

### Campaigns:

Different organisations / individuals are planning campaigns next year. They are Tutu, Cosatu, Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee. Tutu has given South Africa 6 months to put its house in order or he will call for sanctions. COSATU has threatened an anti pass campaign. P.E. Committee intends to organise a national consumer boycott in 4 months time.

These organisations and persons should be approached to pool their efforts together to call a national consumer boycott and stay away for a week or for some days next year. COSATU should be an integral part of the planning and execution. Azapo X should also be approached. The situation in Natal will need some special attention - as it is bound to end in a blood bath with Inkatha. How can we prevent this happening?

May Day celebrations should be utilised as part of the preparatory stage of the campaign.

X MK's armed attacks should be planned to have the maximum effect during this period.

### Bantustans:

While our aim is to organise in all Bantustans our limitations lead to the following suggestions which has been <sup>made</sup> ~~and~~ before.

We concentrate our forces ( internally and externally) on a particular Bantustan to attack for maximum effect and then withdraw to their respective bases, preferably within South Afruca.

SADF and SAP will rush in and occupy the Bantustan, thus stretching their resources further.

Even after our forces have withdrawn, enemy personnell will not withdraw totally.

Other such attacks on Bantustans will stretch enemy personnell even further.



Perhaps this indicates that this supposedly 'strong' enemy will not be strong for too long. There <sup>that</sup> ~~is~~ an escalated and sustained attack on enemy personnell and government officers will dramatically break <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ backbone within a short period *(in a historical sense)*.



in some areas it ably made transition to working under conditions of the State of Emergency, in others, it has barely managed to function.

The withdrawal of Treason charges against 12 of its national leaders will enable it to repair some of the damages it suffered and consolidate gains made on the other fronts.

The underground movement, despite enemy manoeuvres, to cut it off from the Frontline states, have survived; grown and doubled the armed attacks on the regime. The nature of the targets of our armed attacks is changing from sabotage to hitting enemy personnell.

The underground movement is facing increasingly favourable circumstances. Our people are ready to fight. They are demanding ~~arms from MK.~~ *and arms*.

Naturally in our march forward, there have been many things left undone, many weaknesses and failures:

- a. The mass upsurge has developed unevenly. Some urban areas and mosr rural areas have lagged behind. This has enabled the enemy to contain the upsurge within the townships.
- b. While significantly, large sections of our people are ready to join armed struggle, MK has not been able to organise, train and arm them in sufficiently large numbers.
- c. Political work within the enemy's armed forces are negligible. Any serious revolutionary knows that without fracturing the enemy camp at the decisive moment, vistory of the liberation forces will be that much bloodier and harder to achieve.
- d. Tension and misunderstanding between trade union leadership and politically, community and youth organisations remain. They have surfaced during the stayaways and the consumer boycotts.
- e. Self defense groups are still in the infancy stage of their development. They have not been able to protect



### Programme

1986 will be the 10th anniversary of the uprisings and the 25th anniversary of the foundation of MK. In keeping with this and the conclusion of this analysis, we should be calling for and unfolding a people's war.

Our propaganda should recall the struggles of our heroes Sekukuni, Chaka Bambata and the heroes of MK and urge our people, and our combatants to heroic attacks on the enemy.

At the underground level we need:

- a. Consolidate and extend the APMC's throughout the country, to lead activities, political and military in a given area.
- b. Train and arm combatants and propagandists inside the country and from <sup>INSIDE</sup> ~~outside~~ sources.
- c. Recruiting and forming underground cells of workers on the factory floor.
- d. Making a determined effort to win over sections of the enemy forces.
- e. Attack enemy personnell.

At the mass level:

- Consolidate organisation in the urban areas.
- Extend to the rural areas.
- Recruit workers into the leadership of our mass organisations.
- Encourage and strengthen self defense groups.
- Strengthen ties with trade unions.
- Organise the White community
- Set up legal propaganda groups.
- Escalate the struggle against the Indian, Coloured and Bantustan leaders.

### ZCC and Inkatha.

- Pay particular attention to both these organisations undermine their leadership, win over their members.

### Campaigns.



March 1985

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF FR MKHATSHWA

Fr Smangalis Mkhathshwa grew up in Barberton, East Transvaal. He was ordained a priest in 1965 and in 1970 was seconded to the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference in Pretoria. In 1973 he received a Baccalauriat in Philosophy and a Master's in Dogmatic Theology from Louvain University in Belgium.

Fr. Smangalis was a good friend of Steve Biko and worked closely with him, at one time holding the post of Secretary Treasurer of the Black Consciousness Movement. He was first arrested by the security police in August 1976 and detained until the end of the year.

On 4th June 1977 Fr. Mkhathshwa was served with a five year banning order. This meant that he was confined to a Magisterial District in Pretoria, could not be quoted, could not meet with more than one person at a time, was harrassed weekly by the police and severely limited in his pastoral ministry. He was detained without trial again, at Modderbee prison, from October 1977 until March 1978.

In 1981, while still banned, he was made the first black Secretary General of the SACBC. He was rebanned for a further 3 years in 1983 but the order was lifted after 2 months under new security legislation.

Fr. Mkhathshwa was arrested most recently by the security police at Fort Hare in the Ciskei in 30 October 1983. He was detained without charge or trial until 10th February 1984 when he appeared in court charged with subversion, incitement to public violence and addressing an unlawful meeting. He remained in custody and was again brought to court on 7th March 1984. On 8th March the judge ruled that there was no case to be answered and Fr. Mkhathshwa was acquitted and released.



The confederal / federal dispensation is doomed to failure.

#### Developments among the Blacks

Our people right across the country, mostly barehanded, some with primitive weapons are fighting the SADF and the SAP with the confidence of those who know they are winning and who are prepared to die and who are prepared to kill. In running battles since Sept. last year (1984) hundreds of patriots have been murdered. In turn Black policemen, collaborators and informers are being driven out of the townships. The Community Council system of administration has collapsed. A State of emergency was declared and our townships are occupied.

A rich experience of struggle is being gained. Mobilising and organising under a State of Emergency, protecting the mass leaders from fascist attacks, stayaways and consumer boycotts; negotiating with the Chambers of Commerce, local authorities, and officers of the SADF and the SAP.

In many instances, the representatives of capital, hard hit by consumer boycotts have intervened on the side of the masses, demanding the release of detainees, the withdrawal of the SADF etc.

The politicisation and organisation of the working class has reached a significant point.

COSATU, the non racial federation of trade unions has been launched with a membership of  $\frac{1}{2}$  million. COSATU has committed itself to:

Disinvestment

One man, one vote in a unitary state.

Nationalisation of the mines

'Anti capitalists struggle for freedom' .

Elijah Barayi has already threatened an anti pass campaign and a refusal to pay taxes and rent.

The statement of COSATU leaders suggest that it will be involved in the political struggles to a greater extent than FOSATU, GWU and Food and Canning.

The State of Emergency and other repressive measures has taken its full toll on the United Democratic Front. Many of its leaders have been killed, detained; others, awaiting trial; yet others have been forced underground or into exile. But it has survived ;



the leaders of the mass movement.

f. i There are different trends within Cosatu including an Anti Congress one. At the same time, the pro SACTU<sup>unions</sup> have gone into COSATU, with grave suspicions about FOSATU, GWU and FOOD and Canning.

ii Azactu and CUSA remain outside COSATU

Much work remains to be done to unify the trade union movement and to strengthen its links with the mass democratic movement.

g. Violent attacks between Azapo and the UDF and between Inkatha and between different national groups have given the enemy respite.

h. While most community councils have been rendered useless, the Bantustan regimes and the Indian and Coloured parliaments remain intact

i. Weak organisation has allowed some of the youth to rob and assault our people in the name of the mass democratic movement.

#### The weakening of the enemy and the next step.

We can sense a weakening in the enemy at long last. His camp is divided. His Black followers are evaporating. His international friends are pressurizing him. Even the international bankers demand political changes.

All his tinkering with apartheid satisfies nobody. He invades the townships with the SADF. The SADF is now embroiled in war at the borders and in the townships and have not succeeded in quelling the militancy of our people. He has played his last card.

The economy is in shambles. There is no prospect of upturn in the next few years. There is a brain drain. His manpower resources are stretched. . .

Yet all these pressure on the regime are indirect. Even the ungovernable townships are an indirect pressure. At best we have succeeded in destroying the enemy's administration within the township.



Notwithstanding the above, the forces of liberation must guard against capital and a host of liberals who are now seeking to dictate the pace of change. They pursue their own interests. It is to keep South Africa free for the monopolies and the transnationals.

Thirdly, there are the small signals that there are differences within the Cabinet and within the police and army on how to respond to the challenges, both politically and how to contain the upsurge in the townships and the ANC.

We cannot make much of this now, except to say that the escalating struggle will sharpen and deepen the differences.

### Reforms

More than any other government, P.W.'s government has recognised that it cannot rule in the old way. But its reforms have been limited by the rightwing which is growing stronger. The reforms are <sup>quickly</sup> ~~quietly~~ outstripped by the growing militant demands of the masses. The recognition of Black Trade unions, Changes in Black education, 99 year lease agreement, Community Councils, the tricameral parliament, the new property rights, abolition of bars to mixed marriages, <sup>the South African citizenship for all,</sup> have done nothing to stem or divert the masses.

In earlt February 1986, PW is expected to announce for another dispensation, a confederal / feral system which may allow regional arrangements to accomodate solutions of the Kwa Natal type. Buthehzi himself has responded cautiously, saying that he will not involve himself in 'any simulation of dialogue' while some Black leaders were in jail

In the present time, the militant masses are demanding one man one vote in a unitary state, while even capital and other liberal forces are demanding the abolition of apartheid, unbanning of the Anc and negotiations with the ANC.



Photostat

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10 copies

President

17. 12. 1985.

This paper will attempt to sketch the main features of this period. We look more particularly at the internal developments. We base our outlook on the favourable objective conditions, without delving into it.

A broad proposed Programme is added as an addendum to this paper.



### Divisions within the Racist regime:

The ANC has consistently held that the white group is not a monolithic group. Events over the past years have shown the cleavages that exist and continue to deepen.

But what is significant about the present time?

1. In the words of Tony Heard:

" Now there are signs that the emergency notwithstanding the non-governmental sector is asserting itself in the interests of the land, in moves which bypass the govt., creating a bridgehead for peace.

A group of white women protest in Soweto. Top business people defy the government and visit the ANC, Afrikaner students and dominees at least try to do the same.....

The stirring that is going on eclipses the government. It is a South Africa asserting its inherent strength and demonstrating that it is bigger than the government. ".

Tony Heard omits the activities of the ECC; and the anti apartheid Jewish organisation and the Fun Run and the meeting of the dominees and students with the ANC, which occurred after Tony Heard's statement.

We may take issue that all these moves are " in the interests of this land" - some are in the interests of international and national capital. .

Nevertheless Heard puts his finger on an important development:

That whilst the government dithers, non-governmental sectors of the White group are taking the initiatives. We should include in these initiatives the Kwa Natal and Cape solutions.

This development is the result of the seeming paralysis of the government in the face of escalation of our struggle on all our fronts. And indeed these initiatives itself further isolate the government. and erode the confidence of many Whites .

The consequence is that the government is becoming



increasingly isolated; not only internationally, but also nationally. Not just from the Black population, but from an increasing number of Whites, who have lost faith in the governments ability to resolve the unrest, or as in the case of the right wing, a government which is not able to maintain the status quo.

At the same time the Anc has been strengthened directly in the process. Some of these non-governmental groups recognise the ANC, at least as an essential component of the 'peace process' and are calling for its unbanning; the release of political prisoners and for Botha's govt. to meet with the ANC.

### The role of capital.

International capital and Western governments are coming under intense pressure to disinvest and boycott South Africa. So much so, that even Thatcher and Reagan have agreed on mild sanctions to mild sanctions to stave off greater demands.

The South African economy has been in crisis from 1976 - almost unbroken. Capital has begun to leave South Africa and international bankers called in all their loans, which South Africa could not meet. International bankers are demanding reforms in South Africa before they can reschedule South Africa's debts

South African capital, sensitive to International pressure and the developing revolutionary situation are taking initiatives to accelerate reform with the aim of accomodating and containing the revolutionary forces and easing international pressure for sanctions.

Besides meeting the ANC, capital has sent many delegates to several Western governments; supported the National Convention movement negotiated with consumer boycotters and supports the call for the lifting of the State of emergency, unbanning of the ANC and release of political prisoners.

We can say that the divisions within the White group are widening as we advance, that capital, a pillar of the regime finds its interests are not being served by the government of the day and is looking beyond the government.

Objectively, the situation weakens the government and erodes confidence in it and is therefore advantageous to the forces of liberation.