

April 17th marks the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Federation of South African Women which brought together women of all races and provinces in the struggle against apartheid. As we continue with the process of building a national women's movement under present-day conditions, the Federation's lessons become very important to us. MAYIBUYE interviewed Comrade Ray Simons, first Secretary of FEDSAW and member of the National Secretariat of the Women's Section of the ANC on these experiences and their relevance today.

MAYIBUYE: What led to the formation of FEDSAW, and what role did you play in this process?

RAY SIMONS: I, together with other women had been organising trade unions in which many working women were members. Whilst organising working women, it became clear that our women are the most oppressed and exploited of our people. At work they had the meanest jobs with lowest wages. In fact, laws and regulations of the regime would lay down wages for women at the same rate as juvenile male workers under 18 years of age, i.e., 20% less than for adult males. After World War II, we had food shortages, not enough houses, schools, clinics, etc. The conditions were hard, particularly on our women. We organised food clubs. The need for an all-women's organisation became much more apparent and urgent. At the same time, we learned about the existence of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) which was established in 1945. We also learned that women in India, in Nigeria and many other countries established women's federations. A number of us got together and resolved to establish the Federation of South African Women.

The first local federation was established in Port Elizabeth. Comrades Francis Baard, Florence Matomela and myself were the speakers at the meeting on the 1st of April 1953. The meeting mandated me to organise such bodies in Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town and other areas. I was then Secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union. I communicated this idea to



Fedsaw members pray for detainees and (Sharpsville Six).

other women organisers.

In Cape Town, a meeting of women leaders, trade unionists, women's food clubs and other women's organisations was convened. The most burning issue we faced then was the increase in the prices of bread and meat and withdrawal of subsidies from flour and mealie-meal. We organised a campaign in the form of mass meetings and deputations to the then Minister of Finance, Havenga. As a result, we managed to stop - for a time - the plans of the regime. This was an important victory. We also organised other campaigns against increased bus fares, etc. All these actions stimulated the organisation and the coming together of women. "The Guardian" (the progressive people's newspaper) published our campaigns.

MAYIBUYE: As we know, FEDSAW was not banned. But since the banning of the ANC Women's League which was

the major affiliate, and the banning of individual leading activists, it became very difficult for this body to continue functioning. What measures did you take to make the Federation continue working?

RS: What we did was to follow the M(Mandela) Plan. We organised women's groups in the townships according to streets, sewing clubs and so on; and kept the Federation and the ANC Women's League alive and active during the period of repression. However, this became more and more difficult in the 1960's, because of heavy repression. The situation is different today because the mass of women and people in general are active despite even heavier enemy repression. There are more and more women and other activists involved.

MAYIBUYE: At its founding conference, the Federation adopted a Women's Charter. What did the Charter embrace

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as a major concern?

RS: The Charter embraced women's rights as a major concern. But its priority was for women to play an active role in the struggle for national liberation. It also expressed concern, for example, at the multitude of legal restrictions on women. It opposed the triple oppression of black women - oppressed because of the colour of their skin, as women and as a class. It also emphasised children's rights.

MAYIBUYE: The democratic movement has been working for the formation of a broad anti-apartheid coalition. How do these efforts relate to the process under way to form a national organisation of women?

RS: Our women are working to establish a single national body of women irrespective of race, colour and profession. We support this aim for women to be united irrespective of whether they have adopted the FEDSAW Charter or the Freedom Charter. Let the women come together and form a body to defend their rights and advance the struggle. They themselves will decide what name such a body will have, and what charter or principles to adopt.

The oppressed and exploited women are making a great contribution in the struggle against the repressive and inhuman actions of the regime against all our people, young and old. Therefore everyone who believes in human rights and children's welfare - black and white - should come together and establish a broad anti-apartheid women's organisation which will mobilise all women to struggle side by side with men of all ages to liberate our country from white racist rule. Our children's lives are in danger. We must protect and save our children. We must stop the racist regime and its security forces from detaining, torturing, abducting and killing our people.

The formation of an anti-apartheid women's organisation should contribute towards and become part of the overall effort to set up a broad anti-apartheid coalition.

WOMEN AND DEFIANCE

In our country, as in most countries where an oppressive regime is in power, women are to be found in the front ranks of resistance. Our history is a living testimony of women's valour, resilience and determination to stand against successive apartheid regimes.

It is particularly in the defiance of apartheid laws and measures affecting women that we have seen the real worth of South African oppressed women. The ANC was only a year old when the first major campaign of defiance by the women was launched. The result was that the attempt to extend the passes to women was shelved for decades.

Again, in all the campaigns relating to the rising cost of living, which particularly affects women, they have been in the forefront. They have defied bulldozers when the regime tried to uproot families from their homes. They have refused to give in without a fight even though in many cases they have acted from a position of relative weakness created by the socio-economic position to which they have been relegated by the apartheid system. They derive strength from the justness of the people's cause, from their unity, organisation and determination.

As we enter 1989, we call on the women of our country to take their position in the front ranks of the mass political activities to be undertaken this year. They must, together with the youth, workers, and others, work relentlessly to ensure that this becomes truly a year of defiance and daring on our part!

The January 8 statement, in a call to the people to engage in struggle around issues which directly affect them, identifies, among others, the plight of millions of our people who live in appalling conditions in shanty towns in many areas of our country.

Also, our women together with all our people must fight for the release of our children from prison and detention and an end to the execution of patriots.

The Groups Areas Act and the migrant labour system which divide and undermine family life must be dealt a final blow through mass action. We have a right to decent family life.

Most of our women are employed on commercial farms and as domestic workers in the white suburbs where they and their children are treated as slaves. The democratic movement must draw more and more workers of these workers into its ranks. The living wage campaign must be intensified especially in sectors where women are employed.

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IS IN THE STRUGGLE!!

MAYIBUYE: What do you think the women of our country should do to mark the 35th anniversary of the formation of FEDSAW?

RS: I think the January 8th Statement of the NEC summarises the task facing all women and indeed the entire democratic movement in our country when it says: "The objective of anti-apartheid united action faces all sectors of our people. In particular, democratic and anti-apartheid women's organisations have for some time now striven to set up a single national body. The urgency of this task - at both national and regional levels - cannot be

overemphasised, on this the 35th Anniversary year of the founding of the Federation of South African Women".

It concludes by saying: "...Let this last year of the decade be marked by unprecedented mass action for an end to the apartheid system; for the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa".



FORWARD

YOUTH ACTION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER

INTERVIEW WITH JACKIE SELEBI,
HEAD OF THE ANC YOUTH SECTION
AND MEMBER OF THE NEC OF THE ANC

Question: What are the perspectives of the youth in this year?

Answer: The year 1989, must see us better poised to effect our goal of national liberation. We, together with the rest of the other sectors, must more resolutely push for the birth of a new non-racial democratic South Africa. Through our own effort we must destroy apartheid and its structures. We have the task of acting enmasse to defy and make ineffective all restrictions placed upon us by the regime. As working youth, we must defeat the rightwing attack on the Trade Union Movement and build upon our gains.

As students we should advance more on the campaigns for a peoples education, creating and building viable structures for better organisation and co-ordination. In our community organisations, be they youth clubs, sports, civics, we must take the offensive to the regime in an organised and disciplined fashion. Religious youth and their organisations must also join the offensive against the regime.

But more important in this 10th anniversary of the cold-blooded murder of Solomon Mahlangu is that in greater numbers than before and with more determination, we should join the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We should sharpen and strengthen the spear of the nation for our liberation. We have to be part of this offensive which is the only language the regime understands. The best of our young men and women must find their place in this army of liberation from all the South African nationalities. For this to be effective as it must be, we must be ready to increase the

underground structures and activity of our movement.

Internationally, we have to deepen the isolation of the racist regime. Increase the effect of the sanctions against the regime by involving youth of all countries. The youth internationally have a special role in making People's Sanctions more biting on the Pretoria regime. In short, in this last year of the decade of liberation, we should mount a gigantic all-round offensive against the regime.

Question: How do these campaigns related to the issue of Mass Action for People's Power as the year has been designated by the ANC?

Answer: We should always focus our attention on People's Power because this is what our revolution is about. It is about the seizure of power by the masses of our people. From this, it stands to reason that the only agents that can bring people's power is the people themselves. There should not be any spectators in this struggle. It is a national liberation struggle where the overwhelming majority must be involved. Now the youth constitute a significant percentage of the population. This alone places a lot of responsibility on them to act in this manner that will bring change in the shortest possible time. This, in our view, is a call to battle for all of us to dislodge once and for all the regime that clings to antiquated notions of white supremacy.

It means we should maintain, strengthen and cultivate an offensive posture with the backing and participation of the masses of our people. This is our understanding of

the challenge contained in that call.

Question: What is the capacity of the youth inside South Africa to undertake these tasks in the light of the fact that many of the youth leaders are in detention and their organisations have been banned?

Answer: Many of the leaders of the democratic youth movement in South Africa have been murdered, detained, jailed harrassed and so forth, but all this has not stopped us from struggling. We have discovered and use new methods of organisation and operation. Indeed the youth and other sectors have been extremely resourceful hence at local and regional levels the organisational formations remain, in most of the areas intact, continue to grow strong.

There shall always be leaders thrown up by the struggle itself to take over from those the regime managed to temporarily incapacitate. The determination and morale of the youth remains high. I think they have the capacity to undertake the tasks before us. We have resolved to be our own masters, so that the restrictions and bannings of the regime must be defied by us because they are not intended to help us liberate our selves. In actual struggle we have made the bannings; state of emergency and other oppressive measures taken by the regime to lose their intended effect on us by increasing our activity and bringing new forces to the fore. On this 40th Anniversary of the Programme of Action, we must be more organised and active to defeat the Botha regime's schemes.

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Question: Do you as a youth have some short term programme and objectives that you want to reach?. For instance this year is the 10th anniversary of Solomon Mahlangu's execution and as you said earlier on, it is also the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the Programme of Action, so do you have any intentions for these occasions?

Answer: We must mark the 10th anniversary of the murder of Solomon Mahlangu in a manner befitting this great hero of our revolution. The best and most appropriate would be to strengthen the striking power of MK. We should emulate Solomon and other heroes of our army by joining and swelling the ranks of MK and from there by planning and executing effective operations against the regime. This year we should see bolder and more daring action by our People's Army. The Young Lions must be part of Umkhonto we Sizwe in greater numbers this year. This is how we should mark the 10th anniversary of Solomon Mahlangu.

We must also organise mass action of our people around issues that affect them much more effectively as a way of marking the 40th anniversary of the Programme of Action. We need to campaign for the isolation of the regime. We need to strengthen the campaign against capital punishment.. We shall increase our work in the field of the boycott of racist South Africa. We must launch a gigantic campaign at home and abroad for the release of SAYCO's and other youth organisations leaders. We must strengthen the campaign for the release of Peter Mokaba and others.

We shall use the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students to further strengthen the campaign for peoples sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

We shall also focus on the role of the judiciary in South Africa. A case in point is the vindicate verdict of the Delmas Trial.

Question: There is an argument to the effect that it would be difficult for the youth or the people in SA to defeat the SA regime because seemingly they are divided amongst themselves. The immediate example that is quoted is

REMEMBER SOLOMON MAHLANGU

' Tell my people that I love them and that they must continue the struggle. My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. A Luta Continua!' was the last message of Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu as he passed the baton of struggle to those who were to follow on his foot steps.

As he walked tall to the gallows, Solomon Mahlangu gave the ANC salute, stood upright and smiled to the shame of his executioners. In his training, capture, trial and subsequent execution, Solly behaved in the manner befitting the station of a member of the African National Congress and a commander of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

His fearlessness demonstrated that the youth that fought with stones and dust bin lids in 1976 would not flinch even in front of the racist hangman. The Young Lions of today have drunk from the deep well of his courage.

On this tenth Anniversary of the judicial murder of Solomon Mahlangu all members of the ANC, officers and combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe and activists of the mass democratic movement, especially its youth formation must assess how far have we fulfilled Solly's last command ' to continue with the struggle.

In the space of ten years since the execution of Solomon Mahlangu we have taken great strides towards freedom and democracy. We have forced the enemy to retreat in disarray. The ANC has developed to a point where it is accepted as a major factor to the solution of the South African problem by both friend and foe. The armed actions of the combatants of MK have proved that the days of apartheid are nigh. The mass actions of our people have tilted the balance of forces in favour of the liberation movement. As a direct consequence of this the racist regime is isolated as never before by the international community. Thus we can justly claim that the blood of Solomon Mahlangu ushered in the Decade of Liberation.

To consolidate these achievements of the decade we need to:-

- demand an end to the execution of patriots and the granting of the status of prisoner of war to all captured freedom fighters.
- embark on intensified mass action by defying all racist laws and structures.
- perfect and strengthen our organisational formations and create a broad coalition of anti-apartheid forces.
- force the regime to lift the state of emergency.

In short, we must mark the tenth Anniversary of the execution of Solomon Mahlangu by intensifying the struggle on all fronts.

**APRIL 6 IS THE DAY OF ACTION!!
STOP APARTHEID EXECUTIONS!!**

Pietermaritzburg and the carnage that has been going on for a very long time. It would seem that it is virtually or very difficult for the mass democratic movement inside the country to resolve this conflict that is existing in Pietermaritzburg. What is your opinion on this?.

Answer: At the centre of what is happening in Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere is the hand of the racist regime. The so-called black-on black violence is the work of the regime directly and through its surrogates.

We are confident that just as we have defeated many a scheme of the regime in the past we will defeat this one also. Honest efforts have been done and are being done to resolve this issue. We support all these efforts aimed at creating a climate of calm and peace among the oppressed. The unity of our people continues to grow, though the regime and its allies want to focus world attention on our small differences and therefore to say we are not ready to take political power into our hands.

FIGHT!**PRODUCE!****LEARN!**

MAYIBUYE SERIES

NO. 1

MASS ORGANISATIONS UNDER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY

1. COMBINE ALL FORMS OF ORGANISATION AND STRUGGLE

The Botha regime is bent on destroying democratic organisations and preventing all opposition to apartheid. This is the aim behind the February 24th and subsequent restrictions on democratic organisations; the Labour Relations Amendment Act; assassination of Goniwe, Mhlauli, Stanza Bopape, Sicelo Dhlomo and others; terrorist actions on offices of COSATU, the churches and other organisations; restrictions on leaders of the MDM...to quote but a few examples.

On the other hand, Botha and his generals know that the people shall not surrender. Therefore, their minimum objective is to drive us onto the defensive. The regime wants us to be bogged down simply defending the gains we have made and not advancing to new ground. It wants us also to strain our sight searching for the needle of 'legal space' in the haystack of general repression. As a result, the enemy would then move onto the offensive and regain the strategic initiative. The art of leadership lies in recognising the objective conditions under which the struggle is being waged and all the time acting such that we lift the struggle to new heights.

We have amassed a lot of experience in this regard. In organisational terms, the launch of SAYCO, the 1987 UDF National Working Committee meeting, the NIC Conference and the COSATU Special Congress are some of the key examples of our capacity to adapt. Politically, we have dealt the enemy many heavy blows under these conditions. The 1987 railway and mine workers strikes, the boycott of the Local Affairs elections last October, and the 3-day general strike are ample proof that the masses are prepared to act, if given the leadership.

Yet, the MDM has not been able to harness the potential it has. National leadership has not been effective in guiding local organisations and struggles. The UDF, COSATU and the churches have not mustered their combined strength to generate more and more mass actions. SAYCO's development has been slowed down by the arrest of virtually its entire national leadership. We must improve our methods all the time.

Our experience has taught us that the basic strength of a democratic organisation lies in the power of its grassroots structures. Without strong local organisations, the democratic movement can only exist in name. When and where we had managed to organise street committees, we were able to draw the overwhelming majority of our people into decision-making and into active struggle. Despite the problems created by the State of Emergency, these structures have survived in a number of areas. Their character and function might have slightly changed: for example, in the sense that they do not have the character of organs of popular government like at the time when we had destroyed the regime's community

councils. But, organisation according to houses, streets and zones remains a necessity: these are the structures that should form the foundation of township/suburb, regional and national integrated political centres of the mass democratic movement.

THIS ARTICLE IS THE FIRST IN A SERIES DEALING WITH MASS ORGANISATION UNDER THE PRESENT CONDITIONS. A LOT OF EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN GAINED. YET THERE HAVE BEEN MANY SET BACKS; AND WEAKNESSES IN ORGANISATION CONTINUE TO MANIFEST THEMSELVES. IN THIS SERIES, WE ELABORATE ON SOME OF THE PERTINENT ISSUES ARISING OUT OF THESE EXPERIENCES.

For example, in a township, it is necessary that all sectors of the oppressed people: workers, youth, students, women, religious bodies and others should come together to exercise leadership. The manner in which this would express itself in practice would differ from area to area. UDF Area Committees, COSATU shop stewards, local structures of the church have to come together on a representative basis at township, regional or national level.

But account would have to be taken of the state of repression. In other words, we have to balance between democratic representation and accountability on the one hand, and restriction of operational information on the other. It is not necessary, for instance, for each and everyone to know the actual constitution of the integrated leadership body, when and where they hold their meetings and so on. But members of organisations from the lowest level need to take part in choosing their leaders, among whom would then emerge those that would take part in the integrated political leadership bodies. On the other hand, through the network of structures which form part of the democratic collective, decisions of higher bodies would be transmitted to lower bodies and the other way round.

The network of the mass democratic movement is made up of the leadership, the organisers and the mass of members. The leadership and organisers are the ones usually most sought out by the enemy. Therefore, many of them have to lead underground lives to avoid being tracked down by the enemy. But

living such lives does not mean that they should then become unavailable to other activists and the organisations in general. Whilst taking all the precautions, they should ensure that they remain in touch with democratic structures and the people in general. If they do not continue making their full contribution to the organisational and mobilisational process, they lose the very reason for their station as leaders and organisers of the people. The enemy also consciously seeks to achieve this purpose: to dislocate and destabilise democratic structures by "chasing the leadership completely out of circulation".

Certainly, a mass organisation has to maintain as public a profile as possible. It cannot as an organisation operate underground (like the ANC which is illegal). All means must be used to spread the message of the mass democratic movement. The media - such as pamphlets, leaflets and stickers, videos, ordinary cassettes and so on - should be used. House-to-house visits and other forms are also very effective. And out of struggle, more and more possibilities will emerge. For example, the people of Mdantsane conducted widespread agitation and spreading of information in trains during the famous bus boycott in the early eighties.

The organisations which have been restricted should also look beyond themselves as organisations in order to conduct their work. More and more forms should be employed: religious bodies and gatherings, sports and cultural forms, sewing clubs, stokvels and so on, to organise the people and spread the message of struggle. Where there are other democratic structures which have not been restricted, we should skilfully employ them in selected tasks. At the same time, we should broaden the front of organisations and individuals active in the struggle for the eradication of apartheid, and narrow the social base of the regime.

We must combine the task of adapting to existing conditions with a deliberate drive to galvanise people to defy the laws and restrictions aimed at immobilising our structures and leaders. Militant mass defiance will help activate our forces to widen the "legal space" in which we can operate. It will further liberate them from the psychology of acting only within the bounds of the law which is otherwise made to stop us from struggling. In the process of struggle, a new people's legality is emerging. We must cultivate and strengthen it.

(In future articles of this series we shall examine these and other issues in greater detail)

ANNIVERSARY OF BOPHUTHATSWANA SOLDIERS' UPRISING

THE FIGHT FOR PEOPLE'S POWER CONTINUES

February 10th marks the first anniversary of the revolt of patriotic soldiers in Bophuthatswana. The swift response by the Botha regime to restore Mangope should convince all those who harboured any illusions about so-called independence of these bantustans. February 10th therefore emphasises the illegitimacy of the bantustan system, and the crisis into which apartheid's grand schemes have plunged.

The Bophuthatswana bantustan has all along been portrayed by the apartheid regime as a shining example of the benefits of 'homeland independence'. Business interests joined the regime's chorus and descended on Bophuthatswana like vultures, to benefit from the abject poverty of the people and corruption among the puppets. The patriotic soldiers' uprising - which received popular support - showed in no uncertain terms that the regime's propaganda had not fooled anyone - least of all the oppressed people. After all, people's concrete experiences are a far cry from the imitation glitters of Hollywood and Dallas.

The outcome of this brave effort by these patriotic soldiers is well-known. The event had so shaken Mangope's bosses in Pretoria that they had to come all the way to Mmabatho to wish him a sound sleep and declare: "We are tonight back in control". But the people shall not allow them to be in control. We shall not allow Mangope to have a sound sleep.

Though short-lived, the soldiers' uprising is pregnant with many relevant experiences for future battles. In the first instance, we showed that we have it in our power to advance to people's power in any and all areas of South Africa. But to do so, we have to be united at all levels: workers, patriotic soldiers, chiefs, religious institutions, civil servants, farmers, women, students and others. Herein lies one of the basic weaknesses of the soldiers' uprising: their actions were not co-ordinated with those of the population. There were no such strong links. Thus, the mass support the soldiers received was spontaneous and confined to the university and a few other areas. The people's jubilation was not channelled into an organised and purposeful revolt dovetailing with that of

the soldiers. The task of rectifying this weakness belongs to all patriotic forces, including the vanguard movement.

We must unite all the people into a broad front against Mangope and his masters. All sectors of the population including chiefs, religious bodies, youth, workers, women and others should be organised into broad formations on the basis of their grievances and demands. At the same time, these forces should merge into a broad coalition to actively challenge Mangope and his clique against corruption, repression, shortage of land and jobs, high prices, low wages, poor health facilities, lack of housing,..... bantustan 'independence' and apartheid oppression of which Bophuthatswana is an off-shoot.

Since he was rescued last February, Mangope and his masters have introduced a reign of terror never witnessed before in this area. The soldiers and other patriots on trial have been subjected to the most inhuman treatment. The People's Progressive Party has been banned, and the National Seopasengwe Party has been targeted for all kinds of schemes in order to weaken it. Democratic activists are being hounded day and night. This is to be expected from people who do not enjoy the support of the population. But it must not be allowed to continue. We must seek and find ways of organising under the conditions of repression, and engage in campaigns of solidarity with the patriots on trial and against the reign of terror.

As if this is not enough, Mangope has gone on a campaign to depose chiefs who oppose his unjust and corrupt regime. Chief Mankuruane, Chief Molotlegi and Chief Ramokoka are among the victims of this rampant actions of disrespect for the traditions of our people. This provocation must be met with the full weight of popular opposition. Using all possible means, we must act decisively for the reinstatement of all patriotic chiefs. Through democratic organisations, the traditional structures, churches and - where practicable - even the courts, we must campaign to stop this harassment.

Nothing demonstrates the state of mind in which Man-

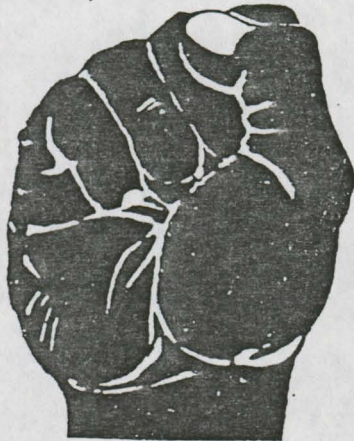
gope is, than the manner in which he has been treating even those who have all along been in his ruling clique. Under every bush and under his pillow, he suspects plotters conspiring to remove him from power. Mangope might be right about the extent of opposition to his rule. But to remove a so-called minister because he sought to work according to the legal system Mangope himself created is a reflection of insecurity to say the least. For Mangope to have acted against a judge because he followed Mangope's legal system shows how a paranoid gone berserk behaves.

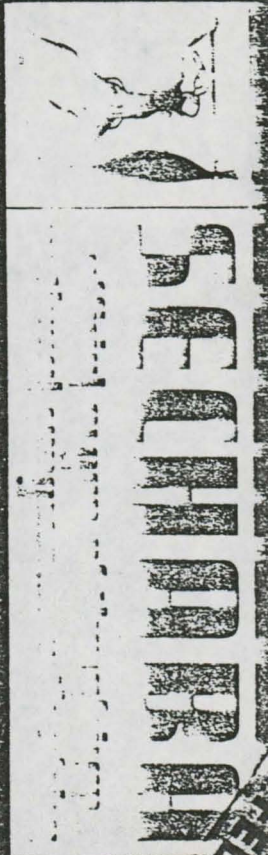
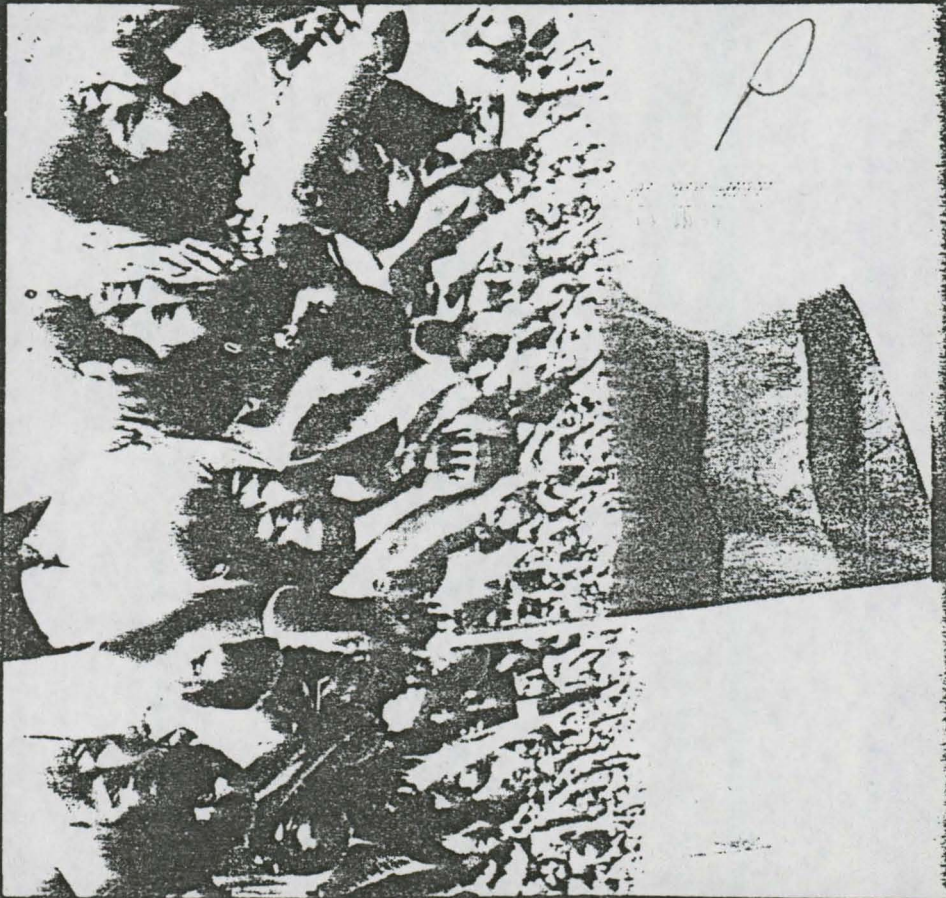
If anything, these actions show that Mangope's small and dwindling clique is not in control. Neither are their masters. Even within the puppet circles there are many who are coming to realise the folly of their ways, and are seeking genuine solutions to the problems facing South Africa. We must identify all such elements - within the army, police force, civil service, the parliament and cabinet itself - and win them over firmly into the ranks of the active army against apartheid. In the words of the January 8th statement, those within enemy structures with so much as a shred of conscience left must "...act together with the people against the common enemy to bring about the collapse of such institutions as the local government structures, the bantustans and the tri-cameral sham."

The viciousness of the Mangope clique puts into sharp focus the need for armed actions within Bophuthatswana, as in other parts of South Africa. It is the task of all patriots, and the youth in particular, to organise themselves into combat groups, acquire and manufacture weapons and act in a disciplined manner against the tyrants. Patriotic soldiers within the bantustan army should form themselves into units to spread the message of liberation and act in a purposeful manner against the bossy boer soldiers. In fact, most of the demands that patriotic soldiers advanced last February are even more relevant today. On the other hand, the movement underground and Umkhonto we Sizwe in particular have an important role to play in the organisation and mobilisation of the people in this part of our country, in guiding mass political and combat activity, and in giving a cutting edge to popular actions.

The Bophuthatswana soldiers' revolt is just one example of the crisis afflicting the bantustan system. With the events in the Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and other bantustans the apartheid grand scheme is crumbling before the very eyes of its architects.

Even the centre itself shall not hold for long.





FEB 1981

Maan van year 11.

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FEBRUARY 1989

SECHABA

ISSN:0037-0509

Volume 23 No 2

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LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM

Voice of the African National Congress
And Umkhonto We Sizwe, the People's Army

Radio Lusaka

Daily 7.00 pm:
Wednesday 10.15-10.45 pm:
Thursday 9.30-10.00 pm:
Friday 10.15-10.45 pm:
Short wave 31mb 9505 KHz
Sunday 8.00-8.45 am:
Short wave 25mb 11880 KHz

Radio Luanda

Monday-Saturday 7.30 pm:
Sunday 8.30 pm:
Short wave 31mb 9535 KHz
and 25 mb

Radio Madagascar

Monday-Saturday 7.00-9.00 pm:
Sunday 7.00-8.00 pm:
Short wave 49mb 6135 KHz

Radio Ethiopia

Daily, 9.30-10.00 pm:
Short wave 31mb 9595 KHz

Radio Tanzania

Monday Wednesday Friday 8.15 pm:
Tuesday Thursday Saturday 6.15 am:
Short wave 31mb 9750 KHz

The above are South African times

It is a year now since the battle of Cuito Cuanavale ended and since then much has happened. There was a ceasefire, there were negotiations in London, New York and Africa. As planeloads of Cuban troops left Luanda to return to Havana, the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (Unavem) was satisfied that Cuba and Angola intend to observe the terms of the accord.

President Dos Santos has gone on record as saying the Cuban contribution to Angola will never be forgotten and that Angola intends to build a monument in honour of those Cubans who died in the crucial battle of Cuito Cuanavale. The independence of Angola is now assured. The Cuban Commander in Angola, General Abelardo Colome Ibarra, said the Cubans and Angolans had shattered the myth of South African invincibility.

Now the ball is in the court of the apartheid regime. Under the agreement signed in New York, the apartheid regime committed itself to end its support for UNITA and to grant independence to Namibia. But as we know them, the racists are full of tricks to say the least. They are raising "technicalities." As if this is not bad enough, they are intensifying the conscription of thousands of young Namibians into the South West African Territorial Force (SWATF) because — according to them — SWAPO "has still not made any formal announcement regarding the halting of its terrorist activities." At a time when it is clear to everybody that SWAPO is going to sweep elections in Namibia, they still regard SWAPO as an enemy which is engaged in "terrorist activities." Are they going to change their attitudes if SWAPO takes over? Are they going to stop harbouring, training, financing and deploying UNITA bandits? Are they going to stop threatening and/or attacking Angola? Even if they do not, they will certainly not do that

from Namibian soil.

Cuito Cuanavale has certainly changed the course of history of Southern Africa. Their acts of "bantustanisation" in Namibia are coming to end. The people of Namibia demand **Peace Now!** — after all, their armed struggle was a struggle for peace. The pre-condition for peace is the implementation of the 1978 United Nations General Assembly Resolution 435.

What is the task facing us in this context? The task facing us and Africa as a whole is to fight to complete the anti-colonial revolution on the continent; a process which is basically anti-racist. This is definitely in the interests of the Namibian people. There is more to it. If South Africa is not liberated a Damocles sword will hang over their heads. They will continue to be exploited in the South African mines and economy — an economy they helped to develop.

By liberating Namibia, these people have brought the day of our liberation nearer, and we are duty bound to help them secure their independence by overthrowing the apartheid regime.

The ANC has pledged to do everything in its power to facilitate Namibian independence. The ANC in its wisdom decided, as President Tambo says in the January 8th Statement, in consultation with the fraternal Government of the People's Republic of Angola and other friendly African countries, to help in this process by agreeing to move its military personnel from Angola "so as not to allow the racists and their allies to use the presence of ANC military facilities in Angola as an excuse for blocking or otherwise delaying the process now in motion." This is political maturity, revolutionary solidarity and internationalism in action.

We know we are dealing with a wounded beast and as usual a wounded beast is the most dangerous animal in the jungle. Let us deal with this wounded beast!

Collection Number: AK2117

Collection Name: Delmas Treason Trial, 1985-1989

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

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