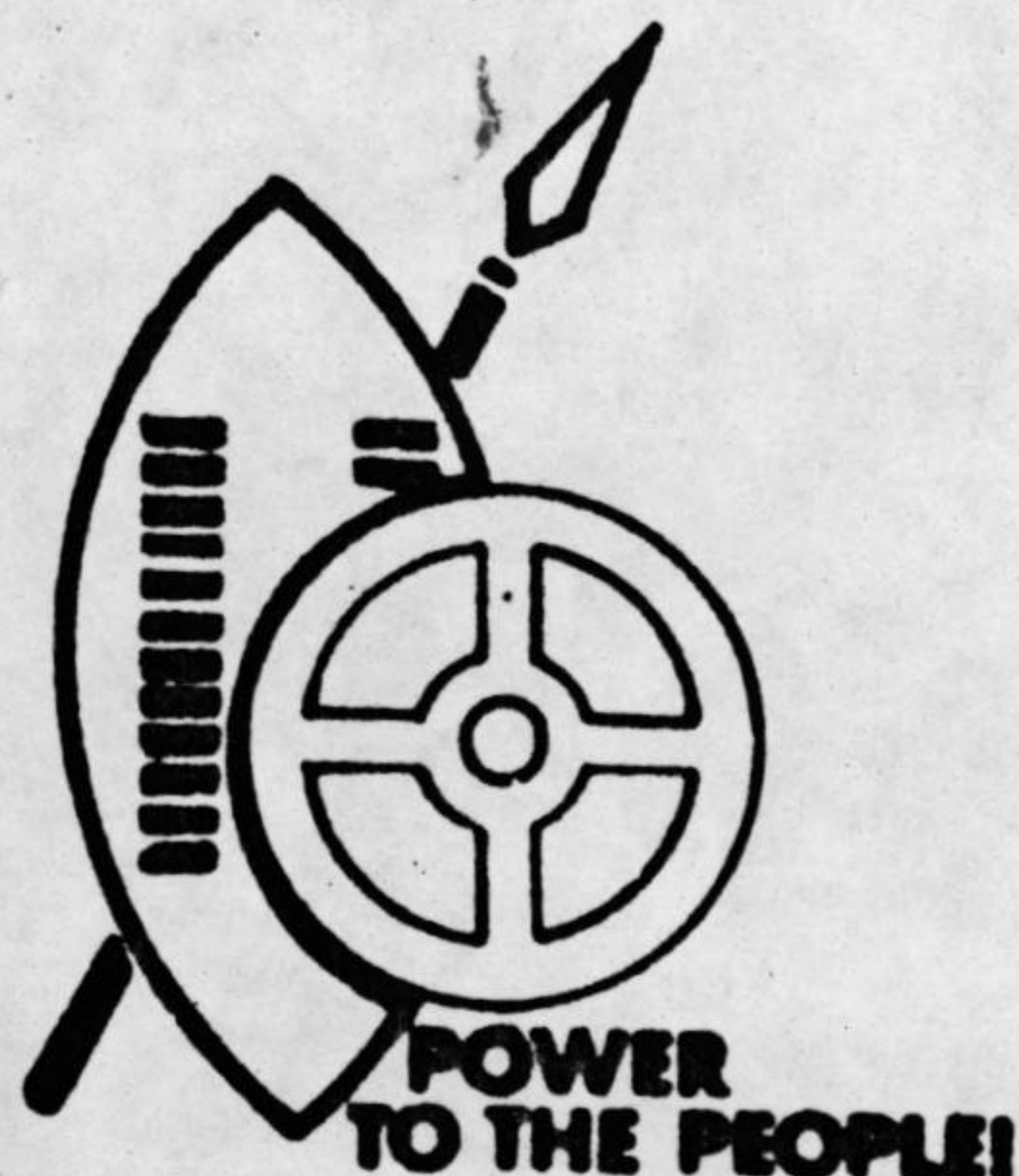


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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION
P.O. Box 31791, Lusaka, Zambia. Telephone 217665

Rec 5/5/88

CIRCULAR

TO: ALL RPCs, CHIEF REPRESENTATIVES, DEPARTMENTS,
SECTIONS OF THE MOVEMENT AND SACTU.

Dear Comrades,

We are now in the process of collecting names of candidates for political studies in socialist countries.

We request that you now select your candidates and submit to us the names of those whom you have chosen for consideration. We must trust your judgement and believe that you will attend to deserving and promising comrades.

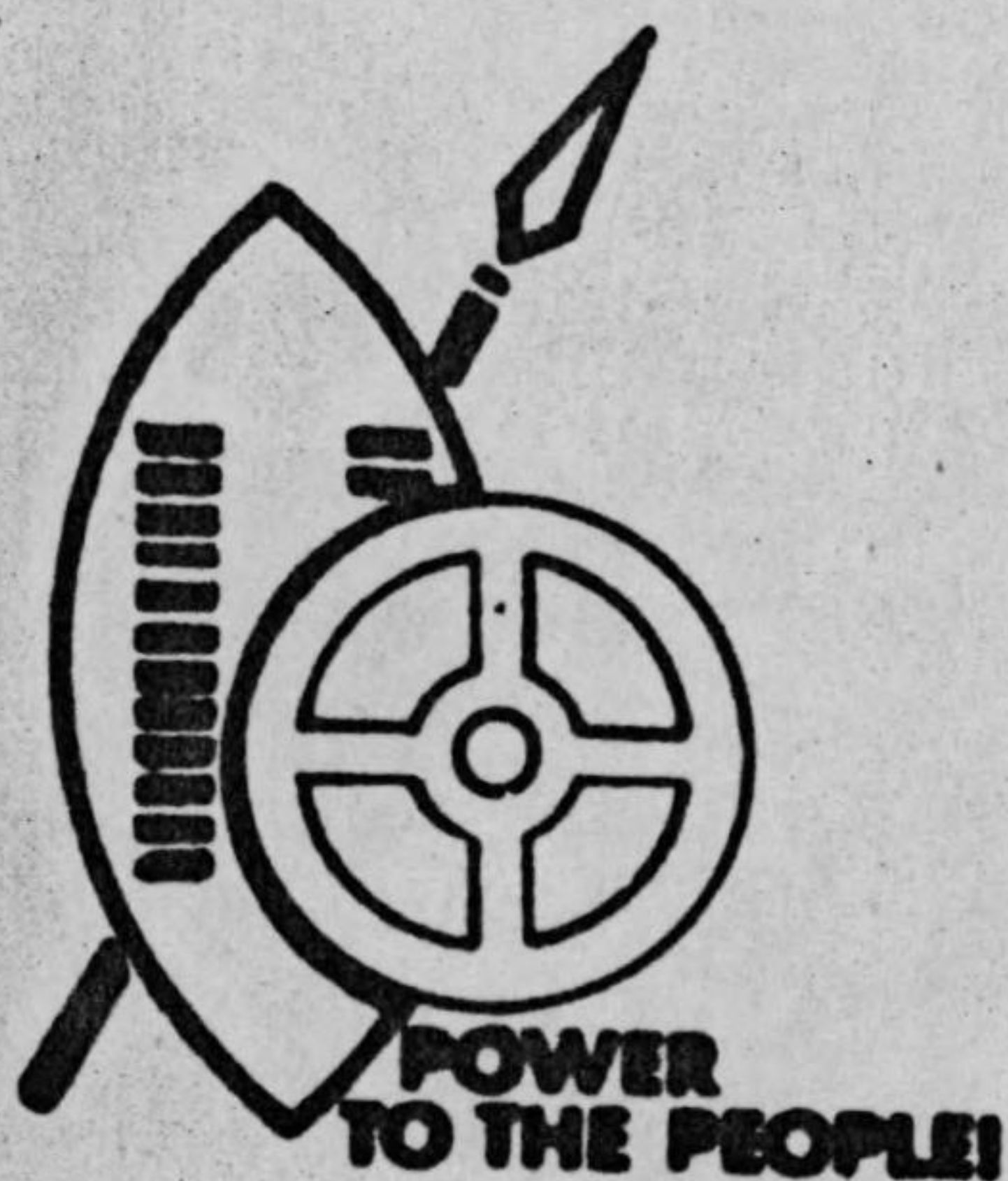
For practical reasons, we shall need the names by **MONDAY, APRIL 18, 1988.**

Amandla! Matla!

REG SEPTEMBER

Secretary

Lusaka, March 18, 1988.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION
P.O. Box 31791, Lusaka, Zambia. Telephone 216263

Our Ref: B2/ 1988

Your Ref:

Rpe

MAY DAY - LET THE PEOPLE SPEAK!

Introduction

Workers of the world have an annual date of national and international solidarity - MAY DAY.

For more than a century, May 1 has been the rallying point of workers of all countries to demand an end to exploitation, for international working class solidarity and to call for a just and peaceful world. The struggles waged around and for MAY DAY has everywhere been written in blood on the pages of working class history.

In South Africa, the first MAY DAY demonstration was held as far back as 1895, organised by the Johannesburg District Trades Council. Gradually, MAY DAY meetings extended to other centres so that in most years of this century, workers in one part of the country or another have organised and demonstrated on this day of solidarity between workers of the world. The history of MAY DAY is a record of the labour movement. It is a date born in the crucible of class struggle and reflects the many great events that form part of our tradition.

The Origins of MAY DAY

MAY DAY was born out of the struggles of workers in the imperialist heartland - the United States of America. On May 1, 1886, more than 380 000 workers, employed in over 11 000 factories stopped work to demand an "Eight Hour Working Day". This call, which fired the imagination of workers the length and breadth of the country, was most actively taken up in Chicago, then a major centre of the American labour movement. Railroad traffic in the city was paralysed and the majority of Chicago factories were brought to a standstill.

On May 4th, at a mass meeting called to protest against police repression which had been unleashed by the city's business community and their state representatives, police violently broke up the gathering after an unknown person, believed to be an agent provocateur, hurled a bomb at them killing one and seriously wounding 5 others. The patrolmen opened fire on the crowd, killing 6 and seriously wounding 200 workers. The city was swept by mass roundups and searches. The police rushed the labour organisations, printing houses and private homes of labour activities in a manner reminiscent of the oft-repeated swoops of the SAP/SADF. Suspects were beaten, tortured and interrogated. Hundreds were arrested and eight of them were eventually charged.

Of these eight charged with the bomb explosion at the Haymarket Square rally, only one was present when the bomb exploded. However all of them were accused of murder because the unknown bomb-thrower acted under their influence and was guided by their speeches, it was alleged! Like the Sharpeville 6 who recently won a temporary reprieve from their judicial murder, no evidence to link them to the bomb (in the case of the 6, the killing of Mr Dlamini, the Deputy Mayor of Sharpeville) was found or deemed necessary to find. Yet the eight American trade unionists like their 6 young South African counterparts, one hundred years later, were found "guilty" and were sentenced to hang. Neither in the United States in 1886, nor in South Africa in 1985 did the establishment believe that these people had committed the crimes they were accused of. Their crime was far more serious - it was a commitment to stand up and fight the bosses and their paid officials in the state. Both then and now, the decision to execute those who resisted the ruling class and its authorities was to be an example to others, to frighten them into submission and acceptance of injustice and oppression. As a factory owner in Chicago said about the Haymarket martyrs: "...no, I don't consider these people to have been found guilty of any offence, but they must be hanged...the labour movement must be crushed! The Knights of Labour will never dare to create discontent again if these men hanged." The Sharpeville Six, together with the other 40 men currently on death row are there to serve the same "lesson" to the democratic mass and trade union movements.

In 1889, the First Congress of the Second International resolved to make May 1 an international day of workers' solidarity to honour the four Haymarket Martyrs of the Chicago workers' struggles who eventually went to the gallows. On their last walk they sang the Marseillais, linking themselves with the Paris Commune and the French working class.

In 1890, for the first time, MAY DAY celebrations were held in several countries.

MAY DAY in South Africa

White immigrants brought with them the traditions of trade unions and working class struggle from Europe, including the celebration of MAY DAY. But the day itself soon became an integral part of South African trade union and labour movement activity.

Organising around MAY DAY rallied workers in the struggle for unity in South Africa itself. As national oppression and racial discrimination have cheapened the labour of black workers, so it has set white workers apart. They have been drawn into the ranks of the ruling white minority, to become slaves to the bosses and bosses to the slaves. The divisions white minority domination and capitalist exploitation have generated, have been the source of workers' disunity since the onset of industrialisation. Therefore, central to the struggle of the working class in our country has been the drive to overcome these divisive barriers and to build a strong, unified labour movement and to defend and advance the workers' cause. As Thomas Mbeki (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union - ICU - organisers) pointed out in 1927, if workers were not united in their own country, the base for unity with workers throughout the world was weakened.

The interests of the majority have always meant that the fight against class exploitation has to be linked to the fight against national oppression and racial discrimination. It was through painstaking efforts and enormous sacrifice that the foundations were laid for trade unionism among Africans - the largest and most downtrodden section of the South African working class. The fruits of this work were already visible by the late 1920s when the Non-European Trade Union Federation could claim 10 000 members on the Witwatersrand. The results were seen on MAY DAY 1928 in the form of a great demonstration of workers, the overwhelming majority of whom were African together with a few whites and Coloured who accepted the principle of "workers of all races unite". This manifestation of workers' unity contrasted sharply with the miserable gathering of about 300 whites organised in Johannesburg by the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress on that same day.

In 1930 the situation changed dramatically, when economic depression hit white as well as black workers. For the first time black and white workers marched together demanding "WE WANT BREAD". They clashed with police and I. Diamond, the demonstration's leader, was sent to jail as a result.

The inseparable link between national oppression and class exploitation has meant that MAY DAY has been written into the history of both the national and working class liberatory movements. Indeed, FREEDOM DAY - June 26, and MAY DAY are linked in blood spilt in workers' and popular resistance as far back as 1950. On May 1 of that year, the Transvaal ANC, the Council of Non-European Trade Unions, the Johannesburg District of the Communist Party and the Transvaal Indian Congress called a one day strike to demonstrate popular opposition to the Suppression of Communism Bill which would allow the state to declare any organisation unlawful if it was considered to be "furthering the aims of communism". The strike led to police violence which left 19 workers dead and 38 injured. In anger and outrage, the ANC called a protest rally on June 26, a date which was subsequently to be marked in our calendar as FREEDOM DAY.

THE ISSUES

The issues over which workers' unity has been build are many, including the fight for MAY DAY itself.

Although some workers had won May 1 as a public holiday as far back as 1926, this partial victory was surrendered up to the young apartheid regime by the white labour movement in its haste to defend white privilege. For many years because of repression, MAY DAY was not marked. However, the rise of the non-racial democratic trade union movement in the seventies put the demand for MAY DAY back on the labour movement's agenda. Through pamphlets and Workers' Unity, SACTU revived the idea of 1st May as a national rallying point of the labour movement. Meetings were held on May 1, 1983. At the MAY DAY rallies in 1984 SACTU issued a call for workers to set themselves the goal of making the 100th Anniversary of MAY DAY a paid public holiday. This appeal struck a responsive note in the hearts of workers throughout the length and breadth of our country, just as the call for an "Eight Hour Working Day" had done in America 100 years earlier. In 1985, the broadest cross section of the democratic trade union movement came together to coordinate MAY DAY celebrations. This development was an important step towards the greater and more permanent unity achieved on December 1 of the same year with the launch of COSATU.

At its founding conference, COSATU took up the call for workers to reclaim MAY DAY as a right in 1986. It called on employers to recognise the right of workers to celebrate this day and it urged affiliates to take up the demand for MAY DAY in negotiations with management. This they did and although by the time May 1 came round only Chloride of East London had accepted it as a paid public holiday, the majority of employers adopted a policy of "no-work , no-pay, no-penalty" or approached the regime about the question.

It was the labour movement, under the leadership of COSATU, in cooperation with students and community organisations that put MAY DAY back into the history of our resistance on its 100th anniversary. They organised the largest stay-away ever recorded, with an estimated 1 500 000 workers taking part and calling for May 1 to be a paid public holiday. More than 100 000 workers attended rallies throughout the country, despite loss of pay, threats of dismissal and massive police and army intimidations which saw roadblocks set up in every area. Six major COSATU rallies were banned outright, but workers and students defied by organising alternative venues and meetings, or where this proved impossible, by organising to attend meetings which were not banned.

This huge demonstration of the working people's will and continuing pressure from unions in their negotiations with employers saw thousands of workers win MAY DAY as a paid public holiday through their collective agreements. As a result of this tide of resistance, the regime gazetted that every 1st Friday in May would be a paid holiday. In giving into the pressure in this manner the regime tried to rob MAY DAY its political and historical significance, and therefore of its meaning for the working class. COSATU and NACTU rejected this sop outright. Hitler had done a similar thing in Germany but the democratic trade union movement was not to be bought.

During 1987, more unions won MAY DAY and June 16 in their negotiations with employers. However, in 1987 the labour movement was forced to mark May 1 under very stringent and repressive conditions imposed by the third State of Emergency and the massive wave of detentions. Several meetings planned by COSATU affiliates across the country were banned, while permits to hold other open-air meetings were refused. COSATU itself was under direct attack with the detention of many leading trade union officials. Nevertheless thousands of workers attended indoor meetings. Security forces cut these short as the regime was determined not to allow the celebrations to continue. COSATU summed up the repression as "...an official rejection of workers' aspirations and a total clampdown on our right to speak as organised workers." Together with the broad mass of the people, the workers are on the offensive to claim power.

MAY DAY 1988 -The Challenges before us.

Not one year has passed without workers' meetings being broken up, without strikes being repressed by force of arms, without the detention, imprisonment or murder of leaders. The regime has tried and continues to try to drown the rights of workers and the oppressed in a sea of blood. However, as the people are called to mark May 1st in 1988 the weight of oppression has never been greater and therefore the challenge before the democratic trade union and a mass popular movement has also never been greater.

Despite the licence of repression the States of Emergency have given the regime, popular resistance has clearly made it fail. Pretoria is now desperate. Since it cannot defeat us politically or break us spiritually, it has embarked on an offensive to destroy us physically. This explains the banning and restrictions on the 17 mass organisations, including COSATU; the banning of 18 prominent popular leaders, the detention of others and the forcing underground of many; the banning of the New Nation and the threat of banning which hangs over the popular media; it is also what is behind the assassination campaign being waged by the Junta's hit squads and henchmen against popular leaders inside and outside the country, including the recent attack against two prominent ANC members, comrades Dulcie September and Albie Sachs.

In collaboration with the bosses the regime tries to tame and break the ever-growing, ever-more resolute labour movement with the introduction of the Labour Relations Amendment Bill. With that amendment, union members guilty of striking illegally could be summarily dismissed without recourse to any court. It will be illegal for a union to strike twice on the same issue in a 12 months period. Sympathy strikes would be outlawed and "unfair labour practices" would be defined in such a way as to assist employers to ignore correct procedures when dismissing workers. The curtailing of rights extends even further to restrict workers to what the regime defines as their issues - wages and working conditions. If they wanted to take up anything outside this narrow field they would become the legitimate concern of the security police, as the state sees it.

The tasks and challenges before us are many.

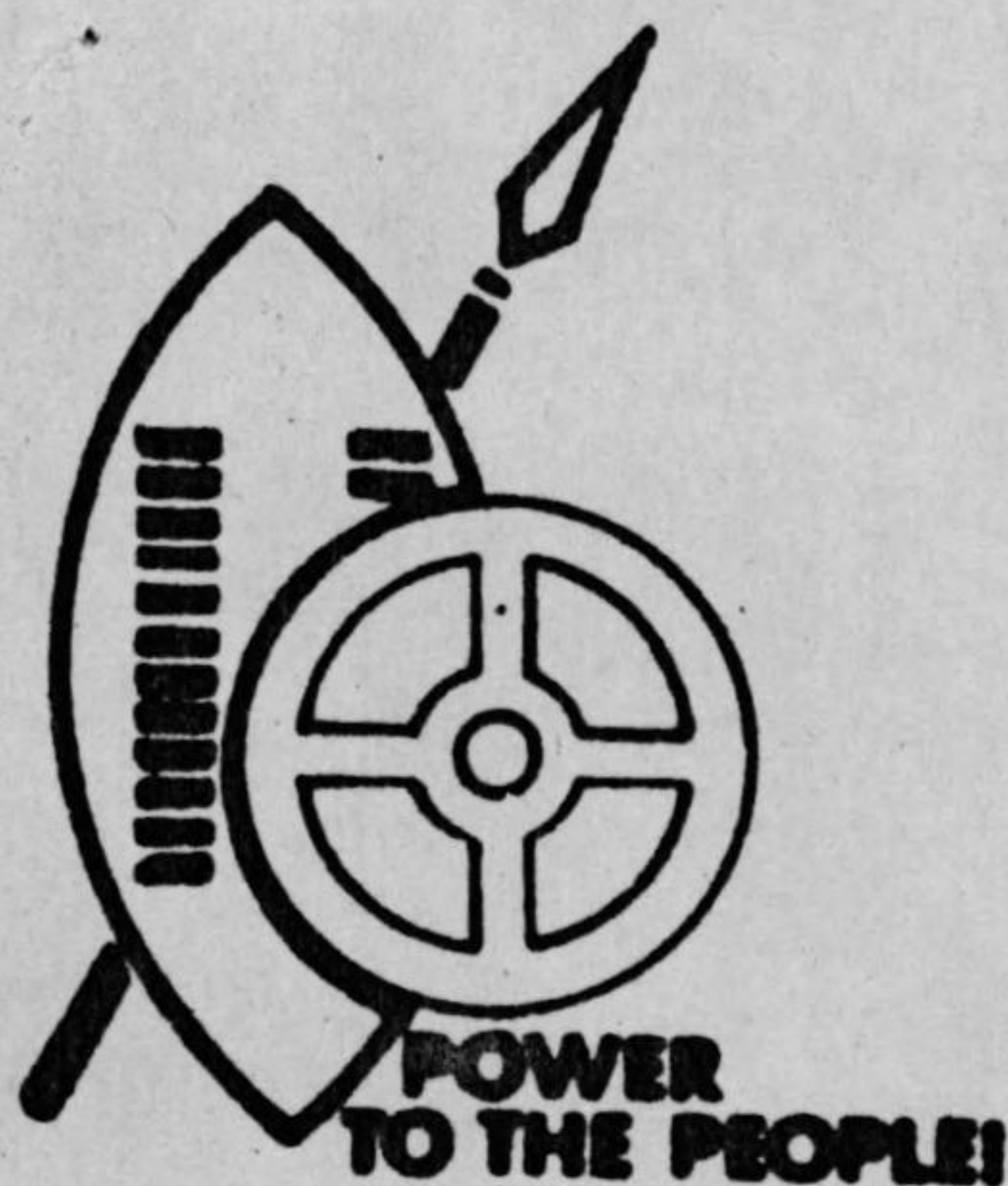
Our priority must be to defend our leaders; to defend and strengthen our organisations and to defend ourselves so that we can continue to advance towards people's power.

- We must defend COSATU and fight the Labour Relations Amendment Bill which the state and big business are so keen to enact.
- We must defend our organisations and popular journals by demanding that their rights be restored immediately and unconditionally.
- We must defend our leaders from being silenced by bullets, bombs, bannings and detentions.
- We must defend and strengthen our organisations by building and developing our underground capacity.
- We must defend ourselves by building and expanding our people's army.
- We must defend our people by bringing in even more fully the weight of the unequivocal voice of the international working class and solidarity movements in the struggle to isolate the racist Pretoria Junta.

Through our actions we must force Pretoria to LET THE PEOPLE SPEAK!

ENDS

18.04.88



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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Our Ref: B3/88

Speaker's Notes

Your Ref:

RPC

SHARPEN YOUR VIGILANCE!!

The events of the past three months of this year ring like a barrage of fire directed at the ANC and the mass democratic movement. First there was the attack on one of the principal installations of the ANC in Lusaka. This was the blast in the culvert of the driveway to this installation towards the end of January, 1988. Then followed, in more or less rapid succession, attacks in Bulawayo and Brussels in February; Gaborone, Paris, the banning of 17 organisations within the country, the closure of the New Nation (threats of similar closures are hanging over the Weekly Mail, the Sowetan and South), and so on, in March; and finally the attack in Maputo on April 7 1988.

These attacks are quite hefty: the assassination of a senior member of the ANC and its Chief Representative in France, Dulcie September, the loss of other experienced cadres in other attacks and the permanent physical incapacitation of one of the most experienced lawyers of our Movement, Albie Sachs. They are, however, by no means devastating or fatal. For them to be thus the enemy will have to kidnap, ban and liquidate the whole population, as Allan Boesak put it recently.

Rather than cowing our people into submission or slackening our armed endeavours, the enemy has been shocked by the varied response to this repression by our people. New contingents have been thrown into the struggle, new avenues of struggle have been developed: the campuses, churches, mosques, etc. On the battlefield the enemy is being engaged in some of the fiercest encounters in recent times - one such was the military confrontation with soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the Northern Transvaal a few weeks ago. In this battle, which lasted for more than ten hours, the enemy was forced to throw in wave after wave of his crack troops: helicopter gunships, paratroopers, etc. These were beaten off with heavy casualties and our comrades successfully eluded the enemy and are safe in their sanctuaries inside the country.

But then why these assassinations and attempted assassinations? Is it perhaps the definition by the enemy of new terrains of the conflict? Or is it the behaviour of desperation, of having gone completely crazy?

It will be recalled that our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo, has been alerting our people and the international community since December 1986, of a new dimension in the enemy's schemes against the struggle of our people for liberation - decapitation of our liberation movement. The regime in Pretoria has now embarked on this campaign. Hence these assassinations, kidnappings, etc. The court proceedings in London threw more light into these nefarious machinations of the Botha/Malan clique in Pretoria: a hit-list of...

...a hit-list of.../

...the leadership has been drawn, various forces have been prepared to materialise this line of approach - its own special forces, sympathetic elements in the various countries, mercenaries, and so on.

In the light of this situation of madness of the enemy, we need to take much more seriously the intention of the enemy against our struggle and our people. Besides the common sense element of vigilance in the state of war we are in - being wary of suspicious looking letters, parcels, changes in the environs of our residences and means of transport, prying elements in our living and working quarters and around our means of transportation - we need to be even more exacting on ourselves in questions of discipline. There must be a very clear distinction between our actions on a day-to-day basis from those of the enemy elements infiltrated within our ranks.

In order to understand these schemes of the apartheid regime better we need to throw a quick look at the past few years. The regime's Defence Minister Magnus Malan issued a fresh reminder to us only very recently. Speaking on the banks of the Limpopo River in the wake of what they called a rocket attack on a farmhouse in the area Malan said "...whenever the ANC is, we will eliminate it." (Star 20/2/88). He added "...we are no longer interested in the neighbouring states." (what a cheek!).

In the past the regime perceived the threat facing it as emanating from outside, particularly from the states in the region. The strategists of the regime held that once closed these alleged bases of the ANC - the regime will then, in peace, proceed with its modernisation programmes of the system of colonisation and exploitation of our people. For once the external launching pads were removed then the so-called encouragement to rebellion of our people will be done away with and the people will, then become, as it were, accomplices in their own oppression. The few elements that had been "infiltrated" will be mopped up by its armed forces.

To this end the regime adopted a two-pronged approach - military threats and economic incentives. It set about launching repeated raids against the countries in the region while at the same time offering to conclude onerous and servile security pacts with these countries. In relation to countries far afield Pretoria staged attacks on the representations of the ANC - London, Stockholm.

In the event, the strategy brought limited returns to the apartheid regime - most of the countries in the region rebuffed these schemes.

Against all the previous calculations of Pretoria the armed struggle shot up, both in magnitude and quality. The area defence system that has been elaborated to deal with the armed struggle internally came to naught. The regime was even forced to redirect the thrust of what it designated 'reaction force' - the Permanent Force - from external aggression and deploy it in repression and suppression roles within the country, in the African townships.

On the other hand, the actions of the masses of our people also increased astronomically and consolidated themselves intricately on the terrain within the country. The enemy had lost the political initiative.

This situation spans roughly the period 1982 to the first half of 1986.

In the wake of the failures of this approach the enemy feverishly set about searching for and elaborating other schemes - complete physical annihilation. Internally the regime introduced the kitskonstabel phenomenon - rudimentarily trained armed men (lumpen and unemployed elements) - and, most recently, the cut-throats of its bantustan creations ('independent' and otherwise) as the Pietermaritzburg events so graphically illustrate.

The phenomenon of kitskonstabels and the vigilante concept of both the 1986 and the 1987 to date types, is a clear indicator of the failure of the various draconian states of emergencies in the history of the country now in force. Their introduction mark the setting in of two closely related traits of the situation in the country - the irreversibility of the determination of our people on the one hand, and the equal determination of the enemy to resort even to medieval and barbarous forms of struggle to maintain its rule. Hence the novel concept of the decapitation of the liberation movement and the mass democratic movement.

These occult forms of doing battle with opponents are not entirely new in the history of conflicts. They were resorted to by Hitler towards the end of the Second World War. On the eve of this surrender Rhodesia's Ian Smith turned the fury of his frustration on the leading personnel of the Zimbabwean Liberation Movement in Zambia and Mozambique.

At the end of the day, the determination and vigilance of the forces of liberation buried Nazi Germany and Smith's Rhodesia. The tottering Botha/Malan regime is staring this eventuality in the face. With heightened vigilance let us attack and advance! Not an inch to the racist beast!!!

ENDS

19.04.88

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