save the People's Republic and thus further to shift the international balance of forces in our favour.

We should bear in mind that these events were taking place at a time when the Pretoria regime was engaged in its 'detente' offensive, using the Zimbabwe question in particular as a vehicle to gain acceptance for itself on the African continent. We opposed this manoeuvre, determined to ensure that, in the interests of our own struggle, the counter-revolution must not succeed.

We confronted the enemy offensive as a united movement, backed by our people inside the country, who had demonstrated their understanding, acceptance and support for the revolutionary perspective posed by Frelimo and the MPLA, by organising the 'Frelimo rallies' for which some leaders and activists of the Black Consciousness Movement had

been arrested, sentenced and jailed.

Up to that time, these events represented the sharpest confrontation we had had with the apartheid regime in the struggle for the support of our region and of Africa as a whole. In a thousand battles and skirmishes, the question was being answered — would our continent march on from the victories in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique to new successes or would we fall back in the face of the enemy counter-offensive, submit to neo-colonialism and the perpetuation of white minority rule? It is no exaggeration to say that our movement played a role, however limited, in getting our continent to decide against any retreat, in favour of a continued advance against racism, colonialism and imperialism.

To prepare for this heightened confrontation with the racist regime, our movement had met in Conference from the 17th to 20th March, 1975. When we welcomed the delegates to that meeting we said: "At no time have we at brief notice assembled such a representative meeting attended by delegates from such remote places." That Conference adopted a Declaration that frankly stated our positions in the face of the enemy offensive. We pointed out that:

"The enemy has already undertaken actions to enable him to maintain the sole right and power to determine the content, direction and pace of change in Southern Africa. The speed of advance of the African revolution is threatened by this counter-revolutionary manoeuvre. The very gains of that revolution, as represented by the reality of independent Africa, are themselves threatened with compromise."

That is how serious the situation was when we had to convene once again in Morogoro.

Unity Throughout Africa

We had timed our own Conference to precede the 9th Extraordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers which was being assembled to discuss Southern Africa. We had to work to ensure that the positions we adopted at our Conference gained the acceptance of our continent as a whole.

The African ministers resolved that our continent has:



Striking workers — A new militancy.

"as its important prerequisite the maintenance and strengthening of unity and solidarity of Africa in confronting the new situation in Southern Africa. The enemies of independent Africa realise that this unity is the most powerful weapon in the continent's arsenal. It is that unity and solidarity which Vorster, with his collaborators and supporters, are attempting to undermine. Therefore Africa's urgent need to close its ranks in facing South Africa's new tactics becomes self-evident."

The ministers went on to reject Vorster's 'detente,' reaffirmed their support for our movement and for armed struggle. They re-

jected the bantustans and called for the complete isolation of apartheid South Africa and characterised her as "the final major obstacle to Africa's march to liberation."

All this signified that Pretoria's political offensive into Africa had been defeated. The continent and our movement adopted the same positions. Ten months later, Pretoria's military offensive into Africa, in this case its invasion of Angola, was also defeated. The People's Republic of Angola had emerged victorious.

Both these results were of great importance to our struggle. They demonstrated that the

Pretoria regime could not impose its will on the people of Africa. The myth of the invincibility of the South African army of aggression and oppression was destroyed and buried for ever. Young White South Africans began to question themselves as to whether they should allow themselves to die in defence of the apartheid system.

Independent Africa Our Rear Base

These victories had also conclusively demonstrated that our movement and struggle enjoyed sufficient support among the peoples of Africa for our continent successfully to defend and advance the interests of our revolution regardless of the means and methods our enemy used to subvert us and regardless of the support it had from its imperialist allies.

The events of 1974-1976, however, also confirmed the importance of independent Africa as our rear base and the need for us to ensure that at all times it remains a reliable rear base. The justice of our cause speaks for itself. At the same time, the ignominy of the apartheid system addresses itself directly to the hearts of the hundreds of millions of the African masses on our continent. And yet, we have to be with these masses continuously, maintain contact with their brother governments and, in struggle, retain Africa on our side as territory hostile to the apartheid regime. Any weakness on our part in this sphere inevitably raises serious complications for our struggle.

Period of Expansion

Conversely, during this period, the victories of the national liberation movement in Southern Africa in particular, acted as an important factor in raising the level of militancy among our own people and spurring them further into action. Great, new possibilities emerged for us to reach into our country. Because allies with whom we had co-operated for a decade and more in the struggle for national liberation were now in power in Mozambique and Angola, a whole variety of other opportunities to increase our effectiveness emerged. One outcome of these developments was that, from 1975 onwards, we were able

to establish an official presence in the Kingdom of Swaziland. Among the independent countries of Southern Africa, Malawi was the only one with which we had and have no relations. At the same time, and as a consequence of these developments, the political crisis of the apartheid regime began to emerge into the open.

Building on what had been achieved in the past, we continued to expand our contact with the masses of our people as well as their democratic organisations, including the trade unions and the Black Consciousness Movement as well as the religious community within our country.

This is the appropriate occasion to disclose that in the course of this work we had, by 1976, arrived at the point where the time had come for us to meet that leading representative of the BCM, the late Steve Biko. By this time Steve and his colleagues had arrived at the following positions:

- (a) That the ANC is the leader of our revolution;
- (b) That the Black People's Convention should concentrate on mass mobilisation;
- (c) That the BPC should function within the context of the broad strategy of our movement; and
- (d) That a meeting between the leadership of the BPC and ourselves was necessary.

Arrangements were made for us to meet Steve Biko in 1976. Unfortunately, it proved impossible to bring Steve out of the country for this meeting. Another attempt was made in 1977 but this also did not succeed. Subsequent arrangements also failed as, for instance, Barney Pityana was arrested when he was due to lead another delegation. Steve Biko was of course subsequently murdered.

The Historic Soweto Uprising

These events might be of historic interest now, particularly as the BCM as an organised force was severely affected by the bans imposed by the Pretoria regime on the BCM organisations in 1977. However, this experience proved the correctness of the positions we had taken to deal with the BCM not in a competitive spirit

but to relate to it as part of the broad movement for national liberation. The achievements made in building our relations with this movement and giving its members access to our policy, strategy and tactics were of great importance in enabling us to defeat a determined attempt by the forces of counter-revolution to build a so-called Third Force, especially in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising.

This Uprising of 1976-77 was, of course, the historic watershed of the period we are reporting about. Within a short period of time, it propelled into the forefront of our struggle millions of young people, thus immeasurably expanding the active forces of the revolution and inspiring other sections of our people into activity.

Naturally, these heroic struggles had a profound impact on our organisation as well. They resulted in the accelerated expansion of our movement both inside and outside the country. That process of course resulted in increasing the relative proportion of the youth and students within our ranks. It brought into our midst comrades many of whom had had very little contact with the ANC, if any. It put at the immediate disposal of our movement militant cadres who were ready and yearning to carry out even the most difficult missions that the movement wished to give them. It increased many times over the responsibility we had to maintain large numbers of people outside our country.

Conference will discuss the question whether, as a movement, we have built of this new army of our revolution the kind of cadre that the new situation and the tasks that we face demand. The issue of a proper cadre policy that takes into account our human resources and our perspectives is of fundamental importance to our further advance.

In this regard, we would like to take this opportunity to pay glorious tribute to the older cadres of our movement, those that fought in Zimbabwe in 1967 and 1968, those who were the delegates at the Morogoro Conference. These same cadres manned the operations structures of the Revolutionary Council. They are the ones who were sent back into our coun-

try to carry out the organisational tasks that the Morogoro Conference and the Revolutionary Council had elaborated. Many of these are now serving long sentences on Robben Island.

Indeed, we could say that had it not been for the steadfast commitment and loyalty of these comrades to our organisation and our revolution, there might very well have been no ANC to join when the youth poured out of our country after the Soweto Uprising. The new situation that confronts us, the tasks that this Conference will decide upon, require that we pay attention to the question of utilising to the full the experience and maturity of these outstanding cadres of our movement.

The message of the Soweto Uprising was clear enough. It was that we had entered a new phase in our struggle, one that would be marked by an ever-sharpening confrontation between the masses of our people and the apartheid regime, one in which the mass offensive would, to all intents and purposes, be continuous and uninterrupted. It would also place the issue of the resumption of the armed struggle on our agenda, as an extremely urgent question in the face of the reality that the apartheid regime was using, and would continue to use, maximum force against our risen but unarmed people.

Consolidation and Further Advance

We have characterised the period we are discussing as one of Consolidation and Further Advance. As we have been trying to demonstrate, we had been consolidating our gains and on that basis taking further steps forward especially with regard to political work. We have also referred to the fact that from 1972 we had also been sending cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the country to prepare exactly for the resumption of the armed struggle. In brief, we were getting better prepared to assume our place as the active vanguard force of our struggling people, within the country.

The Soweto Uprising demonstrated that our country was a veritable powder keg. A decade and a half after the military suppression of the general strike of 1961, the pent-up revolutionary fury of the people rose to the surface.

It became possible to conclude that such uprisings would become a permanent feature of our struggle.

Our movement, as other revolutionary movements before it, has a responsibility to take advantage of such moments when the activity of the masses is increased a thousand-fold, when the masses are prepared to fight to the finish for the destruction of their adversary. Understanding all this, it was however true that in 1976-77 we had not recovered sufficiently to take full advantage of the situation that crystallised from the first events of June 16, 1976. Organisationally, in political and military terms, we were too weak to take advantage of the situation created by the Uprising. We had very few active ANC units inside the country. We had no military presence to speak of. The communication links between ourselves outside the country and the masses of our people were still too slow and weak to meet the situation such as was posed by the Soweto Uprising. An outstanding role in this situation was, however, played by those of our comrades who were inside the country, many of them former Robben Island prisoners. Through their contact with the youth, they were able to make an ANC input, however limited, in the conduct of the bloody battles of 1976-77.

Heroes and Veterans Remembered

Some of them are with us in this hall today. But among them we would like to select for special mention the late Comrade Joe Gqabi, former Robben Island prisoner, member of the NEC and our first representative in Zimbabwe. This implacable enemy of the apartheid regime was assassinated in cold blood by agents of this regime in July 1981 because the racists knew what Joe was worth to our organisation and our revolution. They could see that the seeds he had planted among the youth in Soweto in 1976, hardly a year after his release from prison, and in the subsequent years, were bearing bitter fruit for the oppressors and, for us, magnificent combatants for the liberation of our country.

The participation of the comrades we have spoken about in assisting to guide the Soweto

Uprising, once more emphasised the vital necessity for us to have a leadership core within the country, known by us and in touch with the people, dedicated, brave, with clear perspectives and thus able to lead. The need further to strengthen our leadership structures within the country continues to press on us with ever-increasing insistence. It is an objective that must be realised without much delay.

We have said that the Soweto Uprising also raised the urgent question of the resumption of armed struggle. Happily, in the period 1977-79, we were able once more to carry out military operations. This was thanks to organisational achievements inside the country, an improved organisational capacity outside and, not least, the availability of cadres whom we could prepare relatively quickly to return to the country. We should, of course, also mention that much of this we owed to the changed balance of forces in Southern Africa brought about by the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the capture of power by our revolutionary allies.

We cannot over-emphasise the importance of those historic blows struck by units of the June 16th and other detachments of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The members of those units, such as Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu have, despite their youth, left us with a tradition of combat and fearlessness which inspires both the young and the old to the acts of peerless bravery which our people are displaying today.

Umkhonto We Sizwe Lives

Those early actions signalled that Umkhonto we Sizwe lives, and lives among the people, within our country. They signified the defeat of the strategy of our enemy which, for more than a decade, had sought to ensure that no trained unit of our army ever entered South Africa and if it did, that it would never carry out a single operation. They established, in action, the fact that there exist in our country two armies, one a people's army and, the other, an oppressor's army. They meant the defeat of all efforts to liquidate the armed struggle in our country.

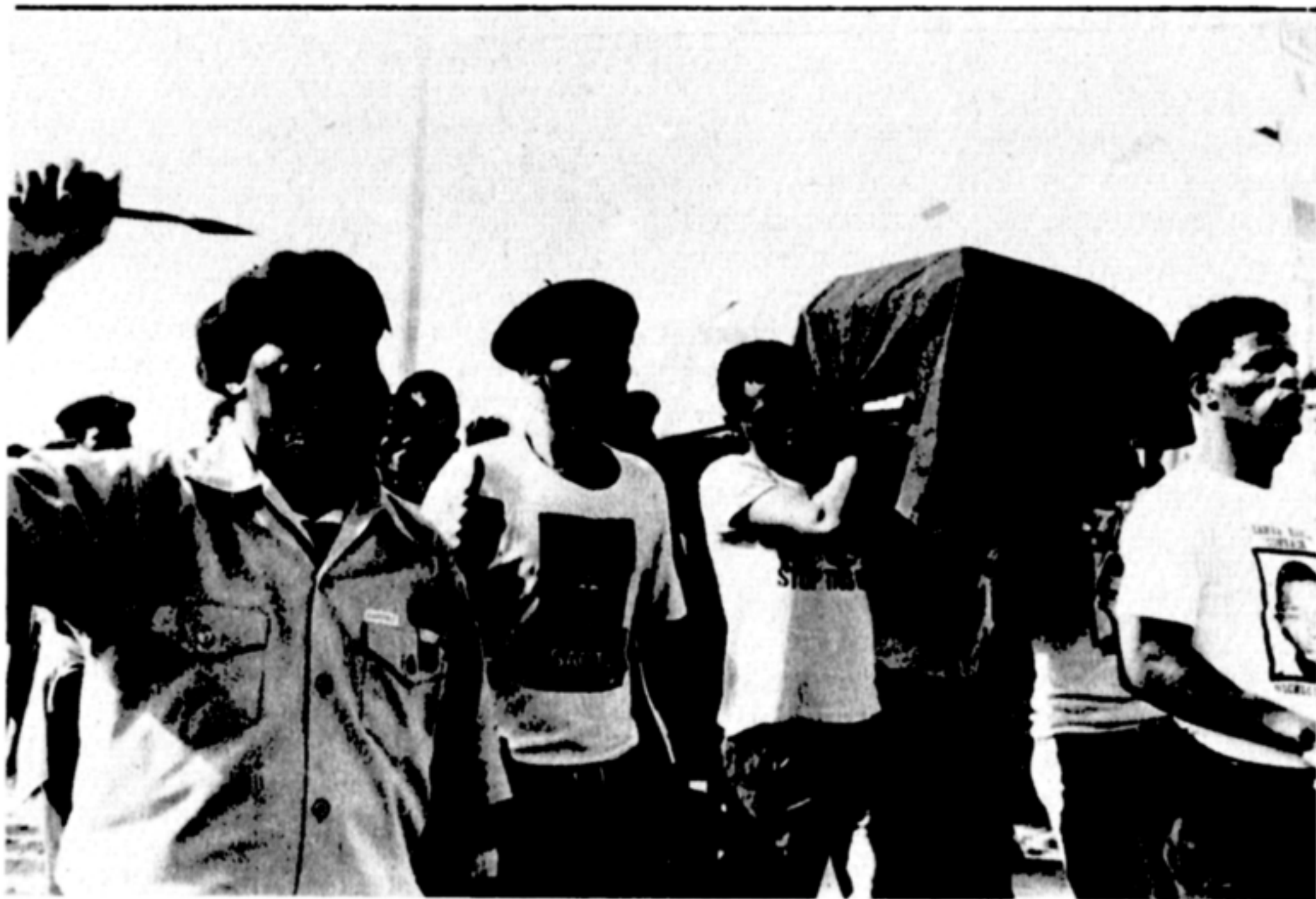
By the same token, they signalled the inevitability of our victory. After all, both Frelimo and the MPLA had liberated their countries through armed struggle. In Zimbabwe, the Smith regime and its backer and ally in Pretoria were running into serious problems exactly as a result of the escalation of armed struggle. The apartheid regime was pouring more and more troops into Namibia in a vain attempt to halt the armed liberation struggle conducted by SWAPO. It was therefore obligatory that, from the small but historic beginnings of 1977-79, we should escalate the armed struggle by delivering bigger blows and on a continuous basis.

It would be a grave error on our part if we

did not, at this point, refer, however briefly, to the socialist countries. The period we are discussing once more confirmed these countries as allies we can always rely upon, a secure rear base without which our struggle would be even more difficult and protracted.

To this day, the socialist countries continue to play an important supporting role in many aspects of our work. Always willing to consider and respond to our requests, every day they demonstrate an unwavering commitment to see our revolution through to the end.

As a movement, we need to be conscious of this all the time and protect our friendship and co-operation with the socialist community of nations very jealously.



Giving the Congress salute, mourners turn funerals into demonstrations of defiance against the racist regime.

TEN YEARS OF ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE

By Zoyisile Mati

The young, independent, socialist-orientated People's Republic of Angola is a country suffering from incessant South African air raids and open ground attacks on a scale unprecedented since World War II. It is a country where puppet bands of UNITA, openly supported by South Africa and the United States, continue to destabilise the country economically and to murder innocent women and children, consequently compelling the MPLA Workers' Party to channel most of its annual budget on defence. Despite all these and other problems the people of Angola will be celebrating ten years of hard-won independence on 11th November this year, and will also be holding the Second Congress of the party.

Angola has come to occupy an important place in the historical process of the world revolutionary movement. Angola, like Vietnam in South-East Asia, Cuba in Latin America and the Caribbean, has now come to be a symbol of dignity, of resistance and of pride. It has come to symbolise the assertion of the principle of the right to self-determination of the nations of the world, defence of sovereignty and territorial integrity; and above all the right of people to follow their own way of development, their right to live and govern themselves in the way they choose.

Angola has had to pay, and is continuing to pay, for believing that the socialist way of

development is the best system for its people.

The President of Angola, Jose Edouardo dos Santos, said in an interview with the journal *Africa-Asia* in 1984:

"We think that imperialism is trying to prevent Angola from becoming a really independent country which can carry out its economic and social programmes with its socialist and revolutionary policies. It is important to take into account the fact that our programme was conceived during the anti-colonial war, and has been perfected in our party congresses ... It envisages a profound transformation in Angolan society, leading to the creation of a state where peace and social justice reign, where each pupil will have his place in school, each worker a job and a home ...

"This programme envisages a better distribution of the wealth of our society, freed from racism and so forth, where men and women will be treated according to their capabilities and potential. Imperialism, and particularly the South African racists, fear this plan for society ...

"Secondly, Angola occupies a strategic position, important in relation to Southern Africa ... Angola possesses many natural resources, constituting an important economic potential, which can make it a rich country if properly developed.

"Finally, Angola has evolved in the direction of policy of vigorous support for the liberation movements, and has expressed its active solidarity with the patriots of Southern Africa, notably the ANC."

These, then, are the main reasons why the racist regime of Pretoria does not want to see



Mass rally in Luanda — The people determined to defend their revolution.

Angola in peace and harmony.

On the 29th June, the racist South African army once again violated the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola, when it attacked SWAPO refugees and killed about 45 of them, according to the arrogant and intransigent General Constand Viljoen, Chief of the South African Defence Force. He went on to announce that his troops were still 10 to 15 kilometres inside Angola. This happened 17 days after South African troops invaded Botswana, killing 12 people (South African refugees and Botswana citizens), and less than a fortnight after the installation of an "interim government" in Namibia, despite international condemnation, and in total violation of repeated United Nations resolutions calling for the independence of Namibia.

The Role of Unita

There are two major issues in the jigsaw puzzle being played by Pretoria, namely:

- the constant concerted destabilisation of Angola, and
- the obstruction of the independence of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

But then there is also a very big role being played in this imperialist plot by a band of bandits in black skins — the role of UNITA.

The people of Angola are not yet able to enjoy their 10 years of hard-won independence from Portuguese colonialism — it is still very difficult to take a drive into the interior of the country, there is still a lack of food, clothes and other important commodities. But one has to immediately clarify the reason why.

An unscrupulous, opportunistic Angolan traitor masquerading as a liberator has brought misery, pain and sorrow to the people that he claims he is fighting to liberate — the heroic Angolan masses. This bandit is Jonas Savim-

bi, for whom not even his close allies and former friends have the least respect. Even Johnny Pinnock, former leading member of the now defunct FNLA, said:

"UNITA is a creation of colonialism. UNITA was never a national movement. Savimbi did not leave FNLA to fight against Portuguese colonialism — on the contrary, he was on the side of the colonialists, and today he is just a mere instrument of the policy of the South Africans."

That UNITA from its birth was a creation of the Portuguese colonialists is further confirmed by information that in 1972, when the traitor Savimbi was totally frustrated and demoralised by his fruitless efforts and ambitions to neutralise the fighting forces of the MPLA, who were advancing from the east of the country, he functioned as an exploiter of timber in the province of Moxico. He still performs that function. This was recently confirmed by a former UNITA and 'Buffalo' battalion member, Artur Agostino Pinto Mateus, 25 years old, who said that Savimbi, with some Portuguese and Angolan businessmen, is exporting Angolan ivory, timber and diamonds through Namibian ports to Portugal, using South African Airways cargo planes.

Savimbi Hopes to Divide and Rule

UNITA, benefiting from being credited with the stature of a liberation movement, which it never was — has, since 1974, pursued a policy of divisionism, regionalism and tribalism. It has emphasised the false contradictions between the north and the south, the centre and the east. This imperialist idea, that led to the arbitrary division of Chad, Biafra, Katanga, Korea and Vietnam, is still deep in the mind of Savimbi, and this was recently confirmed by Pinto Mateus:

"Among the most important objectives of Savimbi is to totally conquer the south of Angola with the assistance of the South Africans, and to subsequently form a tribal form of government which does not include the citizens of the north."

This is then the type of man Savimbi is, and this is what UNITA is fighting for. From the character of the man it is therefore not surpris-

ing that he went cap in hand to the racists in Pretoria and vowed to be their running dog in its policy of destabilisation of the Front Line States, just like the MNR in Mozambique and the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army.

The truth of the matter is that South Africa is still pursuing its dream and ambition of forming a "constellation of Southern African states," through the forced imposition of its puppets in all Front Line States, and thereby stifling and obstructing the liberation movements of Southern Africa, the ANC and SWAPO.

Conference of Counter-Revolutionaries

It is very clear to any objective critic of the Angolan revolution that, despite enormous and complex problems, the country is moving forward in the social and economic fields. This is precisely the reason why the South African racist regime sent a unit to destroy the Cabinda Gulf Oil installations, as a means of crippling the economy of Angola.

Angola's economic prosperity is a challenge to international imperialism as a whole, because it will be the triumph of scientific socialism on the African continent, a spectre that haunts Ronald Reagan and P W Botha. This is why they stage-managed a so-called International Democratic meeting of all counter-revolutionaries; it took place in Savimbi's own headquarters, which, ironically enough, is defended by the racist army and air force; counter-revolutionaries came from Laos, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Nicaragua, and Reagan had his own representative.

Hardly a week had passed after this conference when the United States Senate repealed the 'Clark Amendment,' which had forbidden any material support to counter-revolutionary forces in Angola. The racist regime of Pretoria spends about 60 million US dollars to sustain UNITA, through arms, uniforms, food and so on, a fact that was proved by the quantity of war material (40 tons) recently captured in the province of Malinga by the Angolan defence and security forces, material that was dropped by parachute from South African planes (four of them). Now,

with the repeal of the 'Clark Amendment,' most likely that support will double.

Angola Celebrates the Revolution

But then the heroic and gallant forces of FAPLA under the leadership of the MPLA Workers' Party have proved beyond doubt that no power can stop the revolutionary process in Angola.

Luanda was host to the Non-Aligned Ministerial Meeting from the 2nd to the 10th September this year. Buildings are being renovated, including hotels, conference hall, radio and TV stations, the streets have assumed a different look, parks and recreational centres have been tremendously improved.

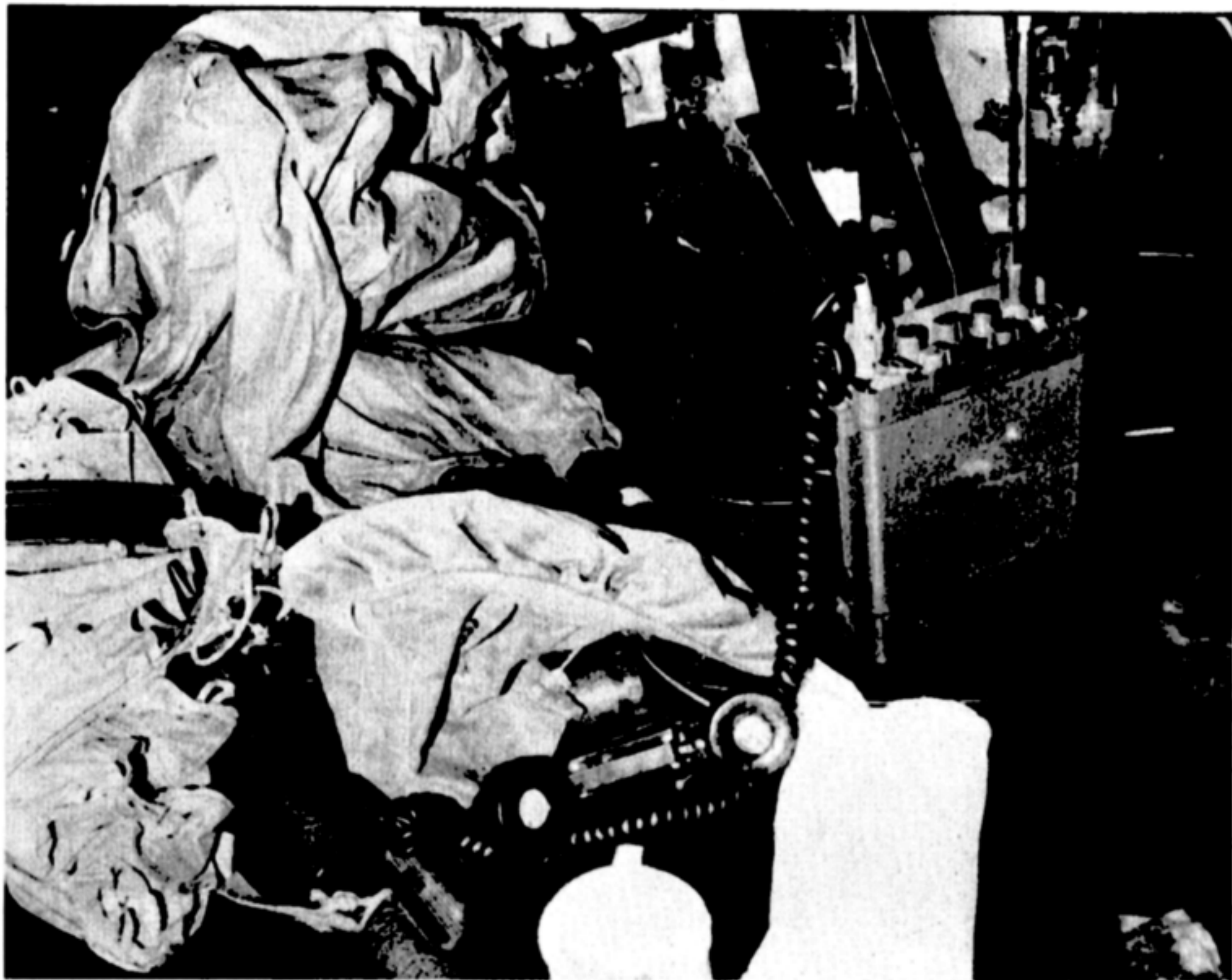
Another important occasion is the 10th anniversary celebrations of independence. The climax of the year will be the Second Congress of the MPLA Workers' Party, and everything

is being done towards its success. As President dos Santos put it:

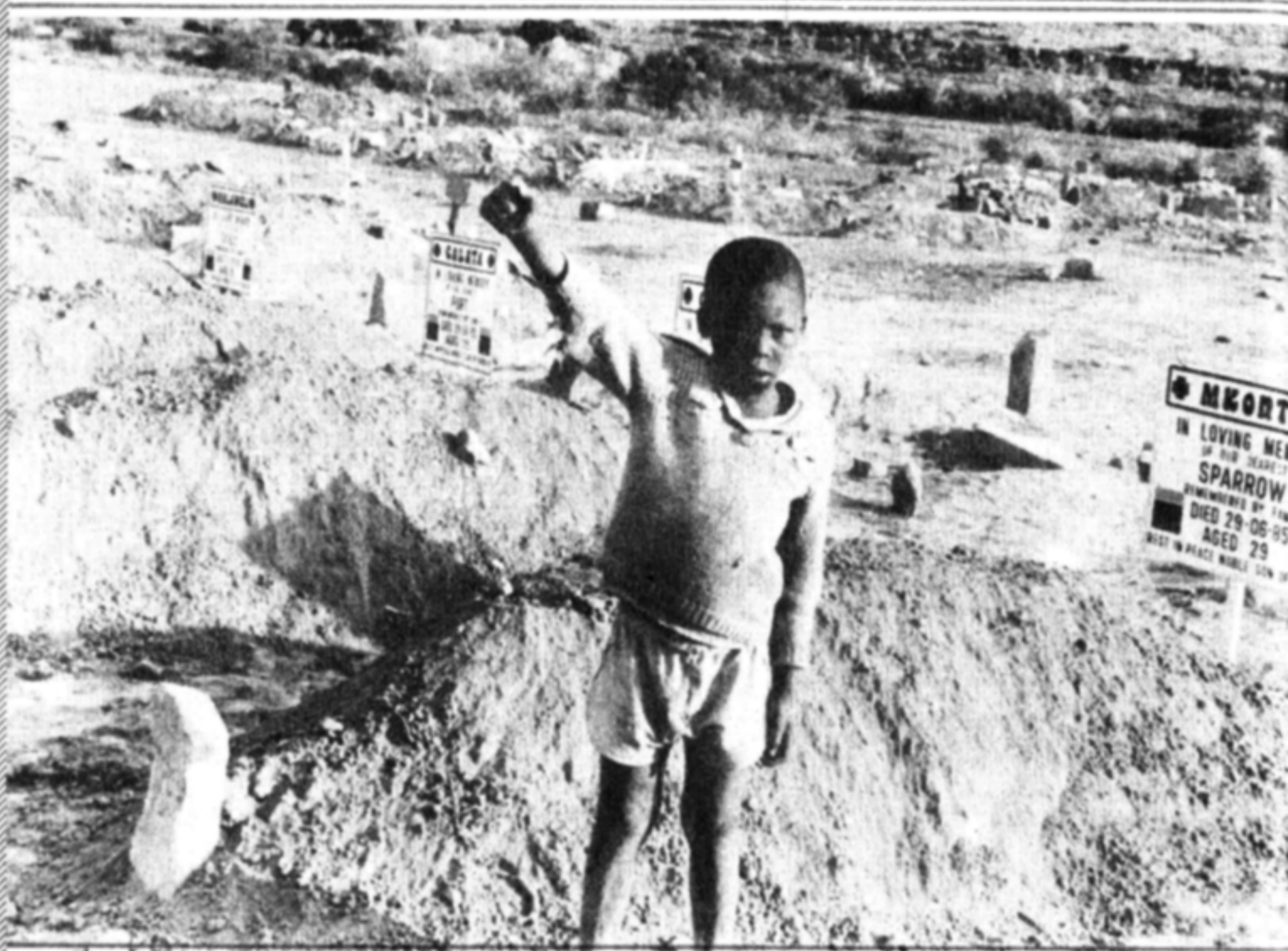
"It will be a congress of assessment, analysing everything that has been accomplished in the political and ideological fields and in the organisation of the party itself, defining the directions to follow politically, economically and socially as well as in foreign policy, defence and security. According to the results already achieved, the congress will trace out the general lines of development of our society and our party in the five years to follow."

So no amount of pressure from the United States or Pretoria can turn the clock back in Angola. The workers and peasants are on the revolutionary march to socialist transformation and victory.

**A Luta Continua
A Vitoria e Certa**



South African Defence Force weapons captured by FAPLA.

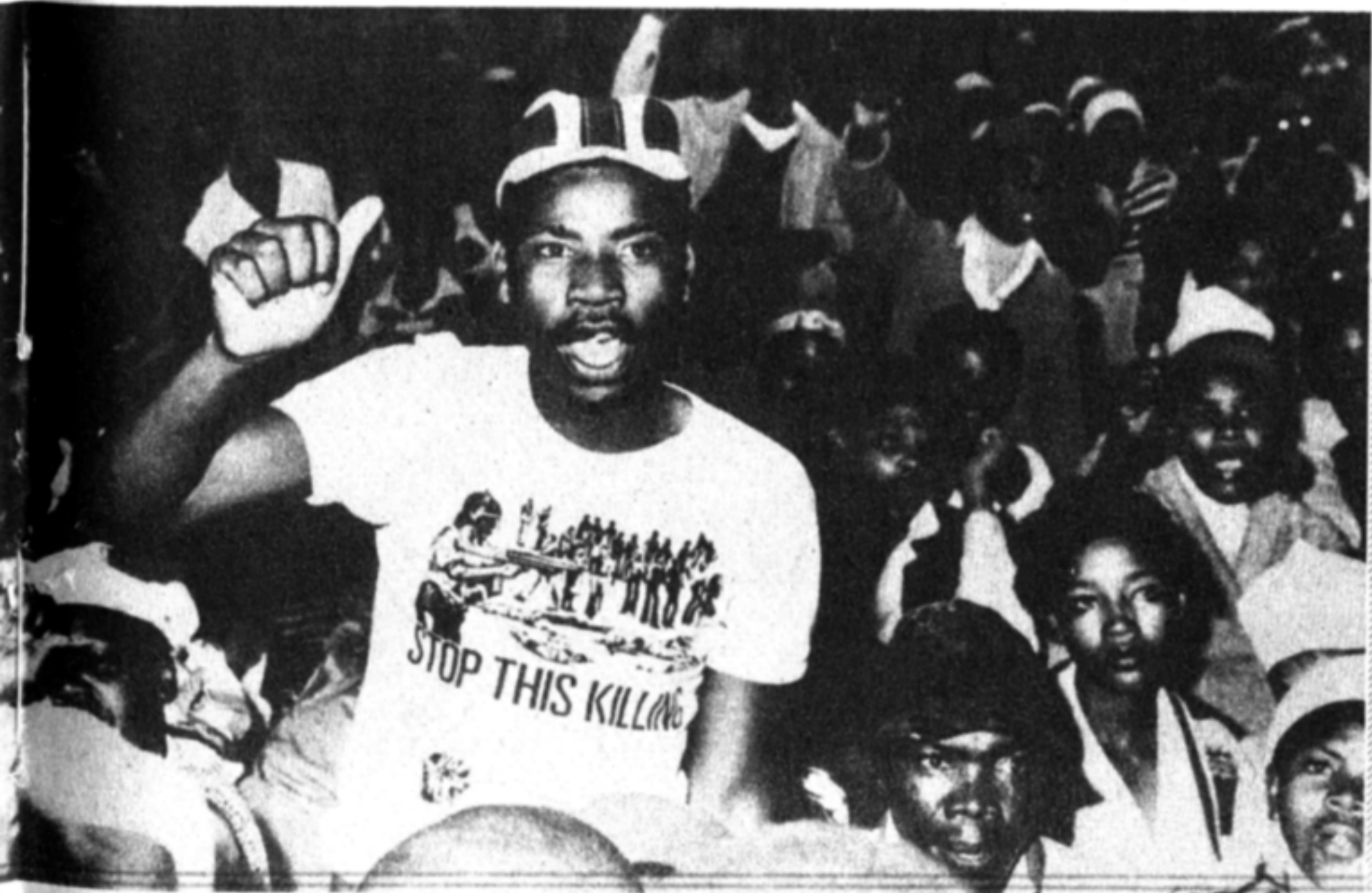


BULLETS WILL NOT STOP





THE MARCH TO FREEDOM



ANC

INTERNATIONAL

THE SUPREME SOVIET HONOURS COMRADE NZO

While the youth of the world was merrily enjoying the festivities during the World Youth Festival in Moscow, another important occasion was taking place: Comrade B Jazkuliev, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, was presenting Comrade Alf Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, with the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples. Comrade Jazkuliev said:

"All your life, you, Comrade Nzo, have been serving the ideals of freedom, democracy and equality of all peoples despite their colour. Being in the midst of the masses since an early age you've been engaged in political and organising work on uniting the masses of people for a just struggle against the inhuman system of apartheid. Neither police persecutions nor gaol could break your will.

"... for 16 years (you have been) Secretary-General. In that position you, together with the President of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo,



Comrade Nzo together with Comrades B Jazkuliev, Deputy-Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (right); R Ulyanovsky, deputy-head International Department of the CPSU (left); A Dzassokhov, First Vice-President Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (4th from left); R Eldorova, head of the Awards Department of the Supreme Soviet; A Urnov (extreme right); V Shubin (3rd from right); L Vishnevskaya, and ANC comrades S J Stuart (2nd from left); F Meli; Dr Mantombazana ('Manto') Tshabalala and Andrew Mkhize.



Comrade B Jazkuliev, Deputy-Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, presents Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, with the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples.

and other leaders of the ANC, have made a great contribution to the development of the revolutionary movement in South Africa.

"The fact that you have been re-elected to this high post at the recent ANC Conference testifies to a recognition of your merits.

"Your activities in the ANC, which leads the liberation struggle in South Africa, are combined with the active and large-scale work which you are involved in, in the solidarity movement with the peoples of Asia, Africa, and peace supporters.

"We know and highly appreciate you, Comrade Nzo, as a sincere friend of the USSR, and as a person who has done much for further strengthening the friendly relations between the ANC and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; between the peoples of South Africa and the USSR."

Comrade Nzo replied, expressing:

"... my most sincere gratitude and that of the leadership and membership of the African Na-

tional Congress to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the entire fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union for this high honour awarded me through this award."

He went further to state that this award is not only an evaluation of the contribution he has made to the anti-imperialist movement and to the consolidation of relations between the peoples of South Africa and the Soviet Union. It is at the same time an expression of the Soviet people's appreciation of the significance of the heroic struggle of our people for national liberation and social emancipation and for world peace and human progress against the inhuman system of apartheid, which is supported by international imperialism and in particular its most aggressive task force, the Reagan Administration.

Sechaba congratulates Comrade Alf Nzo, the Secretary-General of the ANC.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE IN NAIROBI

By Frene Ginwala



The writer of this article was one of the ANC delegates to the Nairobi Conference to mark the end of the United Nations Decade for Women.

In the workshops and meetings in Nairobi which marked the end of the United Nations Decade for Women last July, thousands of women pledged their solidarity and support for women struggling against apartheid. Between 13 000 and 14 000 women took part in the Non-Governmental Organisations' Forum '85, and, in nearly 1 000 workshops, explored all aspects of the themes of the Decade: Equality, Development and Peace, and the sub-themes of employment, health and education.

Over two weeks, the debates overflowed informally on to the lawns of the university campus, and continued through the night in the dining halls and hostels, as women from every part of the globe, representing all cultures and religions and a variety of political and economic systems, exchanged experiences. They spoke in many languages of their difficulties and successes as women engaged in improving their status and conditions, and in combating gender discrimination. There were occasions also for music and song, for building friendships, sharing the warmth of sisterhood and the joys of common purpose.

In Mexico in 1975 and at Copenhagen in 1980, third-world women in particular had stressed and won acceptance for the view that the status of women and the struggle to bring improvements were related directly to the general political, economic and social conditions in the societies in which they lived, and that problems of women's rights and their conditions could not be addressed without reference to the fundamental causes of oppression.

However, prior to the Nairobi meetings, the Reagan administration mounted a major campaign to try and set the clock back. It argued that politics should not be allowed to intrude and 'divert' the proceedings at Nairobi, and that the question of women's rights was essentially a social issue. In the view of the United States, apartheid, the rights of Palestinian women, US intervention in Nicaragua, racism, colonialism and imperialism were not matters that should be of concern to women or which affected women's rights and conditions, and therefore had to be excluded from the agenda! Implicit, perhaps, was the sexist approach that women were not capable of dealing with such questions and might get confused.

The very attempt to exclude led to a strong reaction, and the women of the world inflicted a massive defeat on the US administration, both at Forum '85 and at the Governmental World Conference. US women attending the Forum publicly dissociated themselves from the views of their government. Black Americans, including Angela Davis, joined with 'women of colour' from other countries, and discussed ways of combating racism, colonialism and apartheid. Participants in their thousands signed petitions to the Inter-Governmental Conference urging them to demand the release of Albertina Sisulu and all other political prisoners, and the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime. The peace tent pitched at the Forum was always filled to capacity, as women debated the threats to peace, imperialist aggression, the need for disarmament and the importance of women's participation in the peace movement.

There was unanimity in the condemnation of apartheid and repeated expressions of support

for the ANC and SWAPO. The ANC delegation made a significant contribution to the many workshops, expressing the solidarity of the South African people, and drawing attention to the interdependence of the many issues being debated. Most of the delegation of 30 women were young cadres whose energy, quality, political awareness and enthusiasm pervaded the Forum, leading many participants to remark with some awe, "The ANC is everywhere!"

The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women overlapped the last week of Forum '85 and continued for a week thereafter. Before leaving for Nairobi, Maureen Reagan, leader of the US delegation, had proclaimed her determination to ensure that political issues such as apartheid would not be on the international women's agenda.

On the eve of the World Conference, SWAPO President Sam Nujoma and ANC President Oliver Tambo came to Nairobi to:

"associate ourselves, our organisations and our peoples with the objectives of the Decade and with the urgent demand of one half of the world's population for full and effective equality, for development and peace."

In a joint statement, the Presidents said:

"Apartheid has been declared a crime against humanity, not least because it is a system which totally dehumanises women. In addition to the racial and sexual oppression and exploitation which Namibian and South African women share with their sisters in many other countries, there is in apartheid ideology and practice the additional element of regarding African women as nothing more than the breeders of future generations of exploitable labour."

"As the most structured and institutionalised oppression and exploitation of women existent today, apartheid is an affront to all women, undermining their status everywhere, and is a challenge that must be faced by all those concerned to achieve the objectives of the Decade."

The two Presidents ended their statement with a declaration of the policy of SWAPO and the ANC on the issues before the Conference:

"The women and men in the ranks of SWAPO and the ANC consider the question of the liberation of women and the achievement of the objectives of the Decade as a political issue. We are surprised that there are some who prefer to see the status of women in a vacuum, isolated from the condition of society around them.

"For SWAPO and the ANC, the liberation and equal status of the women of Namibia and South Africa is an intrinsic part of our national liberation struggle.

"On this historic occasion, when the UN decade comes to an end and we look ahead towards the year 2 000, we pledge: that SWAPO and the



Members of the ANC delegation to Forum '85: from left to right, Lindiwe Mabusa, Mavis Nhlapo, Jessica Monare and Ruth Mompoti.

ANC will not consider our objectives achieved, our task completed or our struggle at an end, until the women of South Africa and Namibia are fully liberated."

The preparatory meetings for the World Conference had failed to agree on a strategy document of over 300 paragraphs.* This disagreement was due largely to US intransigence over apartheid, to zionism, to differences over the characterisation of the global economic situation, the factors upon which peace depends, the relationship between peace and development, and the need to implement these strategies within the context of the broader goals and objectives of the new international economic order.

The "Tyranny" of the Majority Vote

Differences over procedure had also remained unresolved. At the United Nations General Assembly some years ago, a US Ambassador had referred disparagingly to the "tyranny" of the majority vote by "third rate countries." Aware that it would be unable to carry international opinion with it, the US suggested that decisions at the World Conference should not be taken by vote but by "consensus," which they interpreted to mean unanimity, thereby claiming a power of veto over all other organisations.

When the World Conference convened in Nairobi on July 15th, it decisively rejected this claim. After lengthy debates and intense negotiation, in the early hours of the morning, an agreed document on strategies for the future was arrived at. On the question of apartheid, the US found itself totally isolated, as eleven paragraphs, including a call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions, were adopted by an overwhelming majority, with only the US vote against.

Countries which had argued against allowing politics to 'interfere' with women's issues did not hesitate to jeopardise the entire conference and frustrate the work of years in order to protect their zionist allies. They threatened to withhold agreement on the entire strategy document and reduce the conference to naught, unless the references to

zionism were deleted. In order to prevent a breakdown of the conference, the PLO accepted with magnanimity a compromise draft.

The Long March to Equality, Development and Peace

At Nairobi, the strategies for overcoming obstacles to the achievement of the objectives of Equality, Development and Peace were focused on the period to the year 2 000. The UN Inventory of the Past Decade, the World Survey of Women's Conditions, based on information submitted by 100 governments, identified the main obstacle to women's advancement in key national sectors as:

"the deeply rooted traditional socio-cultural value system and attitudes which subordinate women and establish stereotyped sex division of roles in society."

Notions of these stereotyped roles underlay the debate about the "intrusion of political issues into women's issues" and had clearly determined the composition of many delegations. This was markedly so amongst the delegations of the countries who argued against the "intrusion of politics." The lone vote against adoption of the section on apartheid was cast by a Black American — male.

Comrade Gertrude Shope, head of the ANC delegation, had put another view:

"The women of South Africa believe that ultimately we will only be able to change our status and conditions when the people seize political power. We reject totally the notion put forward, outside and inside the conference, that politics are best left to men.

"... We will intensify our struggle, we will destroy apartheid and remove the scourge from our continent; so that South African women can join their sisters in the long march to Equality, Development and Peace."

Footnote:

*The document was entitled: *Forward-Looking Strategies of Implementation for the Advancement of Women, and Concrete Measures to Overcome Obstacles to the Achievement of the Goals and Objectives of the United Nations Decade for Women, for the Period 1986 to the Year 2 000: Equality, Development and Peace, A/Conf.116/12.*

THE MOMENT OF REVOLUTION IS NOW — OR NEVER IN OUR LIFETIME

A Discussion Article

By Cassius Mandla

September 1984 was a milestone in a year that had seen a ferment of resistance activity. Thus far resistance had been limited to schools and universities, particularly fought around the demands for students' representative councils in high schools, and the abolition of the age restriction and severe corporal punishment. The straw that broke the camel's back was the announcement by the largely self-styled Lekoa Town Council that it was, with effect from September, increasing rents by R5.60 in the townships under its control. A meeting was organised to examine this exacerbation of the grim plight of the people. As it turned out, it was a meeting that introduced a new dimension into the struggles that had been going on throughout the country.

On the 4th September, the day after the stayaway that had been called to resist the R5.60 — R5.90 rent and electricity hikes, war

broke out between the community and the council, and all those associated with the regime. For weeks thereafter the Vaal Triangle captured world headlines, and before long, the fuse of popular resistance had been lit in other townships. By the second week of the Vaal stayaway, the Release Mandela Committee called its own stayaway in Soweto.

Involved in the resistance in the Vaal Triangle and other townships since September 1984 was an alignment of forces the regime had not been faced with for a long time. There had been stubborn resistance all along, not only since the first quarter of 1984 but since the turn of the decade. But the resistance that was launched by the Vaal Triangle people is salient for the social forces it brought into the battle. From the outset, the people struck with its iron fist, the working class. The totality of the forces deployed to strike a decisive blow for people's



demands were trade union, political, civic, youth and student organisations. These represented a total mobilisation of township forces.

The regime immediately realised that the people had declared war, and lost no time in sending its armed police, who went into an orgy of shooting and killing that tallied at 29 dead and countless injured in just three days.

There have been times when mindless killing by the regime succeeded in beating back popular offensives for freedom, but not so this time. The people answered the ruthlessness of the regime's forces against them with their own mercilessness against those who are part of the colonial system. African policemen, councillors, stool-pigeons and such people got their come-uppance, and learned that theirs was a dangerous walk of life.

Popular action against all individuals and institutions associated with the system that is oppressing the masses marked a qualitatively distinct dimension of the mass struggle. Its establishment as a norm of popular action for freedom — and not an angry deviation by one or other centre of popular resistance — completely defeated the normal paraphernalia of 'riot control.'

The Army Brought in Against Civilians

It long ago became a hobby-horse of the apartheid regime's propaganda to characterise South Africa as an island of peace, prosperity and contentment in a continent of chaos. For this reason, the slightest stirring by the people is suppressed with all the might of the regime before it succeeds in scuppering the myth that all who live under apartheid are content and happy. When popular resistance in the Vaal Triangle proved that it was of such a dimension that it could not be snuffed out by the first few shots of the police with live ammunition, and when, even after the massacre of 29 people in less than a week, it was escalating, the regime could do nothing but deploy its soldiers against the people. Seven thousand soldiers and policemen combed the Vaal Triangle townships in an effort that proved fruitless. The deployment of soldiers

against the unarmed masses only worsened the situation for the regime.

Many townships joined in as the fires of the Vaal grew into a conflagration. The hallmark of this resistance has been the mobile nature of its storm centres. Now it is the Vaal, now the East Rand, another time the Eastern Cape, which is the fiercest theatre of resistance, where new forms of struggle and of repression are used, and back again to where it has ebbed.

Workers In the Front Rank

It was the active involvement of the working class that set this chapter of resistance apart from the popular resistance that had taken place since the beginning of the action-packed eighties. The participation of workers heralded the advent of a new qualitative degree in the resistance.

Leading the confrontation was the Vaal Triangle. Vereeniging, the town in the area, was made to look on a Tuesday as if it were either a holiday or a Sunday, as:

"... White-run factories and businesses in and around Vereeniging ... reported widespread absenteeism among Black employees." (*The Times*, London, 5.9.84)

This marked the beginning of a lightning wave of stayaways in support of civic and political demands that was destined to engender a serious contradiction between the organised extra-parliamentary bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie in parliament. Just as the business moguls in the Vaal Triangle were reeling under this body blow, Johannesburg, the economic nerve centre of the country, came under attack.

As the wildfire of popular resistance that had erupted on September 3rd in the Vaal Triangle gathered national momentum, the Release Mandela Committee in Soweto called a work stayaway on the 17th of the month, hot on the heels of the Vaal workers' sortie against the local tycoons. Here evidence was manifest that the oppressed workers were fast realising the fact that if there must be change, they are the ones who must man the helm of the popular movement for freedom. Having been intended to be a one-day blow, for Monday 17th only, the stayaway was, by and large, still on by

Wednesday. Its petering out was not unrelated to the confusion exacerbated by AZAPO's tendency towards in-fighting in mass resistance politics.

With the settling of the dust after the Soweto stayaway, the travail of the bourgeoisie was still far from over. The workers were still to deal the ruling class body blows come October and November. It was in KwaThema, near Springs, on the 22nd October, that the next blow was delivered.

In search of decisive methods to press for the acceptance of students' demands, a well-attended meeting was held at KwaThema on October 14th. It established a Parent-Student Committee of 20 members. Many of the parents were active luminaries in the trade union movement, like FOSATU president, Chris Dlamini. This is the body that organised what was originally planned to be a double-barrelled assault. The first stayaway was realised on the 22nd of October. On the 29th, if the powers that be remained obdurate, the second chapter was to be opened. However, the groundswell that had built up from the series of local stay aways obeyed other laws. Enough momentum had been gathered to result in a leap to a greater quality.

The Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee (TRSC) emerged. Then, on November 5th-6th, a Transvaal Regional Stayaway was realised. It was a gigantic working-class movement against colonial oppression. 80% effectiveness was recorded in unionised factories in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area.

By this time the toll in dead, injured and detained for the year was chilling. 1064 were known to have been detained, among them 14 UDF leaders, 31 COSAS members, 41 trade union leaders and 60 community leaders. There had also been mass arrests of mourners at funerals, 'illegal' gatherings and educational institutions, and during police-army joint operations in townships. Well over 1 284 people were victimised in this way. (*News Briefing* No 48, 1984, cover.)

Defiance of Apartheid Authority

As the popular mood for resistance reached

fever pitch, and grew from strength to strength, the apartheid regime tried every means of suppression in the encyclopaedia of oppression: arrests, tear-gas, birdshot, live ammunition, police, army, banning of meetings, house-to-house searches, road blocks — not a single trick was considered unimportant.

The people responded with defiance of everything that could have proved an impediment to the expression of their opposition to oppression. Meetings were banned, but the people attended them; when restrictions on funerals were imposed, they were violated — as in the case of the banned funeral of Joseph Sithole at Sebokeng in September, and that of COSAS leader Bon gani Khumalo in Soweto. At some stages, a situation of authority pitted against authority developed, for example:

"In the main street leading from Evaton to Zone 4, Sebokeng, two road blocks were set up, one by youths, one by police ..." (*The Star*, 17.9.84.)

All the might of the apartheid regime could not rein in the liberation activity of the risen masses. They defied its authority, harried its stooges, crus'ned its dummy institutions and dared its army.

Liberation of Townships

From the perspective of underground activity, a very important factor is the systematic assault on, and elimination of, policemen resident in the townships, stooges and informers. By the time the resistance had been going on for a year of uninterrupted pitched battles, many of the townships affected had been liberated from many forms of colonial authority, be it the 'innocent' presence of off-duty policemen resident in the townships, the councillors who stooge for the conquerors, or the hole-and-corner activity of *izimpimpi* (sell-out) stool-pigeons. This means that the masses have created some form of free zones in which underground activity by the liberation movement can be carried out minus some of the stubborn problems that normally dog it. They have helped solve to a significant degree the question of guerrilla survival.

As regards the Lekoa Town Council, which

lorded it over the Vaal Triangle people until the September Movement, it was reported at one stage that people were referring to it as a 'government in exile,' for it was now out of its offices, accommodated in special quarters enclosed in barbed wire and patrolled by a phalanx of heavily armed guards.

Life in the townships is no longer like it was before. It is interesting to imagine how it feels to live and move around there, in liberated townships in which maintaining order means turning them into undeclared operational areas. Here collaborators and informers live in fear of petrol, either as petrol bombs being hurled at their homes and reducing them to rack and ruin, or as petrol dousing their treacherous bodies which are set alight and burned to a charred and despicable mess. No longer is it just lucrative and safe to commit unspeakable acts of treachery against the people; selling out under cover of innocence, and life being all beer and skittles. Lucrative it still is to sell out, but it carries the immediate hazard of having one's flesh and bones being reduced to unidentifiable ashes.

For the first time since the establishment of township dummy bodies, the apartheid regime has experienced mass resignations of its puppets. A different will holds sway, a popular will. The will of the regime can now only be asserted through a total mobilisation of all its repressive apparatus, the South African Police, the Railways Police, the army, magistrates who ban meetings and so on, and all the repressive legal instruments at the disposal of the Minister of Law and Order. The country is ablaze, the people ungovernable, apartheid law and order a rankling memory.

However the situation is analysed, this is a moment of truth, a revolutionary flashpoint.

'Black Christmas'

The pace for 1985 was set over what in different circumstances is called the festive season. This season came at a time when the people were emerging from tough confrontations with the oppressors. To forget the battle and its casualties for the festivities at the end of the year was correctly seen as something that would constitute a tactical blunder and



People demonstrate their anger — Youths set fire to a police car.

which could not be countenanced. The resistance had to forge ahead. December 16th-26th was declared:

"... a time of self-sacrifice to strengthen solidarity."

Christmas was declared a Black Christmas, as:

"... a demonstration of solidarity with families whose loved ones died and those who were maimed or detained." (*The Star*, 13.12.84.)

It was not just a period of mourning or a consumer boycott. It was a continuation of popular resistance. On Christmas Eve and on Christmas Day, running battles were fought with the police in the areas of the resistance. Over the New Year holiday, the Eastern Cape, Vaal Triangle and the East Rand were scenes of confrontation.

Having been ushered in by fierce mass battles, 1985 was to prove to be another year of unbroken popular resistance and vain attempts on the part of the apartheid regime to put paid to it. By mid-year, the tally of dead was past the 400 mark; on average 50 a month for the period from January. By this time, also, suppressing the resistance had become the full-time job of the army, over and above the SA Police and the Railways Police.

Worker involvement continued. A 'black week-end' was observed in the Eastern Cape in March. It was spearheaded by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation. Workers stayed away from work. The stayaway was put at 100% in effectiveness. Workers were again in action in May, following the brutal murder in police hands of trade unionist Andries Raditsela. FOSATU called on workers in the Transvaal to take a day off. In other parts of the country a two-hour stoppage was observed. Other stoppages and stayaways were undertaken for similar reasons. On the whole, response was invariably positive.

On the side of repression, meetings of up to 28 organisations were forbidden in nearly a score of magisterial districts for three months, starting from March. Several people were murdered in detention: Andries Raditsela, Siphon Mutsi, Bheki Mvulane were among the victims. A notorious Latin American syn-

drome, pitchforked into the South African scene claimed several victims. This is an Argentine-style, unaccounted-for disappearance of opponents of the regime, and luminaries in the popular resistance movement. Siphon Hashe, Qaqawuli Godolozzi, Sparrow Mkhonto, Matthew Goniwe and Fort Calata disappeared into thin air. In the case of Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto and Fort Calata, they were to reappear as dead men.

No Point in Turning Back

All the signs are there that popular resistance, which had taken a new turn of intensity in September 1984, was being regarded by the apartheid-colonial regime as a war of attrition with no holds barred. In so far as the regime was concerned, no rules applied when it came to what means to employ to decisively put the kibosh on this popular insurgence. For their part, the people were increasingly learning from the very practice of resistance that there was no point in turning back. The cost of the resistance in lives lost and bodies maimed made it imperative that it be fought conclusively, that no price be too high to pay in carrying the resistance on, and no repressive measure be too daunting to justify a retreat.

A number of enemy hangers-on were attacked with grenades, just towards the end of the first half of the year. Suddenly, grenades became the standard weapon of mass resistance, and their appearance dangerously turned the odds against the lackeys and African policemen. It had by now become usual for community councillors to be in possession of dangerous firearms. They had on many occasions shot their way to safety when the people were after them. For some time it seemed as if they would gain the upper hand, and prevent the rump community councils from suffering total destruction at the hands of the popular masses. This was not to happen; grenades turned the odds against them. Every day seemed to claim its police victim or other collaborator.

We have not witnessed in living memory our country being a constantly boiling cauldron of unbroken, ever escalating mass battles. We have had bitter battles in 1976-77, and in 1980.

And each year since the eighties began has registered fierce battles on one or other front. Schools and universities have been paralysed, the annual tally of strikes rises with every year. But today we are witnessing a popular insurgence without precedent in modern times. Townships are theatres of war, where women going to work are run over by armoured cars. We are at an historical crossroads! These are some of the indicators.

The present is a time when the oppressed, from all walks of life, of all ages and hues, have stormed into the front stage of the political scene. At the commemoration of June 16th at Alexandra Township, about 100 boys of between 10 and 12 years of age were present as participants. When revolutionary songs were sung, they sang and danced to the rhythm of the songs, like warriors. When one woman asked why they were at such a solemn occasion, and not outside playing soccer or other children's games, they replied:

"We are cadres of the struggle. Besides, how can you play soccer on June 16th?" (*The Star*, 25.6.85.)

Writing about the situation at Bongoletu township at Oudtshoorn in June 1985, the *Cape Times* said:

"Six-year-old children carry stones and give Black Power salutes."

If all this is meaningless — for children can be indoctrinated, or they can imitate without understanding — then we have to be told why, in character and scope, the present resistance is off the beaten track. What we see from this is evidence that a revolutionary mood pervades all ages and classes among the oppressed. Children are learning revolutionary songs not from the creches but from life in the townships, which is the life of a people living under the heel of a foreign army of occupation and engaging in acts of resistance.

The *Cape Times* report continues:

"In the past, only the youth took part in community action. Now, all the older people are involved as well. The demands of the people are really global. They are dissatisfied with the whole system."

This is not a popular movement against this or that irritant suffered under oppression. It is a global movement, it is a movement against the whole system; hence the single-mindedness with which it has been waged. It is not a movement of the youth or students. It is a popular movement for freedom; hence its titanic scope.

Total Mobilisation

Total mobilisation of the means at the disposal of the people is another characteristic of this resistance. Strikes, consumer boycotts, petrol bombs, acid bombs, class boycotts, whatever, all were used.

Then, for the first time in 25 years, what was officially called a State of Emergency was declared, just as the second half of the year began. It was in fact martial law. The regime had perpetrated a lot of crimes, in the form of murders of people in townships and detention, without martial law. In its calculations, it was counting more on the psychological impact of the open declaration of martial law. Another dimension is that the killings and detentions had been of such a magnitude that for the Reagans of this world to have even the slightest pretext to continue 'constructively engaging,' the usual carnage had to continue under an internationally recognised licence.

But this time the regime was faced with a preternatural popular resistance movement! Martial law did not stem the tide of resistance. The regime itself passed a vote of no confidence on its own martial law, when, on the 28th August, it announced the banning of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS). This constituted an ill augury for other legal organisations, especially those under the UDF. The banning of COSAS came on the day of what could have proved a cyclopean event in the year-long resistance, the march to Pollsmoor to present a message of solidarity to Comrade Nelson Mandela and other leaders incarcerated there, and to demand their release. The march did take place, but the regime mustered the last man in its forces of oppression to prevent its reaching Pollsmoor.



Barricades in the streets of Cape Town.

The Main Lessons

■ An outstanding lesson of this determined popular resistance is that revolutionary activity whose scope does not extend beyond the Black township is a misdirected blow. It does not hit the established order at its soft spots.

The townships are not the weak links, rather they are ramparts of the *status quo*, like the bantustans. No strategic or significant government or economic installations are in the townships. There are only administrative boards, community councils, minor police stations and magistrates' courts. There are no businesses under ASSOCOM, FCI or AHI, the destruction of whose businesses can make political heads roll.

Township upheavals reach the attention of White households through television screens, the radio and newspapers. This is the way Whites come to know of Beirut car bombs or Israeli invasions of Lebanon and the carnage that accompany them. There is no sense of immediacy. Soweto, New Brighton, Alexandra Township and so on are as far from Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg as Beirut is, since

events there all come through the television screens, radio news and newspapers. To shake the regime, Soweto must come to Johannesburg, New Brighton to Port Elizabeth, KwaNobuhle to Uitenhage. Not only the businesses of NAFCOC, but also those of ASSOCOM, FCI and AHI, must go up in smoke.

■ A growing number of the oppressed have come to realise that they are the ones who have to bring to pass the revolutionary transformation that all agree is their only salvation. They have decided that no price is too high to pay for this transformation.

■ If freedom is to come any time sooner, mass action and armed struggle must act like the lower and upper jaw in their activity against the regime. None must lag, but each must do its level best. The present mass action has by far outpaced armed struggle and armed propaganda. Armed propaganda at a time when the masses are stoning Casspir armoured vehicles is an anachronism. It must be war on both sides.

■ Workers are the iron fist of popular resistance. Their blow strikes at the basis of the *status quo*. All three major commercial houses — ASSOCOM, FCI, AHI — have openly chided their parliamentary representatives for their ineptitude in handling the blazing popular resistance. For mass revolutionary action to make its impact on the White heartland and rock its boat, the working class is the medium.

A Rare Moment

A clear message has been emblazoned in blood by the popular masses on the wall for all revolutionaries who don't play ostrich to read. If the revolution doesn't take place now, it will not be they who were found wanting when the moment was ripe. For their part they have demonstrated with one year of unremitting pitched battles that they want revolution now.

Our formula for freedom has been spelled out on the hammer and anvil joint action of the vanguard revolutionary alliance under the stewardship of the African National Congress, and united mass action. We have witnessed for a whole year sustained mass onslaughts against the enemy, that have reached fever-pitch with every cruel blow against the people that the bloodstained apartheid regime has unleashed. As a result of these blows, the regime has been rendered punch-drunk. Only a *coup de grace* of the hammer blows of the revolutionary alliance stands between us and freedom. The rare moment of an across-the-board generalised popular agitation is in manifestation. For many revolutions this has proved an elusive ingredient to come by. In ours also it has been the same.

The moment of the revolution is now or never in our lifetime. We have witnessed in the past year nothing but stubborn effort by the masses to back-hand the ball into our court. It now squarely rests there. Yesterday's approaches must be broken with and be discarded. They threaten to let a rare moment slip through our hands. We are in a time of daring

decisions and actions, not 'clever' calculations that cost more than the revolution.

There is one exigent fact that must inform our activities at this historical turning point: that anything can happen to what is at present a boiling cauldron of popular resistance to colonial subjugation. It can peter out or grow into a national insurrection. Its petering out will be a lost moment for freedom fighters. The result could be a pervasive political stasis whose striking feature is intense popular demoralisation, and the development of myths among those involved in the resistance that there is nothing they can do to redress the state of affairs. There is a precedent for this in the living memory of our struggle. The turbulent and action-packed decade of the fifties that produced the Freedom Charter and other wonders was followed by pervasive demoralisation and loss of faith in mass political action. This followed the banning of the ANC. In this way, the sixties have gone down in history as a halcyon decade for the oppressors.

Further afield, the revolutionary tremors of 1905-1907 that produced the soviets in Russia, once suppressed, postponed the victory of the revolution by more than a decade. It took an upheaval of global proportions — the First World War — to restore the initiative to the masses. It is an often-ignored lesson of history that, although in oppressed and exploited societies a revolution is inevitable, it is nonetheless not in a hurry. A revolution is a patient phenomenon. It does not care a straw about being procrastinated by generations. The people want it now, they want it dripping with their heroic blood.

A critically urgent demand of the present situation is for the unarmed mass battles that have raged without cessation in the last year to be synchronised with co-ordinated, stunning armed blows against the enemy's armed personnel and installations. In the present political climate at home and abroad, a month of sustained such armed action may well prove to be the long-awaited abracadabra for the dawn of freedom in South Africa.

OBITUARY

Florence Mophosho 1921-1985

With the death of Comrade Florence Mophosho in Lusaka, on Women's Day, August 9th, 1985, the ANC lost one of its most stout-hearted and able fighters.

Comrade Florence was born in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, the first of three children, in 1921. Her father was ill, and her mother — who had trained as a teacher — worked as a domestic worker. Because of the need to help her mother bring up the younger children, Florence left school at Standard Six and went to work, first as a domestic worker and later in a factory.

'Domestic work' in South Africa is akin to imprisonment: long working hours, no free time (except Sunday afternoon), no access to anybody (even your children are not supposed to be with you), nobody knows how you live, the 'madam' knows you as 'Jane' or 'Jemima.'

But life is not static. It changes. Small incidents or historical events can have such an impact that communities or individuals change. The Defiance Campaign in 1952 was such an event. Inspired by the Defiance Campaign, she joined the ANC. She was inspired first by the leaders of Alexandra Township, and this included Alfred Nzo and T T Nkobi. As she became more involved in the ANC she met other leaders — Moses Kotane, Moretsele, J B Marks, O R Tambo, Nelson Mandela and others.

She helped to organise for the Congress of the People, which adopted the Freedom Charter. She took part in a house-to-house campaign in Alexandra, talking to people and listening to them. She contributed in eliciting the demands of the people, which were later incorporated in the Freedom Charter.

Later, she became a full-time organiser for the ANC, and took part in many of the campaigns of that time. They are so many we cannot list them all. She was active in the women's



Comrade Florence Mophosho

movement. She organised in Alexandra for the Transvaal demonstrations against passes for African women, and was involved in the mobilisation for the great nation-wide anti-pass women's demonstration on August 9th, 1956. She organised domestic workers, and later she organised in the rural areas, including Lichtenburg.

In 1957, she was a member of the Alexandra Bus Boycott Committee. The repercussions of this boycott were felt far beyond the boundaries of the Transvaal province. This was before the 1960 State of Emergency, and before the ANC was banned. During the State of Emergency in 1960, Florence Mophosho went underground and continued to work as an organiser for the ANC. In the course of her work as an ANC stalwart — or as a hard-liner, as Comrade Nkobi, during the funeral orations, described her — she was arrested a number of times. In 1964, she was banned.

She was instructed by the ANC to leave South Africa, and she went to Lusaka and later

to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It was at this time that the ANC and its Women's Section decided to send her to Berlin, German Democratic Republic, to represent the Women's Section at the Women's International Democratic Federation, and she remained at that post for four and a half years.

An Internationalist

She met many women from all over the world. She compared their lives with those of her Black sisters right back home. She developed to be an internationalist — and of course she travelled to many countries on behalf of the Women's International Democratic Federation. She spoke at numerous public meetings in the German Democratic Republic, held radio and TV interviews, and helped to strengthen the relations between the GDR — especially the women's organisation — and the ANC.

At the time when Florence was in the GDR there were many problems — the Vietnam War, the students' uprisings in Western Europe and America and the developments in Latin America, not to speak about our military operations in Wankie and other areas in Zimbabwe, and the emergence of Black Consciousness in South Africa.

She helped to give guidance to the ANC students in the GDR, and by so doing exercised her leadership role. She had developed these qualities in South Africa, when she was a member of the Executive of the Federation of South African Women.

She was a delegate to the famous Morogoro Conference in 1969, where she discussed problems of our revolution and our strategy with both leaders and rank and file of the ANC. At the conference she met people she knew already, and those she did not know. The angry mood at the conference reinforced her conviction that "we must be on a war path" — as she used to say. It was partly because of her experiences at the conference that she came to the conclusion that her role was in Africa. She returned in the early seventies.

On her return she headed the Women's Section and, in appreciation of her commitment, sacrifice and fiery spirit, she was elected in 1975 to the National Executive Committee of the ANC. As a member of the NEC she did her best to upgrade the women cadres in our movement, and helped to put the Women's Section on a higher pedestal.

She combined in an excellent way the struggle for women's rights with the national liberation struggle, without losing the immediate perspective that the main content of our struggle at the present moment is the national liberation of the Africans and all Blacks, and the social emancipation of all South Africans — Black and White — and all other problems fall into place in that context. Not that women's liberation has to wait for that; the struggle for women's liberation, today and now, is part of the overall struggle. There is no contradiction in this. The two reinforce each other, and are part and parcel of our anti-imperialist drive.

These were the ideas of Florence Mophosho, which she learned from the ANC, while at the same time developing herself in her practical experience in the course of the mobilisation of domestic workers, and in her international work at the Women's International Democratic Federation.

In recognition of her contribution to our struggle, the ANC Conference in June 1985 elected her to the NEC of the ANC. Sadly, the illness she was suffering from at the time of the conference was one from which she did not recover. She died on August 9th — an important date in her life, and in that of our struggle.

At the funeral hundreds of mourners converged and numerous messages of condolence from all over the world were read. The family came from home. And the ANC leaders — President O R Tambo, T T Nkobi, S Dlamini, D Tloome, Chris Hani, Ray Simons — paid tribute to this *Iqhawe lama Qhawe* — the hero of heroes.

The ANC dips its flag for this fallen heroine. We shall take up the fallen spear and continue where she has left off.

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MANDELA AND THE ANC LEAD THE PEOPLE

