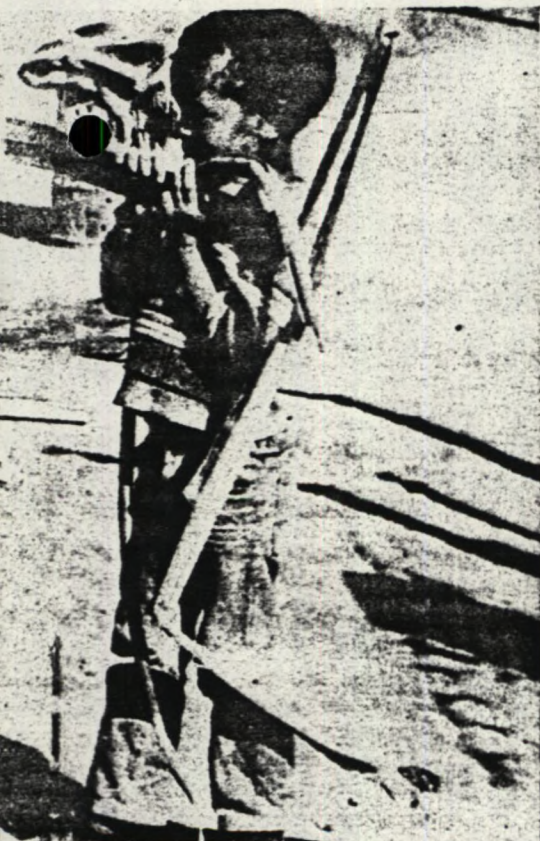




mon High on their school wall.

THE FRONT LINE

etal as toys today.
rrow?



Released from detention. In spite of it,
the struggle continues for these and
many other children.

by the government, was asked to surrender one of his subjects. He brought the man to the magistrate despite opposition from the people. He himself was arrested and the people in the meantime doctored themselves for war. Neighbouring groups jolted by the doubledealing of the British, who ostensibly were supposed to be protecting them, rebelled themselves. Mtele, Manuka were some of the people who took to the mountains in the South of the Tugela river. Mehlokazulu, who had a long history of fighting with the colonial forces, too, joined the war. Mehlokazulu, Mtele, and Nondubela went to the Qudeni mountains. On the second day of their arriving there, Lubuhlungu of the Faku people joined them. By the fourth week some of the people who survived the battles at Macala Hills joined the warriors in Qudeni mountains and were led by Faku's right hand man Babazeleni. Bambatha himself had gone to Usuthu where Dinuzulu was staying.

In the last week of May, the Warriors' Army attacked one of the columns of the colonial army at Mpukinyoni. Again the colonial troops proved superior not only in numbers but also in armament. The attack at Mpukinyoni was unlike the ones at Mome Gorge by Bambatha, where rifles were used and the engagements not long enough to allow the superiority of the colonial columns to come into play. At Mpukinyoni the battle formation was the old traditional type which relied on superior forces. Babazeleni's warriors were only about 800 in all. They were thus by far outnumbered and outclassed in every respect. As a result Babazeleni and about 100 of his men were killed. After this battle, the Warriors' Army moved to Nkonyeni forests near Nkombe.

McKenzie, using his superior forces, searched the whole of Inkandla forest, killing about 60 people there. On the 3rd of June warriors intercepted his troops at Manzipambana and by the 7th the warriors were all leaving the besieged fortress going in the direction of the mountains and hills of Qudeni and Macala. McKenzie, who had in the meantime been promoted to Supreme Command for his services was 'scouring' both sides of the Tugela looking for the Warriors' Army's base. It was only on the 9th that he got wind that Bambatha has been joined by Mehlokazulu and some men from Natal, from Ngobizembe in Konyeni forests and were moving back to the east

of Mome Gorge to link up with Siganda. The information of Duncan McKenzie proved correct and on the night of the 10th he struck at the Warriors' Army's main body which had arrived at the spot only half a day earlier. Bambatha, Mehlokazulu, Nondubela, Mtele and a large number of their soldiers died in the attack. Only Mangati and Cajikana survived the attack and moved northwards into the terrain. The colonial forces cut off Bambatha's head. White historians now say it was for identification purposes. The old man Siganda, now surrounded and isolated by numerically superior troops, surrendered and was taken prisoner. He died soon thereafter.

War In Mapumulo

After Inkandla, the colonists were overjoyed. Their governor was reporting to London that there was "no chance whatever of the rebellion spreading into Natal." Only the following day, warriors under Ndlovu ka Timuni attacked an army outpost at Thring's Post, Mapumulo, killing the soldier manning it and a Norwegian running a store there. They also ambushed a convoy of Natal's Mounted Rifles trying to cross Otimati River. Mapumulo had seen a series of brushes with the colonial authorities in January in which Ngobizembe, Meseni, Swaimana, Matshwili, Tshingumusi and Ndlovu ka Timuni himself in the jargon of the colonial officials were "severely punished for being disaffected" and allowing men to take ntelezi for war. When more and more troops from Inkandla passed through their areas, looting, plundering and lynching people for not 'showing proper respect for the White man,' Meseni, who himself had been in gaol two months earlier, distributed ntelezi among his men. In other areas of Natal the other leaders were forced to do the same.

The result was that by the end of June there were three main groups armed, and smaller ones too, operating independent of each other. They were "under Meseni, who was joined by some of Swaimana's people, under Ndlovu ka Timuni who was joined by Ngobizembe's followers under Sambela, and under Matshwili, joined by Tshingumusi's people, plus a number of people from a smaller chiefdom under Xegwana." At the same time McKenzie had established himself as strongman of the colonists and had moved his troops from the north to Mapumulo where they were joined by 2 500 White troops. In addition



Prisoners of war: Warriors captured during the Bambatha rebellion.

they were joined by 500 men from the Transvaal Mounted Rifles. Although Meseni sent word to Durban for all his people to come and fight and 1 000 dockworkers, 500 domestic servants and about 40% of the African Borough Police responded, the numbers were too small to overwhelm the huge army of McKenzie and too big for manoeuvre in Mapumulo's open plains.

Hence McKenzie, enjoying numerical superiority and all other factors, ordered his divisions to encircle Mtandeni where Meseni's main base was. Despite his network of agents and spies, McKenzie found only 1 500 'war huts' in Mtandeni. According to his version, his forces were ambushed "half-heartedly" by four groups of warriors later on as they marched to the Mapumulo-Esidumbeni Road going to Isizimba where Matshwili and Tshingumusi were lodged.

Matshwili and Tshingumusi had ambushed another convoy on the 2nd of July at Bond's Rift. On the 8th however the joint forces of McKenzie and his divisions attacked their main base in a surprise attack. Matshwili, his induna and his

sons were killed with about 600 of their soldiers. This battle virtually left Ndlovu ka Timuni as the main warrior leader still commanding large forces. He however dispersed his forces trying to leave Natal going north to Usuthu where they thought they might get support. But one by one Meseni, Macabacaba, and other leaders, leading small skirmishes against the colonial forces, were arrested before reaching Usuthu.

The colonial forces in the meantime unleashed a reign of terror, lynching, looting and plundering the whole area of Mapumulo as they had done in Zululand. Perhaps what they did can be judged from the following by the Bishop of Zululand: they "swept up large numbers of cattle and goats belonging to loyal natives indiscriminately ... They entered kraals of loyal natives and robbed them of clothes, blankets, mats and money ... Some of the women had clothes taken off their backs. Certain natives were found in hiding. They were brought into camp on the 5th (July) and five of them were shot ... The father of three of them was forcibly compelled to look on whilst his sons were shot ..."



The head of Bambatha, after it had been cut off by the colonial forces.

If this was the fate of those who supported the colonial troops, if this was the fate of those who listened to the missionaries, that their rulers were sinners only God of the missionaries knows what happened to the families of those who took part in the war.

Lessons And The Tribute

This year marks the 80th anniversary of the four months starting with April 1906 which have come to be known as Bambatha Rebellion. 80 years after the Bambatha Rebellion South Africa, not just Natal is in the throes of a violent armed liberation struggle. Accordingly, this anniversary is an appropriate tribute to the fighters, those courageous warriors of 1906 and at the same time a reminder that that war of anti-colonial struggle is continuing. Judging by the magnitude and ferocity of the present war, it is clear that the main lesson of the battles in Inkandla and Mapumulo forest have been learned well by the Blacks.

One of the immediate causes of the war was attempts by the colonial regime to impoverish us

so that we can work in the mines of Johannesburg and their farms. We are poor now and are working in the mines and their farms. This year the enemy is accordingly celebrating the centenary of the establishment of Johannesburg. We must be honouring the Bambathas, Mteles, Mehlokazulus, Siganandas and other heroes of 1906 and before then, indeed up till today.

The second most important thing to note and learn from the warriors is bravery. The sheer size of the might they were taking on with their spears and a few rifles is something to be proud of. It's not just an inspiration, it's a warning too to our enemy. Since we are still in the same war, fighting basically the same enemy it's necessary that we show ourselves worthy of their mantle. They took it from Makanda, Shaka, Sekhukhune, Hintsa, Mzilikazi before them. We need to take this standard of bravery to an even higher level. We must part ways with excuses however profound and refined they are and expel fear from our hearts.

The big lesson from the battles in Inkandla forest and Mapumulo, indeed from the war from 1652 to date, is unity. Unity in Action. The Bambatha Rebellion is one big lesson in lack of unity. It is obvious that had all the battles in Inkandla been planned from the same place consciously, the colonial forces would not have had it as easy as they did. It is obvious that the battles in Mapumulo should have been at the same time with those in Inkandla, not after. This applies to each and every battle and every region of the country. That is why we now must protect the unity of the African people, and all the democratic forces like the apple of our eyes. Without unity we are weak and without action we will remain weak and oppressed. Unity not of wishes, intentions, but of purpose, unity of action. It was in order to remedy this disunity that the warriors of old joined in the formation of the African National Congress six years later in 1912. The ANC is therefore the place to push the war to a new level.

Umkhonto we Sizwe? That is the proper place, in 1986, the Year of the People's Army, to wash the spears!



ANC STATEMENTS

Communique of the Meeting between the ANC and Inyandza National Movement

A meeting was held in March between the ANC and the Inyandza National Movement, the ruling party in KaNgwane. Enoch Mabuza, Chief Minister of KaNgwane and leader of the Inyandza delegation, told a press conference after the meeting that Inyandza was urging other bantustan leaders to "be on the side of the ANC." President Tambo of the ANC said that it was the first time the ANC had met a "high powered" delegation from one of the bantustans. At the press conference, the ANC issued the following communique:

Delegations of the Inyandza National Movement and the African National Congress met in Lusaka from the 1st to the 3rd of March, 1986. The delegations, composed of 21 persons each, were led by their respective Presidents, Enos Mabuza and Oliver Tambo.

The meeting took place at the request of Inyandza reflecting the conviction of Inyandza that the fundamental problem facing our country, the question of political power, cannot be resolved without the participation of the ANC, which is recognised by the majority of the people of South Africa as their leader and genuine representative.

The ANC welcomed the decision of Inyandza and saw it as a very important step towards the further consolidation of the unity of our people and of the democratic movement of our country, of which Inyandza is an integral part.

After extensive discussions on the current internal and international situation, characterised by a warm spirit of comradeship, the two delegations agreed on a number of important issues.

They agreed that the solution to the problems facing our country lies in the institution of a system of majority rule in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Accordingly they were united in their opposition to the entire system of 'separate development' as represented by such institutions as the tricameral parliament, the bantustans, the community councils, the

Regional Services Councils, the proposed National Statutory Council and so on.

The delegation of Inyandza explained that the principal task facing their movement is the organisation of the people to be part of the forces fighting for a democratic South Africa. To achieve this task, Inyandza is committed to non-violent means of struggle. The ANC expressed its full understanding and support for these positions.

The delegation of the ANC also reported to the meeting on its policy, its strategy and tactics. The ANC emphasised the need for the greatest possible mobilisation of all the people of our country to join in united political action against the apartheid regime. Equally, and in combination with the mass political struggle, the ANC also stressed the importance of the armed struggle to defend the people against the enemy armed forces and to give the people the possibility to seize power from a White minority regime which holds on to power by the use of force.

Inyandza expressed its understanding of the reasons which forced the ANC to resort to armed struggle and explained that as a result of the meeting it had gained a better understanding of the strategy of the ANC as a whole.

The two delegations agreed that each organisation would continue to act in its own way, in accordance with its own decisions, independently arrived at, in pursuit of the common objective of the birth of a genuinely democratic South Africa. In this regard, the two sides agreed about the need for regular consultations between the two organisations in the interests of the speediest transformation of South Africa into a democratic country.

The two delegations agreed that it was important that other political organisations working within the Pretoria-created institutions should, in the interest of all the people of our country, actively involve themselves in the struggle for the genuine liberation of our country. In this regard,

the two delegations agreed that it is important that these organisations should work in co-operation and not in competition with the rest of the democratic movement of South Africa.

The two delegations agreed that it is of central importance that the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners should develop with even greater intensity. They agreed that both their organisations would do their utmost in pursuit of this goal.

The two delegations further agreed that the obstacle to a negotiated resolution of the South African problem is the Botha regime. They con-

cluded that no negotiations are possible while the leaders of the people are in prison and while the Pretoria regime refuses to accept that our country should be governed by all its people, both Black and White, as equals, brothers and sisters.

The delegations of Inyandza and the ANC expressed great confidence that the victory of the people over the system of White minority rule is not far off. They agreed that both organisations would spare nothing in the struggle to realise this objective.

The two organisations agreed that they would meet again at a time to be agreed upon between them.

ANC Pays Tribute to Olof Palme

Olof Palme, the Prime Minister of Sweden, was murdered in Stockholm on the 28th February, 1986. President Tambo of the ANC sent the following message of condolence to Ingvar Carlsson, the Deputy Prime Minister.

We have received with extreme shock and heartfelt grief news of the death of our very dear brother, the Prime Minister of Sweden, Olof Palme — a death that came as a lightning bolt out of the cloudless skies.

The unspeakable crime of his assassination has sent a stunning shock wave throughout the ranks of the leadership and membership of the African National Congress and the millions of our people. We had come to know him not only as a leader of the Swedish people and an international statesman, but also as one of us, a fellow combatant who has made an inestimable contribution to the struggle for the liberation of South Africa.

The murderer's gun that fired the fatal shot was aimed directly against the ANC and our people as well, because none can benefit from this enormously horrendous crime except the oppressors and exploiters, and first and foremost among them the Pretoria regime. We who saw him only a week ago, drawing strength from his confidence in the proximity of our victory, know it in our hearts that even as he breathed his last, his thoughts were about those who are struggling for their emancipation, for a decent life in conditions of liberty and for a world free of wars. From Vietnam to Nicaragua, from El Salvador

to Palestine, from Sahara to South Africa, across the face of the globe, the flags hang limp and at half mast in loving memory of this giant of justice who had become a citizen of the world, a brother and comrade to all who are downtrodden.

As we march forward towards the accomplishment of Olof Palme's dream of a lifetime, the liberation of South Africa, his name will be on our banners, his memory in our hearts and minds and his example a driving impulse to us who must be prepared to give our lives as he did his own. Standing by his deathbed, to him and the Swedish people who raised for us an outstanding champion of our struggle and a standard bearer of our cause throughout the world, we pledge that we will vindicate his confidence in us by ridding our people of the murderous apartheid system and transform South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial and peaceful country.

On behalf of the ANC and the people of South Africa, we extend our deepest and heartfelt condolences to the Government and brother people of Sweden as well as the SAP and the Swedish labour movement as whole.

Please also accept my most sincere condolences to you all, dear friends, and to Olof Palme's family, especially his dear wife, Lisbeth. I shall forever cherish his friendship and miss his comradeship with an intensity that defies description.

May he rest in peace.

3rd March, 1986.

ANC INTERNATIONAL

'KATHRADA HOUSE' IN LONDON.

In February, one of the buildings of the Polytechnic of Central London was named 'Kathrada House' in honour of our imprisoned comrade, Ahmed Kathrada, who was one of the accused in the Rivonia trial in 1964, and who has now served nearly 22 years of a life sentence in South Africa.

The main speaker at the ceremony was Comrade Paul Joseph, who knew Comrade Kathrada well in the 1950s. He spoke of Kathrada's loyalty and dedication, of his fighting and campaigning spirit. He told how Kathrada was offered an amnesty in 1973 and refused it; how he was offered conditional release in 1985, and refused again. He quoted a letter Kathrada sent to a friend in 1985:

"To many it may have seemed as if we were a hairsbreadth away from 'freedom.' But in fact, from the very moment the announcement was made it was a non-starter.

"Now I don't want to indulge in any false modesty when I say I have not got that stuff that heroes are made of. But really I did not have to go through any sleepless nights to arrive at a decision. It was so patently designed to humiliate me that there just could be no other decision for me but to reject it."

Paul Joseph added:

"Such is the quality of the man you have today honoured."

ANC AND SACTU SPEAKERS TOUR DENMARK

Three representatives of the South African liberation movement made a speaking tour of Denmark in November and December 1985: Comrades Johnson Makatini, head of the International Department of the ANC, Dennis Goldberg of the ANC (who spent 20 years in gaol in South Africa)

and Bonisile Norushe of SACTU.

Their visit was well covered by the Danish media. Comrade Makatini, who had gone to Denmark to hear a debate in the Danish parliament on the intensifying sanctions against South Africa, held a press conference together with Comrades Aaron Mnisi, ANC representative in Denmark, and Jimmy Joseph, SWAPO representative in Sweden. He told the press:

"We are very encouraged by the attention we are getting in this part of the world ... Sanctions alone don't do it, but they are an important supplement to the struggle."

FINNISH SUPPORT FOR OUR STRUGGLE

The Finnish Transport and General Workers' Union has effectively imposed an embargo on the import and export of all goods to and from South Africa. In many other ways, as well, the democratic people of Finland are joining hands with the oppressed people of South Africa in our common struggle for peace and social justice, and their support is taking a concrete and material form.

Finnish Women Extend Solidarity

At the invitation of the Democratic League of Finnish Women, two representatives of the ANC Women's Section were invited to address the Fourth Working Women's Forum held in Helsinki on the week-end of the 1st and 2nd of March.

This impressive gathering of over 1 700 working women, drawn from all parts of Finland, came together to discuss the problems they faced in the factories and places of work and in their homes and communities as workers.

They called for peace and international co-operation, not simply as the absence of war in

general, but linked it to the necessary conditions of development and the ending of hunger and poverty everywhere. They also declared that as long as such a crime against humanity as apartheid is allowed to exist they could not consider themselves to be living under conditions of peace.

These Finnish women, workers and peace activists, extended their solidarity to the people of South Africa through the ANC, and expressed their resolve to campaign for the total isolation of Pretoria and to step up their support for the ANC.

Through the Democratic League of Finnish Women, the women of Finland have undertaken to fund a project to establish two women's houses for mothers with children and young girls who are forced to flee the ravages of the war that South Africa is wreaking upon them.

Students Support ANC and SWAPO

A resolution adopted by the National Union of Finnish Students at its annual conference in November 1985, condemned the system of apartheid, the illegal occupation of Namibia, and the attacks on Angola. It called for an end to the state of emergency, for the freeing of Nelson Mandela, for freedom of movement for Black citizens of South Africa and for democratic elections. It demanded that Finland cut off all its relations with the South African regime, and support the ANC and SWAPO, and appealed to all states and peoples of the world to work for the total boycott of the Republic of South Africa.

Bus for SOMAFCO

In Helsinki, a couple named Helena and Risto Kekkonen were convinced of the importance of SOMAFCO. They made a film about the school, wrote in a number of journals, and finally raised enough money for the materials needed to build a bus for the complex at Mazimbu. They then persuaded all the workers at the Kutter factory to donate their labour and time, something they willingly did once they had learned something about education under apartheid and what SOMAFCO stands for.

SWEDISH RACEHORSE RACES FOR THE ANC

In 1984, Bengt Nordenbrand of Stockholm in Sweden bought a half share in a young racehorse, which, he says, has grown into a promising

horse, one of the best in Sweden. He has promised to donate all his share of the prize money earned by this horse to the children of South Africa, via the ANC. He has already sent 11 600 Swedish kroner to the ANC, and hopes to send a lot more this year.

LETTERS OF SUPPORT

From time to time, in this column, we print extracts from letters we have received in the *Sechaba* office, from friends and supporters in different parts of the world.

Among the letters we have received recently, is one from **Spain**, from the Institute of Political Studies in Africa and Latin America:

"We have ... the possibility of publishing — here in Madrid — a book about Nelson Mandela ... not only to tell the story of his life but the story of his fighting, the story of the ANC, the struggle of the South African Black people, the external alliances of Pretoria, etc ...

"Please write to us your point of view ... and good luck to you."

From **Italy**, Father Sergio Agustoni of the Verona Fathers also asked for information:

"... I want to manifest my deep appreciation for your work, and my solidarity with the struggle South African people are carrying on ... I cooperate with the Italian magazine, *Nigrizia*, ... we would like to present some figures of the South African resistance. We are looking for material on Winnie Mandela, the wife of Nelson, and the Rev. Allan Boesak. We ... hope that a better information will contribute to create greater sensibility and solidarity with your struggle."

From the **United States**, Booker T Evans of Chicago wrote:

"I would like to say that we here in the Afro-American community support the struggle against racist domination in Southern Africa.

"There is a good deal of support here for the end of slavery in South Africa. Everyone, even the children on the street, speak of it!

"Last year, when I was in Brazil, the Afro-Brazilian community was very concerned about the state of affairs in South Africa.

"I buy *Sechaba* on the newsstand."

DUAL POWER AND THE CREATION OF PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

By Alex Mashinini

South Africa has undoubtedly come to be one of the most volatile of conflict-torn areas in world politics today. The regime has plunged irretrievably into deep social, political and economic crisis. The declaration of the state of emergency is evidence, if any is needed, that the social engineering measures of the regime, presented as reforms, have dismally failed, and is a further acknowledgement on the part of the Botha clique that it has lost control over the government of the country. Apartheid is increasingly becoming unworkable. The level of mass political and military participation in the struggle for liberation has shown us the possibility of revolution.

The economy is in a shambles, and the prospects of recovery are as dim as those of political stability. Foreign investors are quitting the country in large numbers, and the threat of international economic sanctions is looming large.

Yet all these developments — a product of sacrifices, selflessness and determination by our people and their international friends — have brought new complex challenges.

How to Sharpen the Spear?

How, then, do we sharpen the spear to drive back the apartheid monster, and finally defeat it? Which methods and principles for revolutionary action should we employ to deepen the enemy crisis still further, to render the rule of the enemy ineffective and finally to smash him?

So far, much has been written on such strategic aspects of our revolution as protracted people's war, arming of the masses, embryonic forms of self-government and popular power, insurrection and so on — important questions at the present stage, ones which have been subject to much debate and discussion, and which cry for greater clarity.

At such crucial and historic moments as the present one, we need a coherent, clear and unambiguous strategic perspective as regards these questions; not only for the purpose of greater understanding within the liberation movement itself, but also (and this is very important) because we must always strive to impart to our people the course of events in our national democratic revolution. We need to:

"advance our aims more comprehensively and boldly at such a time, so that our slogans shall always be in advance of the revolutionary initiative of the masses, serve as a beacon, reveal to them our democratic ideals ... and show them the shortest and most direct route to complete, absolute and decisive victory." (V I Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy*.)

What do we mean by such concepts and categories as people's war, the arming of the masses, insurrection, embryonic forms of self-government and popular power, and so on, as they are related to South Africa's own set of concrete and historical conditions?

We should guard against a tendency to provide prescriptions and definitions which do not bear the least affinity to the essence of our national democratic revolution, and against amorphous approaches which collapse these concepts and categories into a whole, while failing to distinguish the order of priorities and the likely course and sequence of events in our revolution.

Here, we shall confine ourselves to discussing the issue of **dual power**, and embryonic forms of self-government and popular power.

Colonialism of a Special Type

The South African liberation movement describes the social, political and economic rela-

tionship prevailing in our country as that of colonialism of a special type. Unfortunately, this thesis is mostly understood in geographic terms, in which the coloniser (the White minority state) lives side by side, and coexists, with the colonised (the Black majority), and also in terms of the relations of domination and subjugation.

But in terms of the revolution, this thesis cuts across the whole social fibre of South African society. It exposes and lays bare those conditions in South Africa which make it a reality that the struggle of the oppressed majority has to be waged along two dialectically connected lines.

When the struggle against White domination in South Africa came to a point where peaceful methods of struggle alone proved inadequate, the people became disillusioned with peaceful methods. Despite the enormous sacrifices and hardships it would entail, they were prepared to support the strategy of armed struggle and to participate in it. The first necessity, then, was to embark on armed struggle, as it could be conceived of in conditions of colonialism (see *Strategy and Tactics of the ANC*, adopted at the Morogoro Conference, 1969).

At the same time, the highly developed capitalism of South Africa (a feature not found in any other colonial situation) has given rise to a large Black working class, relatively highly organised and class-conscious, with a political experience and maturity arising from half a century of mass political mobilisation. This brought to the fore of the struggle the issue of insurrection, as it can be conceived of in any highly developed capitalist country.

Mass Political Action and Armed Struggle

The objective existence of these two conditions serves as a material foundation for the strategy of combining mass political action with armed struggle, and gives meaning to it. They also expose those conditions in the South African revolution which make the relationship between armed struggle and insurrection a reality, and not an academic exercise.

Having said this, we should not lose sight of the fact that ours is a national democratic revolution, which seeks, by the application of revolutionary violence, to replace the present White racist minority rule with the rule of the majority, based on the democratic principles of the Freedom Charter.

We accept, not only in principle but also in all its implications, the eventuality of an armed uprising, an insurrection, as a culmination of the combination of mass political action with armed struggle. It then becomes necessary not only to seek to understand this relationship but also to emphasise, always, the particular needs and demands of the struggle that this necessity imposes on every stage of our revolution.

People's War

The liberation movement has adopted the strategy of a people's war. It is a war in which our entire nation is engaged — Umkhonto we Sizwe, the people's army, workers, the rural masses, women, students, intellectuals, the religious community and so on — collectively in groups, and as organised individuals. They use all forms of revolutionary warfare — armed and non-combat, legal and illegal — to attack and destroy all symbols, structures and organs of apartheid power, including all those who man them. The underlying principle here is that all these forms of revolutionary warfare, even those aimed at achieving certain short-term goals, should have as their long-term and fundamental objective, the total destruction of the South African system.

But the nature of our forces and those of the enemy makes it necessary that we protract our war. This, as a guiding principle, will offer us an opportunity to build, consolidate and develop our forces from our present weak position to that of material and moral superiority over the enemy.

Ours, therefore, is a protracted people's war as a means in a revolutionary process towards the ultimate build-up into an insurrectionary overthrow of the South African state.

What, then, are the immediate tasks of the vanguard movement at the present stage of our revolution? In which areas of activity should we put more emphasis in the development of our strategy of a people's war?

The journals and policy statements of the liberation movement have singled out certain areas of activity where we should move with urgency. These include consolidating and extending the underground structures of the ANC, the intensification of the armed struggle, the training and arming of the masses (see the ANC January 8th Message, 1986). We shall confine ourselves here to the issue of the emerging embryonic forms of self-government and popular



Duncan Village, December 1985

power, and the creation of people's committees, in the belief that the other issues have been thoroughly (though not exhaustively) discussed and debated, and have become part of the day-to-day routine work of the vanguard movement in the execution of the struggle.

Dual Power

In executing the strategy of a people's war, the liberation movement, headed by the ANC, has evolved specific and concrete tactical offensive positions for our people to make apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable. The enthusiasm with which our people carried this out shook, and is still shaking, even the most unconcerned observers both in South Africa and abroad. The campaign is sapping the central power of apartheid rule and stretching it to its limits, by destroying its local organs of administration and control. In most of the areas torn by upsurge, government-instituted community councils have been destroyed, and those who man them have either been killed or forced to resign. Black police and informers have been forced, through mass revolutionary violence, to quit most of the townships.

Thus, in several areas of the country, we have what the press has come to term 'no-go areas.' These are the areas in which the police have maintained a conspicuous absence, except when patrolling in large military convoys. In other areas, the people have not paid rent since September 1984!

Apartheid is increasingly becoming unworkable, and the country is rapidly degenerating into a state of complete ungovernability. How, then, do we appraise these developments? What tactical inroads have been made, what challenges are presented? What strategic shifts is the revolution likely to experience through the cumulative impact of these campaigns?

These are questions to which the vanguard movement must seriously address itself, not only for the purpose of its own inner clarity, but, above all, to give aim, purpose, guidance and leadership to the mass democratic movement.

In South Africa today, the enemy can no longer rule in the same old way. There is a considerable measure of independent action on the part of the masses, who are enforcing their will, both against that of the ruling classes, and parallel with it. As a result, there has emerged (but not yet on a na-

tional scale) a peculiar form of dual power, not in an administrative, but in a political sense.

Let us clarify what we actually mean by this peculiar form of dual power, so as to ward off any unwarranted optimism, which can only lead to a confusion of priorities.

Local Organs of Power Disintegrating

We are far from implying that two governments exist in South Africa today. Quite the contrary! There is still one central government in power, that of the racists, which still kills and maims our people, which taxes and exploits our people, which enacts laws and imposes them on our people. There is this difference: it is the racist government which has lost, and is still losing, control over its local organs of Black administration and law enforcement. It is a central government whose local organs of power are being gradually undermined by the masses, and indeed, are disintegrating. It is therefore a central government which, given the unabated continuity and escalation of these campaigns, will in the end remain a centre without reference co-ordinates, and therefore isolated and irrelevant.

But let us not lose sight of the fact that this is but an aspect (legislative and executive at Black local levels) of the South African apartheid system. Its state, whose purpose it is to protect and sustain by force of arms the rule of the White racist minority over the democratic majority, is still intact.

It is therefore in the light of this that the real power of the majority can only be achieved after the revolution has smashed and dismantled this state power.

"All revolutions are about state power. Ours is no exception." (ANC January 8th Message, 1986)

This, therefore, is the nature of this peculiar form of dual power, which signifies that the 'crisis of power' has already dawned in the South African revolution.

But our analysis of this peculiar form of dual power would indeed be incomplete if we omitted to look into the significance of this development for the entire course of our revolution.

Embryonic Popular Power

First and foremost, this development signifies the emergence, still embryonic, still incipient, of organs of self-government and popular power.

These are organs which have rejected the illegitimate rule of apartheid, which are challenging the apartheid authorities for the control of these areas, emerging, therefore, as the alternative power. They are, and should be seen as, what Lenin in *Letters From Afar* called "organs of insurrection," which, when that moment arrives, will be called upon to rise, arms in hands, and seize power.

Now, given the escalation of these campaigns in which the apartheid system is increasingly becoming unworkable, in which the country is rapidly degenerating into a state of complete ungovernability, and in which "the democratic movement has emerged as the alternative power,"¹ it goes without saying that these embryonic organs of power have to be strengthened, consolidated and developed.

What, then are the immediate and concrete tasks of the vanguard movement in providing leadership and guidance to these new revolutionary developments? Which concrete methods of organisation and slogans of mobilisation should the vanguard movement advance and pursue, to meet these new conditions of struggle?

The urgent task of the vanguard movement in these new conditions of struggle is to "transform these areas (no-go-areas) into mass revolutionary bases,"² through which we can realise our strategy of a people's war. We can do this by, among other things, creating in these areas local Revolutionary People's Committees, as a rallying slogan, and also as organs of self-government and popular power, and as organs of insurrection.

Is the slogan of creating Revolutionary People's Committees an appropriate one to meet the revolutionary demands of our times? Will it serve to show the mass of our people in their present endeavour to make apartheid unworkable and to render the country ungovernable, the aim and likely course of the revolution towards the armed seizure of power and its transfer into the hands of the democratic majority, for the establishment of a people's power? Why not, for example, refer to these organs as local People's Communes? These are questions of topical importance if our slogans, together with our mobilisation and organisational tasks are not to end up in revolutionary phrase-mongering and misguided actions!

A Rallying Slogan

We believe that these local committees, firstly as a rallying slogan, are not only appropriate, but revolutionary as well, precisely because they answer the question: What is to be done in those areas where the local organs of apartheid power have been destroyed by the people?

They are not only appropriate, but revolutionary as well, precisely because in those areas where the democratic movement has emerged as the alternative power, where the popular will has been asserted, the consolidation, strengthening and development of this alternative power can only be organised, created and guided. It is unthinkable that these forms of alternative power could be organised and guided without a clear strategy that maps out their organisation and guidance. Any approach which fails to recognise the need to organise, create and guide these forms of alternative power into Revolutionary People's Committees will not only be sheer idle talk, but will also be noxious to the whole course of the development of our revolution, for such an approach neglects this trend to its own spontaneity.

Should we call them People's Communes? No. What if people ask (as they will, of course, do) what these communes are? The answer will unavoidably have to be provided by way of the historical experiences of the Paris Commune of 1871, which was defeated by counter-revolution. While we value the rich experiences of the Paris Commune, we should, at the same time, not live in the memories of the past. This can only:

"confuse the minds of the people with the distant echo of sonorous phrases or empty rhetoric. The more we cherish the memory of the Paris Commune, the less permissible it is to refer to it offhand, without analysing its mistakes and the special conditions attending it." (V I Lenin, Two Tactics of Social Democracy)

We will call them Revolutionary People's Committees, precisely because they address themselves to the very essence of the popular and democratic nature of our revolution, which seeks to establish a People's Power.

We will call them Revolutionary People's Committees, precisely because they address themselves to, and seek to implement, the democratic provisions of the People's Charter — the Freedom Charter!

Tasks of the Committees

The urgent tasks of these People's Committees is to seek to implement the provisions of the Freedom Charter, by:

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

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

Mind-Defying Miracles of the Revolution

We deliberately used the term, "seek to implement" these provisions through the destruction of the local organs of apartheid power, through the combination of mass political action with armed struggle. To suggest, therefore, that these People's Committees cannot be created, let alone defended, on the basis of arguments that project the superior military power of the apartheid state, is to lapse into the much-discredited 'theory of processes,' is to undermine the revolutionary potential of the masses (who in times of revolution are capable of mind-defying miracles) thereby negating the very essence of our revolutionary war, which is to fight and act, and to act and fight.

As revolutionaries, our duty is not to put obstacles before the revolution, but to surmount them.

"We must use our organised mass strength and, by attacking, consolidate our victorious emergence as the alternative power." (ANC January 8th Message, 1986)

In conclusion, let us dedicate a few words to the strategic benefits and advantages which will accrue from the creation, consolidation and

development of Revolutionary People's Committees.

This becomes an issue of the utmost importance in the light of the present fluidity (this is objective) of the revolutionary upsurge inside the country, and which has opened vast avenues of possibilities. Among other things, there is the likely probability of a sustained nation-wide uprising, with nation-wide industrial and community action, continued students' boycott and upsurges throughout the country. This is not an expression of blind optimism or an attempt at 'revolutionary prophesying,' but, on the contrary, is a realisation that, as Clausewitz said, there is no form of human activity that:

"stands so constantly and so generally in close connection with chance as war."

The calculation of probabilities should, therefore, accompany the execution of war.

The creation, consolidation and development of Revolutionary People's Committees, both as organs of self-government and popular power and of insurrection, will therefore (and in any eventuality) serve as indicators to:

- How loyal the people are to the democratic ideals, programme and leadership of the vanguard movement, the ANC, and
- How organised they are in the townships, villages, districts, regions and finally, therefore, on a national scale.

The initiative is in our hands! Let us cling to it like grim death!

Footnotes:

1. ANC January 8th Message, 1986.
2. Ibid.



LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The Editor
Sechaba

Dear Sir/Madam,

I would be grateful if you would provide space in your magazine for this letter.

On behalf of the Muslim people of the Republic of South Africa and Zimbabwe, I wish to pledge our support for your struggle against oppression in South Africa.

The Muslim freedom movements of South Africa, in particular, wish to reaffirm their support for your struggle against injustice, and to reinforce that your struggle is their struggle. Furthermore, the South African Muslim liberation movements and their representatives express their desire for both your groups, the Muslim and the ANC movements, to reach a mutual understanding, to dismantle the racist apparatus and to bring freedom to the people of South Africa.

Those Muslims fighting in the cause of justice are urged to action not only by the injustice and suffering inflicted on the people, but by the injunctions found in Islam's holiest book, the Holy Quran, to actively struggle against oppression. I quote:

74.

Let those fight
In the cause of God
Who sell the life of this world
For the Hereafter
To him who fighteth
In the cause of God —
Whether he is slain
Or gets victory —
Soon shall We give him
A reward of great (value)

75.

And why should ye not
Fight in the cause of God
And of those who, being weak,
Are ill-treated (and oppressed)?
Men, women and children
Whose cry is: "Our Lord!"
Rescue us from this town,
Whose people are oppressors,

And raise us from Thee
One who will protect;
And raise for us from Thee
One who will help!

76.

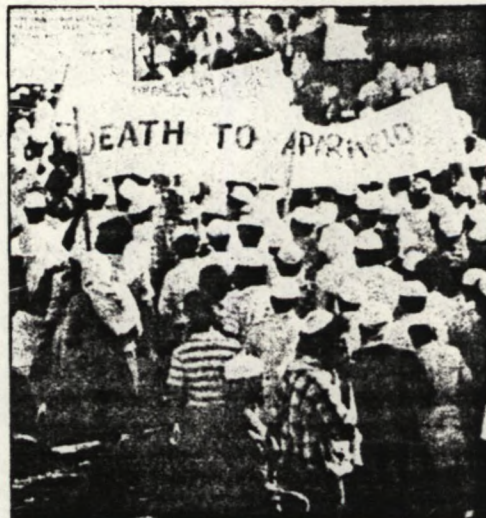
Those who believe
Fight in the cause of God
And those who reject faith
Fight in the cause of Evil
So fight ye against the
Friends of Satan: feeble indeed
Is the cunning of Satan.

The ANC and Muslim liberation movements should find unity in their purpose and goal. Undivided, they must strive to defeat the enemy and so achieve justice and order.

May your struggles eventuate in a peaceful solution, and may God continue to assist your groups in this noble and important task.

Yours sincerely,
R Z Ezat (Miss)
(Zimbabwean Muslim woman)

Harare,
12th February, 1986.



*Demonstration at a Moslem funeral,
Athlone in the Cape.*

TO BENJAMIN MOLOISE

O Moloise
With the wrath
Of an ash-strewn mother
Poetry ever vigilant
Receives you tonight.

Standing upright
In the flowing light
Of your verse,
Standing tall
As your people
Dark and slender
As the cypress.

Benjamin, take to heart
That of all the poets
And peoples of your time
You are admired.

Our peoples hearkened,
Startled at the close.
Of your verse
Flowing free
As a great river
And surging forth
At the hour of your death.

Like a thunderbolt
Fell the news
Striking the very hearts
Of our peoples.

We heard you speak, O Benjamin,
Of your time
In words glowing and winged,
And saw you bent
Over the list of martyred poets
With your reflective jetstone gaze
Shining down the corridors
Of time.

We saw you harvesting
With your pen
All the tears and bitterness
Of the season.

Saw the pen guided
By those firm fingers
As if they comprised
Your very essence.

Now our words like great fans
Lie screened in the dense foliage
Of the wood
Stirring the motionless air
Of eternity
With midnight octaves.

Moloise, Benjamin
The butterflies of Greece
Small partisans
Would load the lilies
Of your land like gunbarrels
With the sulphurous pollen of the pine.

In these times
Poets
Are closing in
On the gallows of shame,

Beholding you, the poet,
Immovable straddling
The wave of frenzied
Twentieth century rage,

Sensing the pungence
Of gunpowder,
Humility
And wrath,

Beholding you, the poet,
Decimating the legions
Of imperialism
With the keen and true sabre
Of your verse.

Christos Karabetsos

(Translated from the Greek by Judy Hogan)

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