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# MAYIBUYE

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
NUMBER 1**

**1990 - Year of People's Action for a Democratic South Africa  
Journal of the African National Congress**

## POWER ON THE IMMEDIATE AGENDA

After the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela, South Africa shall never be the same. Ours is definitely a society in transition.

The movement to a new order might be short and sharp. It could take quite a long time. It could even be reversed. But the issue of political power is now on the immediate agenda.

### A GIANT RETURNS



No one can run away from this. De Klerk says the current constitution must go. His real aim remains the defence of white privilege. But the regime has been forced to address the issue of a new constitution based on broader consensus. It has acknowledged that a new power relationship is necessary.

Pretoria's international allies quarrel with the democratic movement on many basic questions. They have their own selfish ideas about the extent of transformation and how to bring it about. Yet they no longer talk of reform. They do admit that power in South Africa has to change hands.

#### **Bold Decisions**

At the centre-stage of this new era is the mass of the people in political motion. Risen expectations and a determination to surge forward hail also from the practical results of the popular struggles: the release of a number of leaders, the unbanning of organisations... and suddenly Mandela is back in active leadership. The ANC has taken bold decisions: for the leadership, including those based outside to meet other democratic formations within the country; hold

**Continued on Page 2**

the National Conference there; and to discuss with the regime the creation of all conditions for free political activity.

A new mass wave has been unleashed. Celebration by the oppressed is an assertion of their power. In Cape Town, half-a-million gathered and the whole South Africa came to a standstill. On the following two days, it was simply the programme of the liberation movement - not of the regime or the bosses - which determined what happened in the PWV. And more is to come. Most whites also look up to Mandela and the movement he leads for direction. Such is the calibre of the ANC.

However, we must not fool ourselves. Political power is on the immediate agenda, yes. But the people and their movement still have to muster the strength necessary to effect the transfer of this power.

Whether this comes about as a result of negotiations or by other means, the crucial factor shall always be the all-round strength of the people's forces. Herein lies the big challenge of the moment.

We must rapidly transform the national festivity and political enthusiasm into actual organised power. We must build a mass-based ANC and muster a broad patriotic front against apartheid. Organisation and mobilisation should focus on the issue of political power:

- \* demand a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly;
- \* strengthen people's committees; and
- \* win over enemy forces to the side of democracy.

In brief, we must rapidly transform ourselves into a power in fact.

*In this issue of MAYIBUYE, we look into some of these challenges in greater detail.*

## POWER - from Page 1

## Editorial

# WELCOME MANDELA

*The African National Congress welcomes the release of Nelson Mandela, a leader of the ANC and the people of South Africa. Comrade Mandela's release is a direct result of the struggles and sacrifices of the masses of our country and the international community. We salute all these anti-apartheid forces for this significant victory.*

*The release of Nelson Mandela comes in the wake of the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations as well as other measures which constitute important steps towards the creation of an atmosphere of free political activity within South Africa. All these developments have opened up further new possibilities for the resolution of the apartheid problem by political means.*

*It is however a matter of serious concern that some of the essential conditions for free political activity have not been met. The State of Emergency is effectively still in force; many political prisoners have been excluded from the category of those due for release, and repressive laws, including detention without trial, are still operational. Further, the racist army and police continue to roam the townships and to employ brute force against the struggling masses.*

*Comrade Mandela has been released. But the main conditions which led to his incarceration have not changed. The struggle to eradicate apartheid and create a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa must continue.*

*The ANC warmly welcomes Comrade Nelson Mandela back into the active ranks of the movement, after 27 years in prison. We salute this eminent leader of the people of South Africa and world-renowned statesman. His release, like that of the other ANC leaders, has certainly reinforced the leadership collective of the ANC and all other anti-apartheid forces, and will greatly contribute to the all-round struggle for a speedy end to the system of apartheid.*

*We call on all the people of South Africa, black and white, to join hands in the efforts to bring about justice and democracy in our country. To this end, international actions against apartheid must continue.*

## MORE HARD WORK

*Extracts from speech by President Tambo at the farewell meeting with Sisulu and others in Stockholm*

Circumstance has arranged that we meet here in Sweden. We managed together at home, and then you were sent out to Robben Island. We came out into the outside world. The next thing that happens is that we meet here, on a day when de Klerk makes a statement that has not been made before.

You came out of Robben Island and further opened up the course of events at home. The new situation means more work. It means there is more work than before. It means we must put in more time and more energies into our work. It means we must win the struggle.

## A New Spirit

You have been to Lusaka. You have seen the piece of work that has been done by the people who are there. You have seen something of a spirit of the people...All of us everywhere are breathing a new spirit of determination. The question is: what do we take that spirit to be; where does it lead us onto? And that is the question to be answered by you.

I want to thank you for deciding that I was worth a visit. We thought you might want to go to London...But since the person you wanted to see moved to Stockholm, that's where you headed. I want to say from the very bottom of my heart that the decision to want to see me has been a great one. I shall always remember it.

Therefore, brothers, you brothers and you sisters accompanying them from home, and to you members of the Executive(NEC), I say thank you very much.

(See photo on Page 3)



# BUILD THE ANC!

After February 2nd, one of the most urgent challenges we face is to build open structures of the ANC within South Africa. We have to forge the mass of our supporters into a movement capable of leading the people in the offensive for the transfer of power.

This poses new questions. For example, what then happens to underground formations of the movement? It should be emphasised that the creation of an "open ANC" does not mean that all underground structures should surface. There are many tasks related to the building of the people's forces which cannot be conducted in the open. Besides, the "spring" of legality can turn into a winter; and we have to be ready for all forms of organisation and struggle all the time. But the character of the underground will have to change, in view of the fact that many of its tasks can now be pursued in the open.

## Mass Character

In setting up structures we have to ensure that the ANC assumes a mass character. We have to move from tightly-knit organs to becoming a mass vanguard movement. The structures formed must be able to direct the popular enthusiasm and commitment of our supporters through mass organisation and mobilisation.

Who then can be a member of the ANC? The ANC is a national liberation movement which includes in its ranks all individuals opposed to the system of apartheid, individuals who subscribe to its programme, policies and constitution. The basic policy positions are to be found in the Freedom Charter, Constitutional Guidelines and statements issued by the leadership collective.

The movement's organisational principles are contained in the 1958



**STOCKHOLM:** Back Row (from left to right): J. Nhlanhla, G. Mbeki, R. Mhlaba, Pres OR Tambo, A. Mlangeni, W. Sisulu, W. Mkwazi, J. Slovo, H. Makgothi. Front Row: (L to R): SG A. Nzo, E. Motsoaledi and Thabo Mbeki.

Constitution and 1985 Consultative Conference documents. But the changed situation will certainly warrant an updating of these documents. For example, setting up of geographic units will have to take into account the positive as well as negative experiences of the MDM.

There is debate about whether organisations made up of individuals who adhere to ANC positions should disband. The UDF is one such example. Special consideration will have to be given to the NIC and TIC which have always been Congress structures. In the medium-term, this would apply to such affiliates as JODAC and the UCC. **But in general, the ANC, unlike UDF affiliates, is not a sectoral organisation. Unlike the UDF, it is not an alliance of sectoral structures. At the same time, the character of the UDF might have to change.**

This does not mean that people involved in UDF, COSATU and other structures cannot join the ANC. Membership of the ANC is on an individual basis. Thus we shall have "dual, triple and even multiple membership". Within different organisations, ANC members will have to ensure that ANC policies are presented in a persuasive and convincing manner. It will be necessary, in time, to form mass structures such as the Youth and Women's Leagues. But this does not mean that related UDF affiliates should immediately

disband. Concrete experience will determine the future course of action.

However, in all instances, the final decisions will have to be reached in consultations between the ANC and the MDM and within the MDM and its component organs.

## Leading Role

It is essential also that the ANC plays its leading role by building the broadest possible unity. Thus the ANC will be required to openly enter into various alliances, in addition to the liberation alliance with the SA Communist Party and the democratic trade union movement.

We also have to form an open and broad anti-apartheid alliance with those forces involved in the CDF. This alliance will be based on the broad unifying principles, programme and other agreements reached among the allied organisations. Even broader alliances will have to be formed with genuinely patriotic forces which currently do not belong to the CDF alliance. We need to win over as many of such forces as possible, and isolate the apartheid regime.

*MAYIBUYE will be glad to hear of your experiences - both positive and negative - in the various regions and areas. Questions are also welcome.*

## HAVE NEGOTIATIONS COME?

The word "negotiations" is on the lips of all and sundry. Are genuine negotiations really on the cards? Are we not about to witness the abortion of the democratic revolution?

These serious concerns arise because we have not as yet achieved such a balance of forces as to have genuine negotiations. In other words, the democratic movement is not yet strong enough to enforce the genuine transfer of power.

### Concept of Negotiations

The ANC and the rest of the democratic movement have defined our concept of negotiations precisely to prevent a situation in which the result would not be in the people's interest (See box). These positions are supported by the overwhelming majority of mankind.

De Klerk has met some of the de-

mands for an atmosphere of free political activity. But many aspects of repression have been retained.

Some forces within the apartheid establishment believe that these measures will give the ruling clique the strategic upper hand: to be seen by the international community as being genuinely interested in peaceful change; and to win over "the middle ground" within the country. Further, they hope that such action would disorganise the ANC and other democratic forces.

This is to a considerable degree wishful thinking on their part. But it is a real challenge. For the enemy is engaged in programmes aimed at out-manoeuvring the democratic movement. If we are not geared for

the changed situation, our forces could be weakened both within and outside the country. What then is to be done?

The regime asserts that the present climate allows for negotiations to start. But repression puts the democratic movement at a great disadvantage. Precisely to help clear the remaining hurdles, the ANC has decided to meet De Klerk. This is one contribution towards the creation of an atmosphere for free political activity. Such a meeting, therefore, would not constitute negotiations. The forum and issues for negotiation belong somewhere else.

At another level, we need to intensify the process of building the people's forces. This entails strengthening open and underground structures of the ANC, building the people's structures including people's committees and Self-Defence Units, and consolidating democratic and other anti-apartheid forces.

But history will not necessarily wait for us to be strong enough before actual negotiations start. This is the crux of the matter!

### Step Forward

Therefore, we should also move from the premise that an atmosphere of free political activity would be a great step forward for the democratic movement. It depends on how we exploit it to further consolidate the democratic movement, to win over more and more forces to the anti-apartheid fold, to provide a home for those deserting enemy ranks and generally to put forward our policies unhindered. This task will be necessary even during negotiations.

The outcome of the struggle - and negotiations in particular - will depend on whether we have forces strong enough to challenge the enemy; forces capable of resorting to any form of struggle when the need for such forms arise.

## NEGOTIATIONS CONCEPT

\* **Aim of negotiations:** The broad objectives - to be agreed upon from the very beginning - should be the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a South Africa based on the fundamental principles of democracy recognised by the world at large.

\* **Climate for negotiations:** A climate of free political activity should reign, to allow all organisations to operate unhindered. The regime should release all political prisoners, lift the State of Emergency, repeal all repressive legislation, remove troops from the townships and stop all political executions and trials.

\* **Issue of violence:** Once this climate has been created, the liberation movement and the regime would then negotiate the cessation of hostilities on both sides. The fate of the armed struggle depends on the removal of the basic reasons for its adoption - primarily all forms of repression.

\* **Supervision of the transition:** There should be an institution - both impartial and sovereign - to oversee the transition process. Such a "transitional government" would ensure that all parties enjoy equal treatment. A force - made up essentially of South Africans - has to be set up, enjoying the confidence of the widest spectrum of the people.

\* **Forum for negotiations:** This has to be an assembly representative of the South African people, not the apartheid parliament nor any other apartheid institution. It therefore has to be elected on the basis of one-person one-vote. Thus, representation on this body which will decide on the future constitution, will not be arbitrary but based on popular mandate.



De Klerk Opens Parliament and...

## ATTACKS THE POOR

If de Klerk's sweet words were anything to go by, South Africa is entering an era of economic prosperity for all. But the finer print conveys a message to the contrary. The economic programme rings hollow: not only for the repeated phrases; but also for its failure to address the fundamental questions.

Unemployment, poverty and so on were duly acknowledged. But the structural economic crisis derives mainly from apartheid. Shortage of skilled personnel while millions are unemployed; low investor confidence and outflow of capital; dwindling internal and external markets; long working hours for the employed and no

jobs for many - all these and other problems are primarily the result of apartheid and the ensuing conflict.

De Klerk is certainly aware that he needs to address the political questions, if some of the economic problems have to be resolved. But his half-hearted and dishonest approach can only mean that at the economic front too he will only scratch the surface. But the problem is much deeper: the regime has no intention at all to pursue the interests of the working people.

The immediate and long-term objectives behind privatisation and deregulation are well-known. Further, de Klerk talks about reducing state expenditure, but nothing is said about the huge and

multiple apartheid bureaucracies. Instead, the police budget is to be increased and SADF revamping programmes are to continue. De Klerk shouts about reducing inflation: and what we are not told is that this will also entail attempts at freezing workers' wages.

And so, when de Klerk called for sacrifices, it was not to be on the part of the many presidents and ministers; nor of employers. And it was not unintentional that the LRAA and the offensive against unions did not receive any mention. It is precisely because these form part of the regime's economic agenda.

The working people are in for a rough time. We must fight back.

## CDF AND TASKS OF THE WORKERS

Resolutions adopted by the CDF demonstrate that workers have earned their deserved place among the forces for fundamental change. They have earned this mantle through their practical contribution in the struggle.

But the resolutions also reflect the growing awareness that the regime and the employers are bent on suppressing workers' struggles. The past few months have shown that, when it comes to workers in particular, de Klerk's pretences of a positive image are cast aside.

The implementation of CDF resolutions in general and those concerning the labour front in particular, therefore, assumes strategic importance. Recommendations on industrial area marches and the occupation of workplaces and the Stock

Exchange must be seen as a challenge to the very nerve centre of the economy. They address the central question of political and economic power. But this must be backed by deliberate organisation to ensure an imposing workers' presence in all workplaces.

At the centre of the campaigns is the LRAA which is the centre-piece of the regime's anti-worker drive. We must continue with the process to draft a Workers' Charter and even our own Labour Law, addressing such issues as the right of all workers:

- \* to full employment;
- \* to join trade unions of their choice;
- \* to be paid a living wage; and
- \* to engage in solidarity actions.

The CDF addressed the problem

of scabbing realistically. On the one hand, it is necessary to reinforce strikes by co-ordinated anti-scabbing campaigns. On the other, the right to humane unemployment benefits; a national minimum wage and the recognition of the rights of all workers including those in agriculture and domestic service must be fought for. The demand for shorter working hours without a reduction in wages is also crucial.

The CDF emphasised the necessity for workers to link their struggles with those of the broader community. It is equally important that communities must render their practical support to workers' struggles.

The absence of sections of NACTU from such a historic encounter is a serious weakness. But certainly, if the individuals concerned do not mend their ways, the mass of workers and their more honest leaders will desert them. As recent events within NACTU have shown, the disciples of disunity and sectarianism will gradually find themselves on the sidelines.

*"I could no longer live with my conscience..."*

## INTERVIEW WITH DIRK COETZEE

**QUESTION:** Do you know of any involvement of cabinet ministers in death squads operations?

**DIRK COETZEE:** Not direct involvement as far as I know at my level. The only direct involvement I'm aware of was the bomb blast at the ANC office in London. The explosives were smuggled piece by piece through the diplomatic bag to the South African embassy. The explosives were put in the diplomatic bag by Major Craig Williamson, now a senior member of the President's Council. For parcels in the diplomatic bag not to be examined, a direct instruction has to be issued by the Minister of Law and Order.

It is unthinkable that such atrocities - activists disappearing and being killed, day after day - take place without the Minister's authority. Whenever asked questions in parliament the Minister would just discredit the sources and the murders would never be solved. Also, projects like Vlakplaas, which amounted to enormous sums of money, could not have been taken up without approval at a very high level.

**Q:** You are on record as saying you were part of the plan to assassinate Griffiths Mxenge. Who assassinated his wife?

**DC:** I believe Jeff Bosigo, one of the ex-MK soldiers on the farm (Vlakplaas), and Almond Nofomela were involved. After I had left Vlakplaas, Jeff became the heart of the hit squads as far as the black policemen and Askaris were involved. Jeff confessed to his brother who revealed the story to the Vrye

Weekblad.

**Q:** Did you come to the ANC of your own volition?

**DC:** Yes I did. At first I was very hesitant to approach the ANC because of the distorted information we always receive about the ANC. We always heard of the ANC as communists, terrorists and killers. When I could no longer live with my conscience for the rest of my life and was no longer prepared to go on lying I asked myself where to start. I decided to start with the people I've done harm to and therefore came to the ANC.

I was not compelled to join them. They sympathised with me. They

**"(The ANC) sympathised with me. They saw me as a victim of the system and they are not going for individuals."**

saw me as a victim of the system and they are not going for individuals. It is of no use hanging a police captain and leaving the generals and ministers, i.e., the chaps that actually are behind these atrocities.

I had an option. I could go on leading my own life. I decided that in a way I can try right the wrongs I have done. I thought it is my duty to get the truth over to the Afrikaans-speaking people, the whites, the policemen, and might be able to contribute, however small a way it may be, to a peaceful future for my children and all the children in Soweto. In the process I will also help all the lawyers involved in the different inquests that have been set up, and the families of people who have been killed with their civil claims.

**Q:** You came to the ANC only three months after voting the Conservative Party in the recent elections?

**DC:** That's correct. Many people would ask why. My concept of a fatherland and a nation was built on past and present views of the government. I grew up in that confined, short-sighted and narrow-minded environment. If you ask me why I changed you may as well ask why Wynand Malan and Dennis Worrall left the National Party...

**Q:** Did Nofomela's revelations influence you?

**DC:** Let me be very honest with you. If Nofomela did not expose the death squads I would still be in South Africa, living with my conscience. Almond helped me make up my mind at a point when I wasn't even considering it.

Believe Nofomela when he says they did promise to help him get away with a prison term because of what he has done for the government, even though he had murdered a white farmer.

**Q:** Why is the state failing to save him?

**DC:** Brigadier Schoon's words were: "Let justice take its course. He knows too much". That is the only reason. They want to get rid of him because he knows too much. Almond was involved in these killings over ten years. And I'm sure if he can be given more assurances and comfort he will come out with more. This is just the tip of ice-berg. What I have revealed happened over a period of sixteen months when I was in Vlakplaas. Almond was there till 1986, and Jeff Bolego to this day.

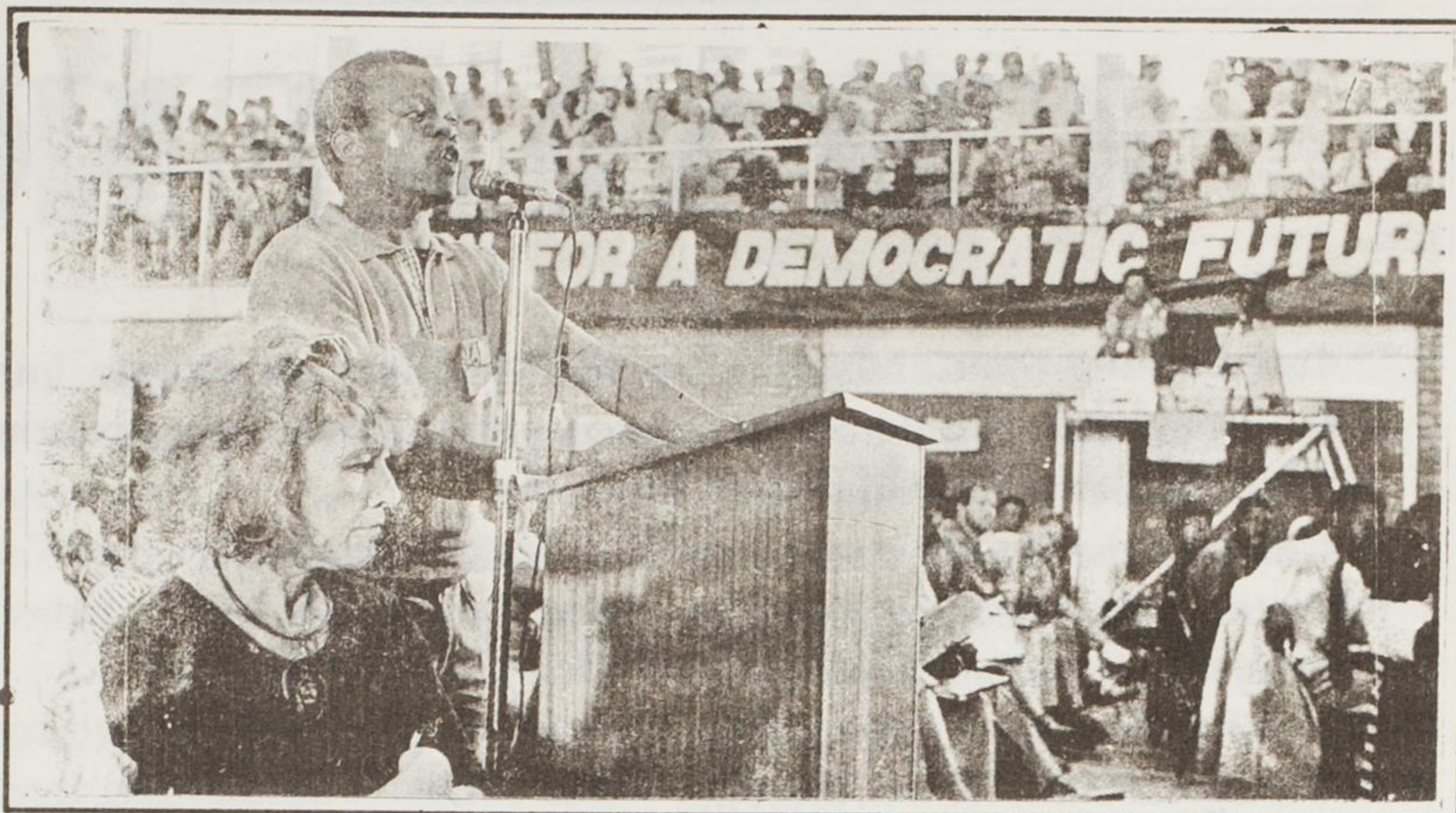
# FROM CDF TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

*The Conference for a Democratic Future has placed the immediate demands of our people firmly on the agenda. Such is the power which stands behind these demands that it has dictated the issues which even the apartheid parliament discusses.*

The Unifying Perspective, the Declaration and the resolutions adopted at the CDF lay the basis for a Programme of Action which must unite the broadest patriotic forces. The pressing task now is to give practical content to the positions taken at the CDF. Through discussions within and among our various organisations we should map out what needs to be done when and by whom.

The abolition of apartheid requires that we hammer the regime with tight fists, not with individual finger pokes. The continuing structures of the CDF must be in a position to co-ordinate this process. Both at regional and national levels, we must ensure that the CDF forces are involved in the planning and execution of a variety of actions against apartheid.

Of particular importance is the



“middle ground” - the very forces de Klerk aims to seduce into his camp. Quite clearly insufficient attention was paid to this section of our people in the preparations for the CDF. The continuing structures of the CDF must redress this. Formations like the National African Chamber of Commerce, the National Soccer League and movements in the bantustans must be drawn into the campaigns we wage now.

Just as the conference was a mere cherry on the top of difficult preparatory work, the task of uniting all our people in action must continue after the CDF.

The campaigns of mass defiance, intense and broad as they were, have led to several victories. With the unbanning of the ANC, our organisation will openly take its rightful place in this united front against apartheid. But we cannot be satisfied with de Klerk's piecemeal and half-hearted measures. Our campaigns of mass defiance must escalate. The complete lifting of the State of Emergency and other conditions for free political activity must be among the key issues we take up. And the demand for a Constituent Assembly must occupy centre place.

## Namibia:

## COME MARCH 21st

The Namibian people are making steady progress towards the long cherished goal of genuine independence. All credit is due to SWAPO for having led the struggle on all fronts, and striving for a relatively smooth transition, under very difficult conditions. The magnanimity of SWAPO and the Namibian people is remarkable given the harsh oppression they have experienced and the long, bitter struggle waged to achieve these victories.

It is also quite instructive that most of the opposition parties have accepted the essence of the new constitution as proposed by SWAPO. Such a show of patriotism can only be welcome. The scare tactics used against SWAPO have been exposed to be mere lies. Many who belonged to the other camp have come to realise that SWAPO wished only the best for its people. It is the task of all

Namibians, of whatever ilk, to facilitate rather than delay the independence process. Who indeed in their right mind, within Namibia and elsewhere, would not look forward to March 21st?

SWAPO's programme is founded on the granting and protection of fundamental and universally recognised human rights. The new constitution outlaws all racist practises recognising that apartheid has been

responsible for the social, economic and political ills within Namibian society.

We, in South Africa, and the international community have a responsibility to ensure that Namibia proceeds along the course of independent development without Pretoria's interference. One of the thorny questions remaining is the fate of Walvis Bay which the Pretoria regime insists on claiming as its territory. The regime's stance on this issue exposes its true intentions: economic blackmail and sabotage as well as broader aggressive military plans. This must be challenged.

Let all South Africans draw inspiration from the experience of the Namibian people. Let us build a broad patriotic front and destroy apartheid. Then, South Africa and Namibia shall be truly free!

# CHALLENGES ON ST

Imagine the thousands flooding MDM offices wanting to join the ANC. Imagine the millions in all corners of South Africa celebrating, as one family, the release of Nelson Mandela.

Consider the SABC commentator, at times confused and often consciously restrained, but unable to hide the feeling that the release of Mandela is a great event for him too. And the mood among most white South Africans, straining their ears to get a message of hope from Mandela and the movement he leads. Then there is the confused policeman not sure any longer what it is he is supposed to defend.

## Full Impact

It will take some time to grasp the full impact of developments since February 2nd. But the great ferment they have unleashed is historically unprecedented. The ensuing movement is mainly spontaneous. It is still tentative. In such dynamic moments, it is quite easy to succumb to the temptation of euphoria. It is easy also to counsel caution, and move at the pace of yesteryear.

**How, then, does the new situation impact upon our Strategy and Tactics?**

The strategic goal of the liberation movement is to bring about the transfer of power to the people. Such power should then be employed to effect fundamental socio-economic transformation. Without removing its root causes, conflict in South Africa will continue. Our strategic objective, therefore, remains in place. It will always be our basic platform, the changing situations and zig-zags notwithstanding.

Yet defined in these broad terms, everything else on the road to the strategic goal falls into the realm of tactic: armed struggle, mass action and armed seizure of power, nego-

tiations, international work to isolate apartheid South Africa and so on. This is inaccurate.

Some forms of struggle get so intertwined with the long-term objective that they assume the status of strategy. **While not becoming an end in themselves, they become indispensable to the realisation of the final goal. Within the realm of forms of struggle, the decision on how power is to be transferred is a strategic one.** It influences all tactics, and places in a secondary position other possible forms of transfer. Such has been our approach to armed seizure of power as a strategic goal.

This approach has been dictated to by an assessment of the given historical period, national and international balance of forces, and the level of consciousness of the people. Broadly-speaking, we can divide the history of our struggle into the following major epochs:

## Strategic Approaches

**\* Pre-1912:** The fundamental aim was to chase the coloniser out. Armed struggle and armed victory were the strategic approach; and negotiations an occasional tactical move.

**\* 1912 - 1961:** The strategic objective was to achieve socio-political equality - the maturity of whose definition culminated with the adoption of the Freedom Charter. Peaceful mass action was the strategic mode and negotiations - for instance the call for a National Convention - were seen as the strategic form of resolution.

**\* 1961 - (?):** The strategic objective as defined in the Freedom Charter

remains. Protracted armed and mass struggles which gradually merge - with partial and general uprisings - become the strategic composite form of struggle. Armed seizure of power is seen as the final culmination; and negotiations occupy the tactical terrain: an issue to be responded to if and when the need arises.

For reasons of space, we do not discuss here issues such as adjustments or possible errors of judgment within the given historical approaches. The question is: are we entering a new epoch? This question should be addressed in the context of certain basic principles.

## Transfer of Power

For a start, the transfer of power and fundamental socio-economic transformation as we envisage in South Africa entails some measure of compulsion. No ruling group would give over power voluntarily. This requires the necessary mass political and military strength on the part of the fighters for change.

Even where the transfer of power is peaceful, the rulers have to be compelled to back down. And the military strength of the forces for transformation would manifest itself in their ability to prevent the other side using brute force against the people. This means that the revolutionary forces should have at their command the necessary military clout, including winning over decisive sections of the enemy armed forces.

This applies equally to negotiations. It would be a mighty disaster for any people or movement to rely on the assumed "goodwill" of the

## A Discu

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# STRATEGY AND TACTICS

## on Article

ruling group. International realities do play an important role in the resolution of national conflicts. But, more often than not, these factors are not the most decisive.

With these basic principles in mind, let us come back to the issue of the impact of the new situation on our Strategy and Tactics. It could be argued, and quite correctly too, that the steps taken by the democratic movement at the beginning of last year reflected a realisation of the need to adjust our strategic approach. The initiative to draft the OAU and later the UN General Assembly Declarations and their content meant that strategically we had come to assess negotiations as more than just a remote possibility.

But this possibility was, in the main, seen as such, merely a possibility. Like before, it belonged to the arena of tactic. The main emphasis remained all-round action and organisation towards the armed seizure of power; and, depending on what the enemy would do, to consider the option of negotiations.

### A New Contest

The situation has changed drastically, especially since February 2nd. There is, more than ever before, a sense of a new contest within the political arena. Crudely formulated, this amounts to convincingly answering the question: **who is really interested in the political resolution of the South African question?** Statements and actions of political movements are judged mainly in this context. It is quite true that the democratic forces have always been genuinely interested in such an outcome.

But, today the regime itself has entered the terrain both in its utterances and actions.

Therefore, in the definition of the strategic forms of transfer of power, negotiations have become a real and practical possibility. Due attention has to be paid to this front. Democratic forces can no longer afford to address the issue of negotiations simply through broad formulations and reactive tactical moves. The danger is that the democratic movement can find itself overtaken by events; on the defensive; with the people demobilised; and with the regime regaining legitimacy and seizing the strategic initiative.

Entering this arena also implies detailed formulation of relevant strategy and tactics. It means the ability to retain the moral and tactical superiority, including by initiating new ideas and responding boldly to new challenges.

### NEC Meeting

As stated in the communique after the recent NEC meeting, the decision to meet De Klerk is meant to encourage the process of creating the atmosphere for negotiations. The talks would address such issues as the need for the regime to lift the State of Emergency and release all political prisoners. The ANC flexibly took the initiative to assist in the removal of all cobwebs put in the way of creating the atmosphere for free political activity.

This is just one, though significant arena of the negotiations strategy. The most important element is to ensure that the process involves the mass of the people. We should not allow a situation in which the struggling masses become passive, waiting for the leadership to

"play their skilful moves". Mass action must continue around all the sectoral and national demands.

These mass actions must also consciously address issues beyond the creation of the necessary climate. Our concept of negotiations, as contained in the Harare Declaration envisages that a number of basic things should happen. (Refer article on Page 4). Their realisation should not be left to 'the negotiators'. In our actions we must demand:

\* *A Transitional/Interim Government!*

\* *A Democratically-elected Constituent Assembly!*

\* *A Democratic South Africa Now!*

### Intensive Efforts

Intensive efforts must be made to win over forces from the apartheid camp, including those within the army, police and civil service. As many of them grope for direction, we must give it and give it convincingly and boldly.

As outlined in the NEC Statement, the new situation has affected our current conduct of the armed struggle: to engage in defensive actions, as distinct from a generalised campaign in line with development towards armed seizure of power. This however does not mean that we should stop building the people's armed forces and some other underground formations. For, while the issue of negotiations might be in the forefront today, the situation might change tomorrow.

We must be ready for all possibilities: always build the people's forces and master all forms of struggle.



## WORKPLACE OR COMMUNITY ?

The goal of a national women's organisation is coming closer to realisation. The core of this organisation will be the mass democratic women's organisations in communities and regions, such as Fedtraw, UWCO, NOW and others. These organisations have placed the issue of the emancipation of women on the agenda of the mass democratic movement. They have mobilised and organised women both around specific women's issues and to participate actively in all spheres of the mass democratic struggle including in the trade union movement.

### Subordinate Position

Precisely because we are challenging our subordinate position in society, our struggles should not be confined to women's organisations or be seen as a "women's issue" separate from the overall struggle. In practice this means that we, as the most disadvantaged section of society, must take on a bigger organisational load. We must organise as women, and we must be active in all the other democratic organisations.

For example, a woman worker may be active in her union. She may also participate in COSATU Women's Forum structures. She may belong to the women's organisation in her community. It may be difficult for her to find the correct balance between so

many commitments.

But the lesson to be drawn from this is not that COSATU Women's Forum is more important than the community women's organisation or vice versa. The strength of the mass democratic movement comes from the united action of all the different sectors. It is vital to build strong women's organisations in the communities. But it is also very important for women to organise as women in the trade union movement. This will ensure that the trade union movement fights for an end to discriminatory wages for women, maternity and paternity rights, and so on. It will also ensure that within the

trade union movement women's active participation at all levels is improved and issues such as sexual harassment or exploitation are tackled.

The national women's organisation to be launched will unite the broadest sections of South African women - women of different races and classes. But the main focus of the organisation will be the issues affecting the most oppressed and exploited women who bear the brunt of the injustice of apartheid. That is why COSATU Women's Forum is such an important component of the national women's organisation.

### Conditions of Women

The very conditions of women's oppression in society and in the home make it hard for us to organise. That is a challenge we must overcome. We must work to develop all democratic women's organisations. The national women's organisation will express the unity of women. But its strength will come from the strength we build at grassroots level, in the community, in the workplace, in institutions of learning, in the religious, cultural, sporting and professional spheres.



*Women workers: An important force in the struggle for emancipation*

## MALIBONGWE CONFERENCE

### Notes from a delegate

*The year 1990 began with an important and major consultation of South African women in Amsterdam. The success of the conference is a significant indication of the women's determination to enhance their contribution to the national democratic revolution and in a future South Africa.*

The initiative by the ANC Women's Section and the solidarity movement in Holland, which hosted this biggest South African women's conference held outside SA, is highly significant. It was a wonderful reunion of activists, young and old, from almost all corners and anti-apartheid women's organisations of our country. During the preparations, an active and special role was played by the women who are in jail and on trial.

Many Dutch people came forward to offer solidarity with the people of South Africa, clearly declaring themselves on the side of the South African people. They wanted to know about the struggle and what part they could play now, more than ever before, to get rid of the system of apartheid. A number of informal meetings were organised which offered an opportunity for the delegates to discuss these and other questions with the hosts.

The conference focused on issues like women's emancipation, obstacles to women's unity, how this unity can be achieved and how to develop women politically. Identified also were the weaknesses of our organisations, lack of political maturity, over-centralisation of structures, democratic participation, accountability and the apartheid regime's repressive laws which contribute to the current position and role of women in society.

Central to the discussions was the crucial question of the formation of a national women's organisation. The form that it should take was debated seriously. It was eventually agreed that the form could be an alliance which will accommodate the independence of different organisations involved. It will be based on certain fundamental anti-apartheid principles.

Conference participants were charged with the responsibility of taking the message from MALIBONGWE to all corners of the country for further discussion and implementation. Among the most urgent tasks are the strengthening of existing progressive organisations and the launch of the envisaged National Women's Organisation in a proper and befitting manner.

### VoW Discussion Series:

## WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION

### 1. Redefine the Space

The problem of emancipating women poses two central questions: **what do we aim to achieve and how do we hope to achieve it?**

Our goal is shaped by the central terms of our oppression - class, race and gender. Because these are interwoven it is not possible to redress one strand without affecting the others.

For instance, the majority of South African women are found in the rural areas and bantustans. They are black, impoverished and oppressed. Without a conscious and concerted many-sided offensive, they will remain politically, socially and economically disadvantaged. This will be so even after we have achieved liberation. The struggle for women's emancipation is to ensure them equal space in all aspects of social life.

But equal space cannot be forged out of a male dominated world. Women's emancipation therefore demands a change in overall relations between women and men. Space for women can only be created by redefining the space men occupy. Women's emancipation therefore transforms the position of men and their relations with women.

Our oppression and our goals determine how we organise to achieve emancipation. That is why historically women have organised as women and at the same time have integrated their resistance into the national liberation and class struggles.

There is no contradiction between the independent organisation of women and organisation for national and social emancipation. Nor is it simply a political expedient to mobilise half the population. Rather it is a political necessity to express, advance and defend the cause of women.

There is a danger, however. By organising independently the problems of gender oppression can be marginalised from the mainstream of struggle and consciousness. This often happens and can only be combated by clearly defining the role and functions of women's organisations.

Our primary task is twofold:

- \* to raise the consciousness, confidence, and capacity of women and
- \* to raise consciousness about gender oppression in all institutions and structures of society.

'Womens issues' have to be integrated and become the concern of everybody. A practical start is to initiate and fight for affirmative action programmes at every level of society. This can begin in the mass organisations where the ground is ripest and most sympathetic.

Women's organisations will play a key role in setting the agenda for liberation and advancing and defending it after white minority rule is destroyed.



## YOUTH FORWARD

# WAARHEEN JEUGKRAG?

**A typical South African Encounter**

Recently, an ANC Youth delegation met with a delegation of Jeugkrag-Suid Afrika in Gaborone. The Jeugkrag delegation was made up of Afrikaner youth belonging to such organisations as the Demokratiese and the Nationalist Parties.

The meeting took place at the request of Jeugkrag. The invitation was accepted by the ANC in keeping with its policy of ensuring the widest possible participation in the struggle to rid our country of apartheid.

The consultation was officially opened by the Botswana Foreign Minister. In her opening address the Minister observed that such informal contacts show the necessity for discussions among South Africans. She further emphasised that only South Africans can solve the problems of our country, and that the rest of the world could only give support to this process.

The agenda covered a variety of issues. These are: - religion and reconciliation; - ANC Constitutional Guidelines - with special emphasis on the clause dealing with the economy; - Bill of Rights; and - strategies for change.

Jeugkrag is a 'non-racial' youth foundation, working mainly among the leadership of Afrikaner youth structures and influential young individuals - mainly in the 'middle ground' and within the establishment. Therefore, their approach to many issues differed from our mass-oriented one. This introduced a new experience: dealing with an organisation representing the opinion of those who still have difficulties in 'crossing the rubicon', but see the need to do so.

Thus sharp differences emerged on:

\* The future economic order: The

Jeugkrag stands for a "free market economy" as opposed to a mixed economy.

\* The role of economic sanctions: Our friends thought this was damaging to the economy and therefore counter-productive.

\* Armed struggle: The debate on this subject was very heated.

\* Anti-conscription issue: A number of Jeugkrag members believed in responding positively to call-ups as a

duty, given - in their perception - the extent of the conflict now raging in our country and possibilities of such conflict in a future South Africa.

\* On the future political order the Jeugkrag believes in some Geographic Federation whose basis would be units based on the homogeneity of the population and economic viability based on a free market

- Continued next Page

## DO WE STILL NEED SAYCO?

*The legalisation of the ANC has raised a number of practical questions. SAYCO, for example, is considering absorption into an ANC Youth League. In this way the youth have, characteristically, grabbed the bull by the horns.*

*The ANC Youth and Women's Leagues were dissolved to facilitate centralised clandestine work. Like the mother body - and perhaps more so - these Leagues have to be revived as mass organisations. Most members of SAYCO and other youth formations accept the programme and policies of the ANC. They will become part of the ANC Youth League.*

*How will this mass Youth League be constituted? The most obvious answer is: on the basis of individual acceptance of the ANC programme and its policies. But for practical purposes, we need to study the Constitution of the ANC Youth League, SAYCO and the current ANC Youth Section. Various practical experiences will have to be taken into account.*

*For instance, do ANC Youth Leaguers have to be members of the mother-body? Or should the League be a mass structure of individuals accepting ANC positions, some of whom do not necessarily have to be ANC members? Most high school students who are ANC in everything but name, might - for reasons of age - not qualify to be ANC members. And, what about young cadres in workers', student, women, professional and other bodies?*

*There is definitely no argument about the lasting need for broad sectoral organisations of workers, students and professionals. And there is certainly no gainsaying the fact that, even with regard to SAYCO, we cannot dissolve into the ANC Youth League by decree.*

*What this means is that the political and organisational principles of the ANC Youth League have to be urgently worked out. Individuals who qualify should be systematically recruited. Actual practice will determine the fate of SAYCO. But there should be consultation across the board, especially among the youth formations of the MDM.*

economy. The Jeugkrag delegation insisted that this had nothing to do with "group and ethnic rights".

There were however the following areas of agreement :

- That the apartheid system must go.

- A climate of free political activity is necessary. This would entail the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the release of all political prisoners, lifting of the State of Emergency, etc.

- That there should be one-person one-vote on a common voters' roll.

- All sides were for a multi-party democracy.

Many clarifications were made by the ANC delegation especially on the areas of disagreement. The positions of the movement were relatively appreciated by the other side. The debates were frank and some-

times very rough, but still constructive. All participants were bound by one consideration: we are all South Africans and have the task of eliminating apartheid.

One thing the meeting showed was how far alienated South Africans of different political thinking can be from one another. Suspicious and fears on the part of some Afrikaners - eg., whether their language, culture and traditions would be protected - would have been a thing of the past if information on ANC positions was not deliberately kept away from the majority of South African whites.

An intriguing start was made. For it was not a disappointing event. Some broad areas of agreement were identified, a thing that was not imaginable a few years ago. Indeed, it was a typical South African encounter.

dent structures. Community organisations, including youth congresses must play a role in this process. The efforts to form a united, anti-apartheid teachers' organisation must be speeded up.

These structures are not meant simply to manage a crisis. They must take an offensive posture for the realisation of people's education. It is quite true that the education crisis can only be permanently resolved in a democratic South Africa. But the seed must be planted in struggle today; the embryo of a future education must take shape now.

### **Back - to - School**

This is the time to introduce people's education in the schools and universities. The call to go back to school must be seen in this context. We must use these institutions of learning as our firm trenches for the realisation of our demands. The formation of strong structures is fundamental to this.

But these structures shall flourish only if they take up the demands of their constituents; only if they engage in well-planned and co-ordinated actions to achieve these demands. One urgent question that we have to take up is: can black students and the community in general sit idly by with overcrowding and exclusion of some students in our areas, while countless white schools stand empty? The answer is no! Action is required to address this issue.

We must also be self-critical about problems of ill-discipline among some of our students. The problems of gangsterism and alcohol and drug abuse, to mention a few, must be attended to with the full weight of all popular structures. We must not allow this epidemic to eat through the very fabric of our young generation.



## **PEOPLE'S EDUCATION NOW!**

Successive Nationalist regimes have always regarded apartheid education as one of the main pillars to maintain white supremacy. It is in this vein that Stoffel van der Merwe recently reiterated that schools will remain segregated as a norm, an apartheid norm. This announcement comes at a time when the de Klerk regime is shouting itself hoarse about how it is committed to end apartheid.

The high percentage failure among African matriculants reflects the extent of the crisis bedeviling black education. The apartheid regime must bear full responsibility for this. Police and military occupation of black schools and general state disruption of classes and activities of democratic structures are but some of the immediate causes of this state of affairs. But the root cause is the system of white domination.

### **Foward Move**

Given the removal of some repressive restrictions in education and the new conditions of legality, how do we move forward?

We must urgently address the weaknesses which have wrought

havoc on democratic structures and the struggle for people's education in general. The absence of a national students' organisation at secondary and high school level cries out for the immediate revival of COSAS. Such an organisation - whatever its precise name - must find root in each and every region and school. It must be informed by the collective needs and experience of all students.

Because of the harassment and detention of SRC members, these structures have been paralysed in many schools. Where they exist, they function as semi-legal organs. The new legal space allows them to operate openly, with the possibility to reach out to all constituents. We must also pay special attention to the re-organisation of Parent/Teacher/Student

## NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND ISSUE OF POWER

## 1. WHAT IS REVOLUTION?

When those subdued and stripped of their rights struggle to change society, those in power, without exception, seek to portray this as all the bad things that one can think of. Horrid stories are invented to scare the masses. Revolution is turned into a swear word.

In South Africa, the ANC and its allies are called "revolutionary terrorists" - people only interested in random killing and imposing totalitarian systems. The people are then persuaded: better the devil you live under than the future you do not know.

## FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE:

But what is revolution? It is, simply put, fundamental political change. Revolution entails the transformation of social relations among human beings. This includes relations of ownership of the land and other property, distribution of the wealth of the country, a new educational system and so on.

In our country, all these relations reflect one thing: domination by the white minority. The oppressed people seek to change this order of things. They are struggling to set up relations of equality among all South Africans, whatever their colour.

But not all change constitutes a revolution. PW Botha some time ago said everyone had the right to eat and sleep in any hotel they can afford. Recently de Klerk unbanned the ANC and released Nelson Mandela. This is quite important. But it has not changed the status of a mother in Winterveldt: she is not recognised as a South African citizen; the wealth of the country is still in a few white hands; she cannot stay where she chooses; she cannot vote for central bodies of government.

THIS IS THE FIRST ARTICLE IN A SERIES DEALING WITH THE ISSUE OF FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION. THE CURRENT SITUATION REQUIRES A THOROUGH GRASP OF OUR STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL OBJECTIVES.

In other words, revolution should affect all aspects of human relations. But for this to take place, political control has to change hands.

It is one thing if those who take over government agree with the basic policies of their opponents. Then they shall not change, but modify the system. Political power has to shift from the hands of given interest group(s) to other group(s) which seek to fashion relations in a new and better way. Revolution means fundamental change from an outdated and unjust system to a better one for the majority.

## BETTER SYSTEM:

In our conditions, the Freedom Charter, Constitutional Guidelines and Statement of Principles in the OAU Harare Declaration define the new and better system we want. Virtually all anti-apartheid forces agree with the latter two in particular. But many among them would cringe at the mention of the word Revolution. Why is this? One reason is that those in power have turned Revolution into a swear word.

But another reason is the association of revolution necessarily with war and bloodshed. There are many who want fundamental change, but are afraid of violent struggle, even where it is necessary. It is quite true that revolution does not necessarily have to be violent. And not all vio-

lent overthrow of governments constitute revolution.

## FORMS OF STRUGGLE:

What should be noted is that the forms of struggle pursued in each given situation are dictated by concrete conditions. In all instances, the forces in power, representing a backward system, do resist efforts aimed at their removal. They do so either by force, political tricks or a combination of the two. The apartheid regime has tried all forms, singly and in combination: to win the hearts and minds of the people as well as to deal viciously with opponents.

Precisely because all forces in power resist fundamental change, such change has to include some form of compulsion. This could be in the form of demonstrations, occupation of factories and government buildings, and so on. But when their end is near, defenders of the old order will resort to brute force. Where relatively peaceful revolutions have been successful, this was mainly because the people won to their side the military forces of the ruling bloc. They made it more and more difficult for the old rulers to use violence.

Our situation - characterised by the use of brute force against the people - demands the use of revolutionary violence. But this has to be combined with all possible peaceful forms. Because of repression, underground organisation is a necessity. But this has to be combined with legal mass organisation and mobilisation. Only a change in these conditions can call into being a change in these forms of struggle.

*In future issues of MAYIBUYE we deal with these and other questions in detail*

## Bantustan Question:

# A NEW APPROACH?

Significant shifts have taken place in the political situation within some bantustan machineries which warrant the attention of the ANC and other democratic forces. These changes ensure that bantustans are not the sole domain of the regime: they have become a terrain upon which apartheid is being challenged by the democratic forces.

The demonstration by 70 000 people in Bophuthatswana and the decision by the administration of Transkei to unban the ANC there are but only two recent examples of the changes in these territories.

What should our political policy be towards the bantustans today? This question is important in the light of political developments in these areas. For example, General Holomisa - long before February 2nd - facilitated the burial of King Sabata, allowed some free political activity in the Transkei and moved closer to the MDM. Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane has been actively pursuing a patriotic path. In Lebowa, Nkomo Ramodike is currently involved in freeing the political process with apparent inclination towards the MDM.

### Massive Opposition

Others such as Bophuthatswana remain as repressive as before. These ones must be subjected to massive political opposition with the aim of sweeping them aside. It is clear that even in the current period, they still choose to side with the apartheid regime.

Yet Qwaqwa, Gazankulu and KwaNdebele have shown a rudimentary willingness to be part of the forces for change. In Venda and the Ciskei there is talk, *but only talk* of a new policy direction.

It has always been the political approach of the ANC to mobilise the broadest possible front of anti-apartheid forces in our country. Anti-apartheid forces are by definition varied. But the criterion to an anti-apartheid mantle is what individuals

and organisations do, not merely what they declare. In respect of those within the bantustan structures, the immediate challenge they face is to create the atmosphere for free political activity in their areas. They must lift the ban on organisations and individuals; lift the State of Emergency; repeal repressive legislation; stop all political trials and executions; and refrain from attacking the struggling masses.

### Harare Declaration

Among the issues engaging the minds of most of the bantustan leaders is the approach to negotiations. The OAU Harare Declaration forms a good foundation for rethinking on their part. All those genuinely patriotic forces within the bantustans should define their positions in relation to this negotiations concept.

FW de Klerk and Gerrit Viljoen have already been on a tour of most bantustans, promising them an assured place at the "negotiating table". De Klerk desperately needs allies as he is forced to step into the unknown. He seeks to broaden his front, with the bantustan leaders taking his side at the negotiations table, in defence of white privilege and white domination. In the least, he hopes to fragment the black and democratic forces. We know that those patriotic forces in the bantustans who identify with the democratic cause have turned down this invitation. Others must follow suit.

Now that the ANC is unbanned, it is very important that all democratic

forces in the bantustans - as elsewhere - define their political positions in support of a joint platform against apartheid together with the CDF, the mass democratic movement and the ANC. But it is crucial that these democratic forces actively engage those in the bantustan structures who are showing a glimmer of anti-apartheid feeling. This will make all of us the more powerful, closing every possible space that the defenders of white minority domination would want to use. No forces who have either the potential or the willingness to become part of the democratic cause must be driven over to the regime.

The question of what happens to the bantustans in the current transitional period must be debated. *But there can be no compromise with our perspective of a unitary democratic South Africa where there shall be no bantustans.* This issue will be debated and its constitutional formulation worked out in a democratically elected Constituent Assembly. In the interim, we must pursue tactics which are aimed at advancing the unity of our people against apartheid and isolating all those apologists and puppets of apartheid.

Contradictions will arise from time to time, and these cannot be suppressed. But *what we seek to achieve is a massive and tactical political front to isolate the diehards of apartheid and consolidate democratic and patriotic forces behind the ANC. We must muster a force so powerful that we achieve our freedom quicker!*

**Unban  
People's  
Organisations !**

# LEAVE NOTHING TO CHANCE!

This article is the fifth in a series of responses to the feature in MAYIBUYE No. 2, 1989, which deals with the question of People's War and Insurrection. We invite readers to send in their comments.

Insurrection as an art to seize political power consists in the ability to correctly read the mood of the people and determine the correct moment for a general uprising of the masses against an unpopular regime. It also consists in the ability to muster the necessary people's forces to carry out the insurrection. One of the overriding conditions is the role of the underground in preparing and organising for insurrection.

## Present Conditions

But will insurrection play any role under the present conditions of greater legal space? We salute our people for having forced the apartheid regime to unban the ANC, SACP and other democratic organisations. But these achievements will only become irreversible if we build the people's forces - both above-board and underground.

Experience teaches us that reforms might not necessarily lead to political democracy. They can also precede an era of intense repression. The success of the revolution - transfer of power to the people - will depend on our ability to use this legal space to intensify the struggle to rid our country of the apartheid system.

We have to use this legal space to reach out to the millions of South Africans, and ensure that they act in their basic interest: the transfer of power. We must build the ANC in all corners of the land, among all sectors of the South African people. Sectoral organisations must be strengthened, and they must pursue both the

sectoral and national interests of their constituents. All these sectors, and all the patriotic organisations

to which they belong must unite in a broad front against apartheid.

The transfer of political power by the people as our strategic goal has not changed. It can take either the armed or unarmed form, depending on the unfolding events. While the new political climate promises a relatively peaceful settlement of the South African problem, we must not be lulled into abandoning all the work of the organisation and preparation for other eventualities. For example, we need to strengthen all the elements that will provide for armed uprising.

## Key Elements

One of the key elements is the people in struggle. Mass action must continue around basic demands, including those that affect our communities, workers, students and other sectors wherever they are. But the linking thread among all of them must be the demand for the transfer of power. We must demand a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly. We must form Organs of People's Power in our localities.

But this also entails ensuring that the enemy is not capable of acting against the people; and that if the enemy attacks we are able to hit back

and push the regime over-board. On the one hand, this requires strong political organisation. It also requires mass action.

In addition to all this we must have the necessary military strength:

- \* Cadres of MK and most other underground formations must not surface.

- \* We must continue to build the people's self-defence and other such committees.

- \* The process of winning over armed forces from the enemy camp must intensify.

- \* Everywhere, people's "law and order" must prevail.

The emphasis on all these elements does not negate our readiness for a negotiated settlement. But the apartheid regime will only engage in genuine negotiations when it recognises that we are strong enough on the ground to ensure the transfer of power with or without negotiations. Therefore the building of the insurrectionary forces must not be seen as an antithesis of the process of negotiations.

**LEAVE NOTHING TO CHANCE!  
BUILD THE PEOPLE'S FORCES!**

