

FEB 1987



# SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



75 YEARS OF PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

# SECHABA

## FEBRUARY 1987

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*Front cover: Design by Miles Pelo*

*Back cover: Oscar Mpetha with the youth before he was jailed yet again, 1986*

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## January 8th — An Historic Occasion

On January 8th the progressive forces throughout the world commemorated and indeed celebrated the birthday of the African National Congress. This was a recognition of the fact that the ANC has become a powerful force, not only in South Africa but also internationally.

But there is something more to it — the politics and policies of the ANC inspire every normal thinking person. In this issue we reproduce the National Executive Committee statement read by President Tambo on January 8th — a speech which outlines the policies of the ANC. Many politicians — even heads of state — religious figures, trade unionists, women's organisations, youth leaders, and unorganised people came out to celebrate with us. In Europe it was bitterly cold but people braved the winter. This shows the commitment of the international community to our cause.

Our people are fighting a life and death struggle — a bloody battle which has taken a form of struggle for survival. These struggles take many forms and affect many aspects of political and social life, be it rents, bus fares, education, you name it. These struggles have inspired many people throughout the world.

But there is a tragedy here. The clampdown on the press has robbed everybody of the possibility of knowing about these heroic struggles. It has given the racist regime the opportunity of killing people left, right and centre in the knowledge that nobody will know about these atrocities. The international community is robbed of the right to know. Our people are condemned to ignorance. In places such as the Eastern and Western Cape the racist regime simply removes the people forcibly to other areas in the hope that they will destroy people's resistance. In places like Soweto people are under heavy ideological bombardment by the enemy. This is besides the arrests, detentions and killings — random killings.

But our people have decided to resist. They have come to accept the ANC as their shield and spear. In demonstrations, funerals, strikes and bus boycotts ANC flags and banners fly sky high. On January 8th the UDF and other organisations placed an advertisement in 22 national and regional newspapers in South Africa. They called for the unbanning of the ANC — let the ANC speak for itself,

they said — and gave the whole history of the ANC. Photographs of Comrade Nelson Mandela and President Tambo were on the advertisement.

What has made the ANC win the hearts and minds of the people? Let us give one example. *The Weekly Mail* reported that Umkhonto we Sizwe launched more than 200 attacks last year, considerably more than the 136 carried out in 1985 and more than four times as many as the total for 1984. The ANC has deep roots in the history of our people.

These acts inspire our people, give them new confidence in their strength and mobilise them to greater acts of heroism and sacrifice. It is these acts of heroism and sacrifice of our people that inspire the international community to support us. Of course, the international community knows that by supporting us it is promoting its own anti-colonial and anti-racist cause. Solidarity is a two-way traffic. The urgent field in which the international community can assist is in the field of sanctions. Force your governments to apply sanctions — says the oppressed Black majority. It is our conviction that it is possible for governments to impose sanctions, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions unilaterally. They can pull out now before they are caught in a crossfire. This is in their interest — in the long term.

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the ANC, which coincides with the 20th anniversary of *Sechaba*, we pledge to raise the struggle to new heights and with the help of the international community we shall capture Pretoria. We shall unban the ANC and all other political parties; we shall release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners; we shall remove the army and police from the townships. Yes, we shall implement the Freedom Charter and establish democracy in a united and undivided South Africa. In the words of President Tambo on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe:

"We are working in the best interests of all the peoples of this country — Black, Brown and White — whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of White supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country."

# ADVANCE TO PEOPLE'S POWER

**Message from the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, delivered by President OR Tambo on January 8th, 1987, the 75th Anniversary of the founding of the ANC.**

Today, January 8th, 1987, your organisation, the African National Congress, is 75 years old. Consequently, we are honour bound to do more than observe an anniversary, because this is, for us and for all our people, a proud and historic Jubilee Year. The situation in Southern African is pregnant with the promise of epoch-making developments. It demands that we observe this Jubilee in extraordinary ways.

As we mark Jubilee Day, all of us know that a new spirit is abroad. Something outside of our experience is approaching. 75 years of organised political struggle against colonial and racist oppression in our country have brought the oppressed and the oppressor alike very close to the moment of decision. Each and every one of us, South Africans all, has to decide whether we act in the present in defence of a terrible and outdated past or we engage in struggle for a future that we shall define together, as equals.

As we begin the New Year, we greet you all in the name of the National Executive Committee of your organisation, the ANC. We salute you on behalf of the tens of thousands who cannot be with us today because they have perished in the struggle for freedom, or because they have had to withdraw to some place, near or far, the better to be able to continue to work for our liberation.

## **We salute the Founding Fathers of the ANC**

We speak for all these, and for the entire people when we say — hail to all our heroes and heroines, living and dead, as we bring to a close the Year of the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Hail to the young lions and all the patriots

who have united in combat groups and confronted the enemy. Hail also to the glorious People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, which has just observed its 25th anniversary. Let the solemn notes of the Last Post sound in tribute to the martyrs who have surrendered life itself in order to secure for all of us freedom, democracy and peace.

On this day, we salute also the founding fathers of our movement — the peoples of Southern Africa as a whole — who set up the ANC as their instrument to secure our emancipation and to contribute to the liberation of Africa in its entirety. Tanzanians and South Africans, Mozambicans and Namibians, Angolans and Zimbabweans, Zambians and Batswana, Swazis and Basotho have since constituted the bedrock on which our movement has grown from strength to strength. This, then, is Jubilee Day for all the embattled people of our region, who have combined as they did 75 years ago, to confront the iniquitous system of apartheid colonial and racist domination, in unity.

This great day, January 8th, stands as a watershed in the confrontation between liberty and bondage in our country, our region and our continent. To celebrate it must mean that we mount the biggest assault against the Pretoria regime to bring nearer the victory of the cause of all progressive humanity, namely the liquidation of the crime of apartheid and the total liberation of our continent.

Our country cries out for freedom now. Our region demands liberation and peace. The continent calls for justice and human dignity while

humanity commands that liberty for all must reign supreme. No force, however well-armed, however stubborn and whatever its opinion of itself, can withstand the united might of these billions of people.

When the successors and the offspring of the Nazis took the reins of racist power 40 years ago next year, they thought, like their predecessors, that they had established a fascist domination which would last a thousand years.

### **The Noble Vision of 1912**

By our actions, we must and will ensure that the apartheid republic is as short-lived as its founders were short-sighted. The arrogantly racist architects of the apartheid system thought the oppressed are not sufficiently human to rebel against the inhuman system they have imposed on our country. They thought the sub-humans could and would be kept in their place by brute force. By rising up in favour of justice, we have turned these maniacal dreams into a nightmare.

The noble vision of 1912 has become a formidable force before which the betrayal of 1910 and the crime of 1948 can no longer hold its own. The process of the emergence of an alternative power in our country has taken a deep and permanent hold. The house of iniquity which the racists constructed is disintegrating and crumbling into a heap of rubble. This historic development demands that we and the risen masses must deliver hammer blow after hammer blow until the entire apartheid edifice is completely demolished.

The apartheid regime of terror has lost political control over the overwhelming majority of the black masses of our country. These masses do not accept the authority and the legitimacy of the White minority regime. The people correctly recognise all the policies of the racist regime as efforts to defend and consolidate the apartheid system, whatever the guise in which the Pretoria regime might present these policies.

The masses of our people have been inspired enormously by the ideas and the perspective of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It is in the realisation of this perspective that they see the fulfilment of their deepest aspirations.

Genuinely motivated by these considerations, they are taking their destiny into their own hands by engaging the enemy in struggle, in their millions. For this same reason, the people have

daily been expressing their allegiance to the premier instrument of liberation they have created, the African National Congress, the democratic parliament of the people of South Africa. Hence they are also part of the mass democratic forces of our country and welcome our democratic organisations as among their true representatives.



*The ANC flag and the people.*

**Apartheid Has Lost Administrative Control**  
In many parts of our country you have given concrete form to that emerging alternative power by destroying the enemy's structures of government and setting up organs of people's power. The gains we have made in this regard have meant that the apartheid regime has lost its administrative control over us in many areas of South Africa. This is a development of immeasurable historical importance for the success of our revolutionary struggle. It has laid the basis for us to make a decisive advance towards our common goal.

We have, in previous years, spoken of mass revolutionary bases as a very important and central element in our strategic outlook. Our success in destroying the enemy's administrative control over large areas of our country constitutes a high point in the struggle for the emergence of these bases.

The enemy realises that its loss of control spells doom for the apartheid system. That is why it has had to resort to military control. The imposition of a national state of emergency, half-way through the Year of the People's Army and, later, the proclamation of the edict turning the press into a voiceless irrelevance, were elements of the programme to impose military control on the people, to rule by martial law.

This was part of the process which has already resulted, among other things, in the establishment of the so-called State Security Council, the use of the army in the countryside, the black urban townships as well as the schools and the creation of what the enemy calls Joint Management Centres. There is today hardly a country in the world that has to bear the level of militarisation the apartheid regime has imposed on our society.

We have obliged the enemy to fall back on its instrument of last and desperate resort — military dictatorship. Through struggle, we have forced the enemy to admit openly, and in practice, that finally its authority derives from the force of arms.

### **Outdated Ideas**

Part of our movement towards our democratic goal is represented by the fact that the noble vision of 1912 is also penetrating among our White compatriots. Increasing numbers among these are coming to realise that their security and their legitimate hopes for a happy future rest in the

emergence of a democratic South Africa. The idea that social and political relations in our country must be defined according to ethnic and racial groups, with the White group in dominant positions, can no longer be sustained. If anything is 'outdated', it is precisely that idea.

The architects of the divisions, the privileges, the conflicts and the antagonisms of racism and apartheid, find themselves confronted with the reality that those whom this system has benefited for so long, have lost and are losing faith and confidence in its viability. Many of our White compatriots are feeling their way towards acceptance of the inevitability of the establishment of the non-racial order for which the majority of our people have fought for 75 years.

The organisers of the empire of racism know that what they consider their natural constituency is beginning to entertain sentiments that challenge the very reasons for the existence of the party of racism and fascism. The knowledge that they can no longer count on the unity of the White population and its attachment to the ideas and the practice of White domination, has given birth to deep-seated fears among the captains of the apartheid system.

They are terrified at the prospect of the Black and White masses of our country coming together to say — we shall, as equals, compatriots and patriots, act as one, to bring the apartheid system to an end and foster the birth of a new South Africa. As surely as the regime of terror has lost its political control over the Black masses, so also is it set to lose its political control over the White population. The day of the new Voortrekkers has come.

### **Truth has Triumphed**

For too many a long year, racism and fascism in our country have presented themselves to the world at large as the epitome of 'civilisation' in our region and in Africa. The most brutal reaction in the history of the colonial epoch has produced text after text to convince mankind that those who have perished in the struggle for human decency were but self-seeking individuals of no consequence.

On the other hand, the oppressors have strutted the globe, seeking to get racial domination, murder and genocide approved as human advancement. We who have struggled for 75 years, and more, to assert that all our people, both Black

and White, have a common right to life, liberty and happiness, have had to justify our existence and our cause. But we can be proud that, in the end, the truth has triumphed.

Never again shall racism and fascism successfully impose themselves on the world as the natural order of things in our country. The perpetrators of a crime against humanity no longer enjoy the false dignity and privilege bestowed on them as the legitimate government of our country. Humanity marches side by side with us in an unstoppable advance to suppress and punish the crime of apartheid.

Three-quarters of a century of turbulent progress, which have brought the frontiers of freedom to the borders of our country, require of us to live up to our historic mission. We must set our sights on victory, a victory that will enable Mother Africa to rejoice that she is liberated in all her parts, that she is free without qualifications, that at last she has reclaimed her integrity which she has not known since the days when she had to surrender her sons and daughters as slaves for export.

We have reached a critical moment in our long march to freedom. Our goal is in sight. We must reach out for it as an organised, disciplined and conscious force. Every battle we fight must become but a front in a generalised offensive against the retreating apartheid regime. Every demand we put forward in any front of our struggle must relate to and focus on the central objective of weakening the racists, to facilitate their downfall. We must, in our millions, unite in struggle and advance towards victory.

As we enter the decisive period ahead of us, we must aim for and achieve the greatest possible mobilisation, organisation and united action of the motive forces of our revolution. The masses of the Black workers, peasants, youth and students, women, professionals — the entire oppressed people — constitute these motive forces which must engage the enemy in a united and uninterrupted offensive.

At the same time, we must pay the greatest possible attention to the mobilisation and activation of the White population which should fuse with and become part of the motive forces of the democratic revolution. Our White compatriots have to learn the truth that it is not democracy that threatens their future. Rather, it is racist tyranny which poses a dire peril to their very

survival.

We must unite all these forces, both Black and White, around the democratic perspectives for which so many people have already laid down their lives. Once more, we reaffirm that in the new South Africa the people — all the people — shall govern. We shall, together, translate that fundamental democratic principle into the practice whereby each person shall have the right both to vote and to be voted to any elective organ in the new united and non-racial South Africa.

### **The Revolution will Guarantee Individual and Equal Rights**

For us, it is of especial importance that that new reality should reinforce and entrench what we are accomplishing now, in struggle: the building of a nation of South Africans. It must reflect and enhance our oneness, breaking down the terrible and destructive idea and practice of defining our people by race, colour or ethnic group. The revolution will guarantee the individual and equal rights of all South Africans without regard to any of these categories, and include such freedoms as those of speech, assembly, association, language, religion, the press, the inviolability of family life and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trial. For all this, the victorious revolution demands and must ensure thoroughgoing democratic practice.

For its own success, it imposes the obligation that all should be free to form and join any party of their choice, without let or hindrance. But as a people and a movement, we must state it clearly that democracy in our country cannot succeed if it permits the organised propagation of ideas of fascism, racism and ethnicity. Apart from our own experience, we cannot, in the name of democracy, tolerate the organised sustenance of conceptions which led to the Second World War and which have since been categorised and dealt with as a crime against humanity.

Of central importance also is the critical requirement that the new South Africa must guarantee the masses of our people freedom from hunger, disease, ignorance, homelessness and poverty. The democratic state will be representative of all the people of our country, and especially the ordinary working people who own neither land nor factories and neither the mines nor the banks. It will therefore be called upon to ensure that the wealth of the country in-

creases significantly and continuously and that it is shared equitably by all the people to ensure their material and spiritual upliftment and well-being.

To achieve these objectives, the new democratic order will necessarily have to address the question of ownership, control and direction of the economy as a whole to ensure that neither the public nor the private sectors serve as a means of enriching the few at the expense of the majority. The transfer of power to the people must therefore be accompanied by the democratisation of the control and direction of the economy so that indeed the people share in the wealth of our country, for the common goal.

### **Black Danger and Red Peril**

The racists in our country have been and are afraid of and hostile to this democratic political and economic perspective. To our demand that all our people must enjoy equal and inalienable human rights, the forces of reaction raise the spectre of a black danger and a red peril. The truth is that these proponents and defenders of White minority rule are enemies of democracy and have set themselves a life and death task of ensuring that never shall power pass into the hands of the people.

This is our experience, which spans three-quarters of a century. It includes many occasions when the representatives of our people, organised in the ANC, have offered to talk to the racist forces to reach a solution which would accommodate the interests of all the people of our country. It is therefore legitimate that on this historic Jubilee Day, we should put the question — is it possible today and in the future to enter into negotiations with self-confessed enemies of democracy with the aim of creating a democratic South Africa?

That question virtually answers itself. It points to one conclusion and one conclusion only. No negotiations are possible until all those concerned accept the need to create and build a democratic South Africa. That democratic transformation is the necessary condition for the solution of all the problems that face our country and our region.

This is an objective to which millions have committed themselves, for which many have perished, and for which we are prepared to die. It is one that we have always been prepared to attain by negotiation but which we are also deter-

mined to achieve, arms in hand, if the enemy compels us to fight our way through to victory.

The conflict in our country has been long and bitter. It has claimed too many lives already. While for us, the numbers of those killed emphasises the urgency of bringing the confrontation to an end, our enemy calculates its strength and degree of success by the numbers of those it murders and massacres. The violence that our colonial and racist rulers have inflicted on us has never succeeded in forcing us to surrender our resolve to free ourselves. The need for us to take up arms will never transform us into prisoners of the idea of violence, slaves to the goddess of war.

And yet, if the opponents of democracy have their way, we will have to wade through rivers of blood to reach our goal of liberty, justice and peace. Of this they boast with the demented glee of a manic killer. Despite these boasts, we shall fight on until the democratic revolution triumphs, whatever the cost to ourselves.

As we mark the 75th Anniversary of our movement, we reiterate our commitment to seize any opportunity that may arise to participate in a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country. This we would do in the interests of the masses of our people and those of Southern Africa as a whole, with the specific aim of creating a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

Let those in our country who, in the face of our mounting offensive, have started talking about negotiations, commit themselves publicly to this perspective. In addition, and of decisive importance, they must demonstrate by practical deeds their commitment to this objective as well as their acceptance of a rapid and irreversible process leading to the emergence of such a South African society.

Those to whom we address this message, as well as their friends and allies internationally, know exactly what they have to do. They know what practical steps they are obliged to take for the masses of our people and the world community to accept them as a political formation that has abandoned the doomed concept and practice of White minority domination, in all its guises — a grouping with whom it would be possible, and indeed necessary, to negotiate.





*Defending the community against Pretoria's vigilantes: Leandra 1986.*

### **Work to achieve Unity**

The objective for which our forebears established the ANC, the total liberation of our continent, still awaits its accomplishment. We are called upon to build upon what the peoples of Africa have achieved, among them ourselves. What, then, is to be done?

As we have already said, we must unite in struggle and together advance towards victory. One of the principal tasks we face in this regard is that we should continue and escalate our offensive to smash the organs of apartheid state power and construct organs of people's power in their place. Our objectives must be to create mass revolutionary bases in all Black areas throughout the country and to mount a strategic offensive against the enemy in its strongholds in the towns and the cities.

The campaign to make the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable must result in

the emergence of these bases which must be characterised by a number of features. One of these is that the masses of the people should not only have a high level of political consciousness but should also be active in the struggle to liberate themselves. Furthermore, the people should be organised into mass democratic organisations which must ensure their mobilisation and activation.

It is also vital that each mass revolutionary base must have its combat forces which will act both to defend the people and to mount armed attacks against the enemy beyond the given area and throughout the country. These forces, organised in and under Umkhonto we Sizwe, must necessarily be based among the people and drawn from the people themselves. They must be inspired by the sole objective of acting against the racist regime in furtherance of the aim of engaging in People's War.

Of central importance also, is that each mass revolutionary base has to have strong underground units of our movement, the ANC, to enable it to exercise its vanguard functions as we mount a new assault against the apartheid regime. As we have said before, the organised structures of the ANC must themselves continue to enjoy the complete confidence of the people exactly because they are composed of our best sons and daughters who have no other purpose than to serve the masses.

### **We Have Made Advances**

In many parts of our country, we have already made important advances towards the creation of these mass revolutionary bases. We have destroyed many of the enemy's organs of apartheid rule. The masses of the people have played a central role in this process as active participants in the struggle for their own liberation. We have also succeeded to create mass democratic organisations representative of these conscious and active masses, ranging from street committees to COSATU, the UDF, the NECC and their affiliates and other democratic formations.

We also formed mass combat and self-defence units which have played an outstanding role in destroying the enemy's organs of government and acting in defence of the people. But as serious revolutionaries, we must carefully analyse our strength and weaknesses, discover our mistakes and correct them.

In this regard, we must say that we have not progressed as far as we can, and must, in relation to the tasks of strengthening and expanding the ANC and the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, inside the country. We must attend to these issues with even greater persistence than in the past.

The central task that faces us is to mount the most concerted assault on the apartheid regime, despite the desperate resistance of the enemy. This requires that we organise large political and military forces that are united politically and organisationally and mobilised around the same tactical and strategic goals. We call on all revolutionaries to attend to this task as a matter of strategic importance.

We must accordingly make a careful assessment of the situation in the country to determine the progress we have made and the ground we still have to cover. Where necessary, we must

consolidate our gains, strengthen the street and area committees and other alternative structures, expand and stabilise the mass organisations, reinforce the combat units and broaden the influence of our vanguard movement, the ANC.

In some areas, both in the towns and the countryside, including the Bantustans, we are still faced with the task of destroying the racist government apparatus and making the advances we have achieved elsewhere. We urge the revolutionary forces to use the resources at our disposal to engage the enemy in these areas as well.

### **Work to Achieve Unity**

During this past year, the enemy took fright at the progress we had made to destroy its political and administrative control of the people. It was especially worried at the level of unity we have achieved, which enabled whole townships and villages to act as one cohesive force. The racists were concerned that, despite all their efforts to divide the people, our movement had succeeded to weld our people into this one cohesive force. They therefore tried once more to set us one against the other, to increase the size and raise the level of activity of those groups that it recruited from among the black people to act as the auxiliary forces of the apartheid system.

These enemy activities once more emphasise the strategic importance of the unity of the black masses, the principal motive force of our revolution. As we mark our 75th Anniversary, we must draw attention to the decisive importance of ensuring the conscious and unbreakable unity of the struggling people.

We have to achieve the broadest possible political and organisational unity between the workers and the students, the women and the youth, the urban and the rural masses, the old and the young; African, so-called Coloured and Indian. No elements from among ourselves should seek to impose their views on others. We should rely on political work to organise and mobilise the masses of the people into united action. In this way, we will ensure that we defeat the enemy's efforts to divide us and frustrate our advance towards victory.

We need that unity within the mass democratic movement itself. This movement has grown in struggle into a formidable force. It is the pride of our people. These masses expect correctly that it will continue to carry out its tasks as we march

to victory. For this to happen, the mass democratic movement needs to maintain and enhance its own unity around a democratically agreed programme of action with clearly set tactical and strategic objectives.

We should therefore take all necessary measures to entrench, within the ranks of the mass democratic movement, the depth of unity which our movement has worked for, for three-quarters of a century. We must combat all manifestations of factionalism, revolutionary arrogance and individualism. At a time when the enemy is working to hit back and crush us, any disunity among our ranks can only serve the interests of the forces of reaction.

### **The Role of the Working Class**

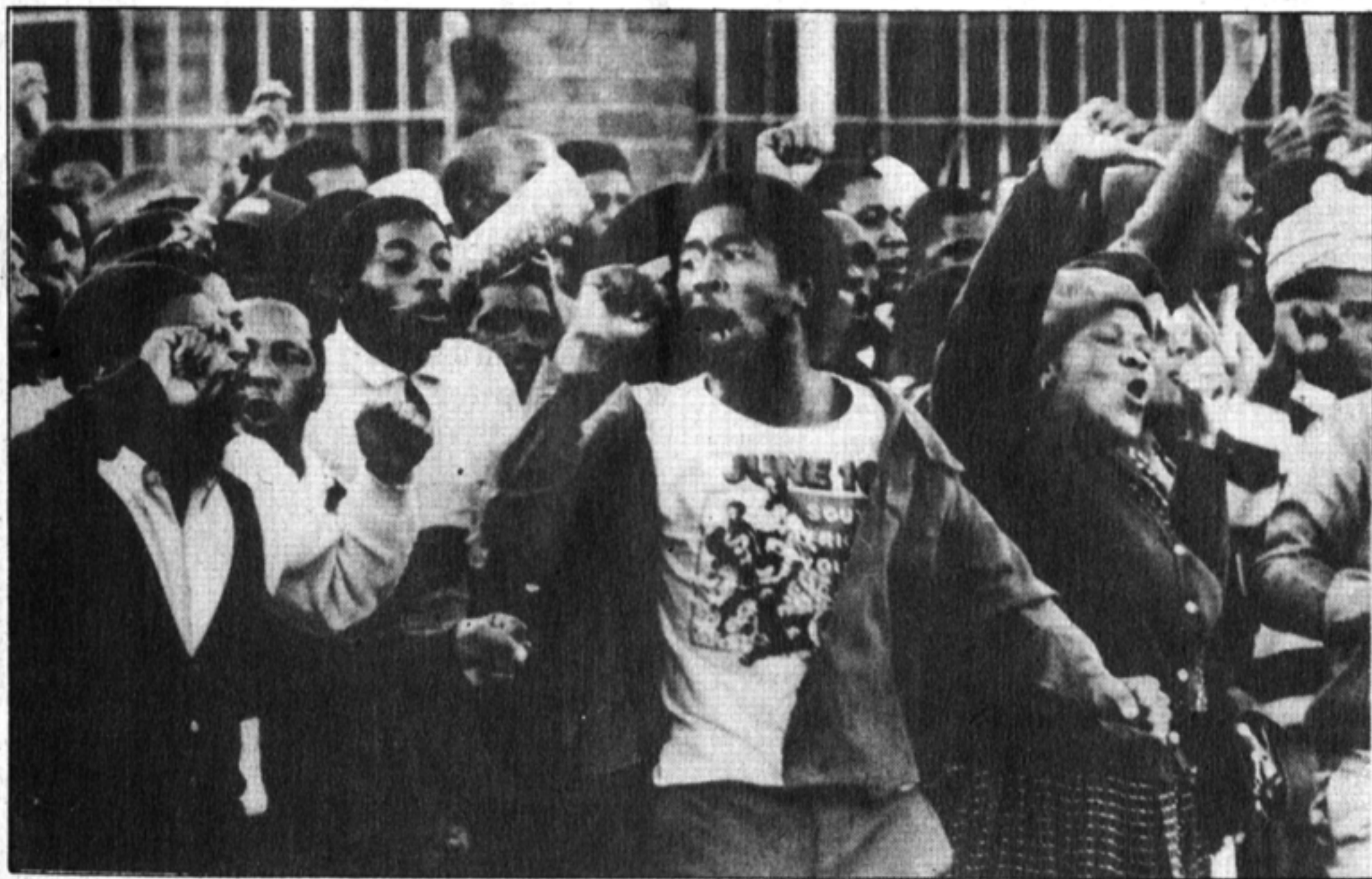
In this coming period, the revolutionary contribution of the working class to the common struggle will be of even greater importance than in the past. The workers will have to raise their level of participation in all spheres of our struggle, at the workplace and in the community, in the political as in the military confrontation. The better to be able to carry out these tasks, we must work hard further to build and strengthen the

democratic trade union movement. The unorganised workers must be drawn into the trade union movement and all the organised should unite under the umbrella of COSATU. As we have said in the past, we do not believe there can be any obstacles so formidable that they can act as a barrier blocking any democratic union from joining COSATU.

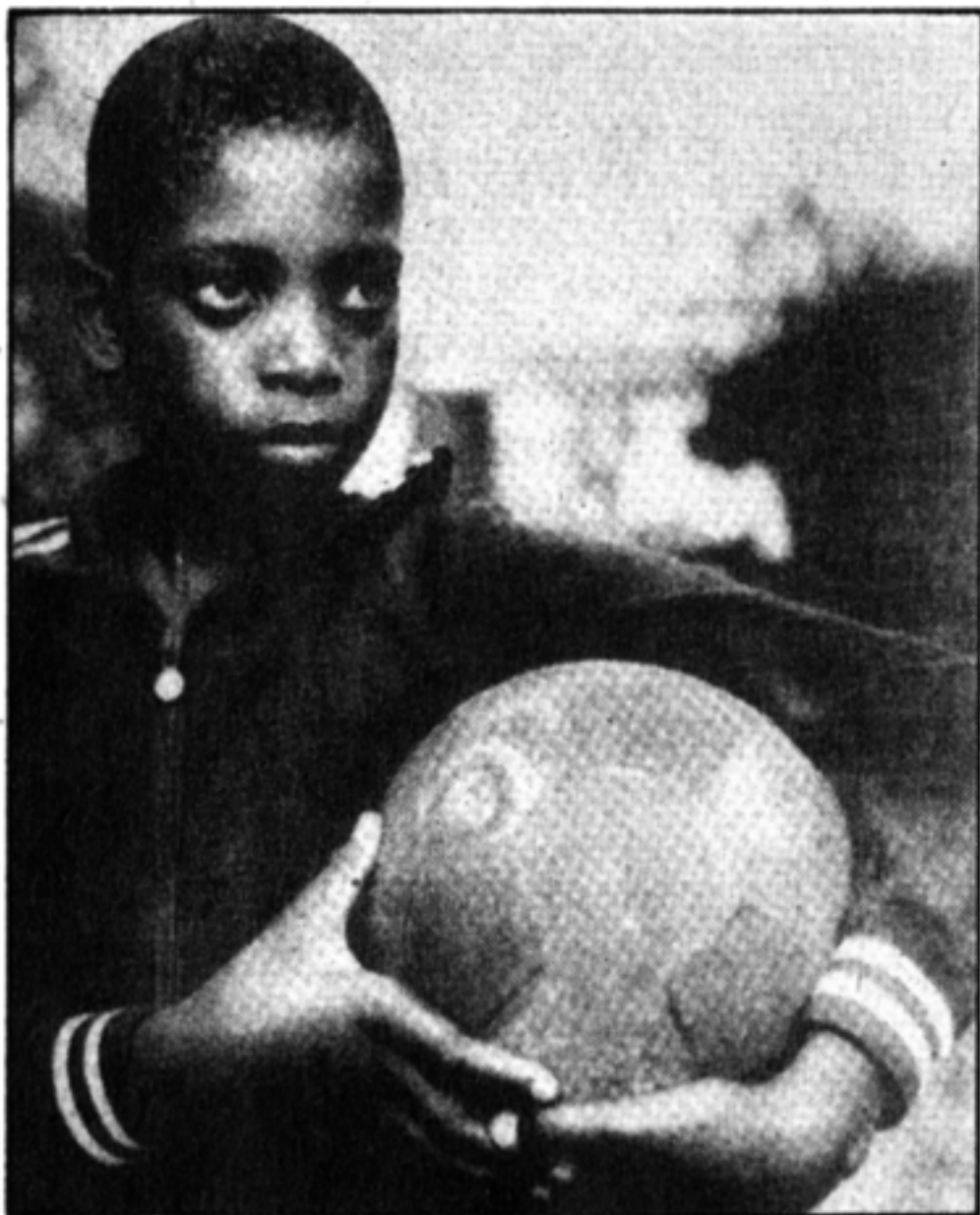
We salute the workers of our country especially for the outstanding struggles they waged in the past year, among others, the May Day and Youth Day general strikes and the campaigns for the release of political prisoners and detainees. These actions confirmed the political maturity and the leading role of the workers. We must build on these gains, emphasising the unity of the working class, its forward role in our struggle and the need for it consciously to make the necessary sacrifices to secure the liberation of our people as a whole.

### **The Rural Masses**

The rural masses have taken important strides to organise themselves. The level of mobilisation and the extent of revolutionary activity that these heroic fighters have attained is one of the



*Workers move into action for better wages and conditions, Benoni 1986.*



*11-year-old William Modibedi, held in detention for 6 months, 1986.*

most important achievements of our broad movement for national liberation in the recent past. We should never forget that our people in the countryside were the first this century to raise the banner of armed rebellion — during the Bambatha Uprising and later in Pondoland, the Transvaal and elsewhere.

At the founding conference of our movement 75 years ago, they were represented by those traditional rulers who enjoyed their confidence because they had not yet been corrupted, as some are, by the monthly salaries that the apartheid regime now hands out to administrators of the Bantustan system. Today, these masses are representing themselves in the common struggle through their own activity. We must reinforce this development to ensure that the rural areas are organised and further activated, as in KwaNdebele and Lebowa, to enable them to clear the countryside of all apartheid institutions of power, including the Bantustans, to join the armed struggle and to repossess the land as part of our nationwide advance towards victory.

### **Let Our Children Go!**

Our glorious youth and students have continued to hold high the banner of struggle. To them we

extend the warmest tribute and the revolutionary admiration of our entire people. Because they have dared to fight for and bring our emancipation so near, our youth have become eminent targets of the enemy's forces of repression. We must wage an unrelenting campaign and demand of the apartheid regime to **Let our Children Go!**

For the battles ahead, the mass organisations of the youth must be strengthened, from the base upwards, from local units to national structures. Of major importance is the need continuously to attend to the issue of raising the calibre of the leadership of the youth, to impart to them the skills that are necessary for them to carry out their tasks as the shock troops of the revolution. It is also vital that we further reinforce the unity of the Black youth as a whole and strengthen the integration of the youth struggles with the broad democratic movement.

To the youth, the young lions of our revolutionary struggle, we address a special word. Dear comrades, you who have paid such a high price to bring us to where we are today, have a responsibility to fight on with the same boldness, bravery and determination that you have shown. You are right to be impatient for victory. You are justified to seek that all those who share a common interest in liberation should act with the same tenacity that you have displayed. You are correct to demand victory now.

The victory we seek is one that will be brought about by our people as a whole, in the interests of the entire people. In part, you must therefore act as the yeast, to energise and dynamise the people as a whole and act together with, and not separate from them. You must act as a disciplined revolutionary force which can move ahead, if needs be, but is, at the same time, committed to the strategic and tactical perspective of united mass action, as distinct from militant but uncoordinated actions by different groups, at different times and places.

Therefore you have a responsibility to seek unity and to work for unity. You must be the best representatives of democratic practice within your own organisations and in the mass movement at large. We are fighting to have a people's government, elected by and accountable to the people. Our organisation must assume the same character. In our conduct, we must never seem to be acting contrary to the understanding of what the masses of the people see as their interests.

## **Our Task is to Win the Revolution**

These are the guidelines that must instruct our behaviour over such questions as the people's courts and the education crisis. With regard to this crisis, we have to proceed from the position that this is a national issue requiring the united action of the students, teachers and parents — indeed the united attention of the entire revolutionary movement. Any action we take must represent the united view of all these forces, democratically arrived at. And we must proceed from the position that our task is to win a revolution.

The school, the college, the university is for us more than a place for formal education. It is also our assembly point, the location at which we marshal our forces, organise them and take the opportunity to give the order of the day. We must fight the enemy for the right to be at our respective institutions of learning, within which we should build and organise our democratic structures and within which we should introduce the system of people's education which is a decisive element in the future of our country and people.

To return to school must therefore be seen as a revolutionary act which puts us in a better position further to advance the struggle for a people's education in a society in which we, the people, shall govern. How difficult this struggle is, is of course, epitomised by the fact that, as nowhere else in the world, we have heavily armed soldiers and police inside and outside our classrooms trying to deny us the right to learn and teach, and attempting to impose on us a surrender we will never accept.

## **Mothers of the Nation**

The mothers of the nation, the womenfolk as a whole, are the titans of our struggle. The oppressors and the exploiters see in black womanhood nothing but the calloused hands of the washerwoman, the cleaner, the agricultural and factory worker: their White sisters are themselves domesticated possessions kept as objects for reproduction. Our revolutionary movement has long recognised the fact that an oppressive social order such as ours could not but enslave women in a particularly brutal way. One of the greatest prizes of the democratic revolution must therefore be the unshackling of the women.

The revolutionary masses therefore expect of our womenfolk miraculous deeds which will help simultaneously to liberate our people in their entirety and to emancipate the women themselves. For us, the true representatives of our women are such giants as Queen Regent Labotsibeni, Charlotte Maxeke, Olive Schreiner, Lilian Ngoyi, Ida Mntwana, Victoria Mxenge, Nomkhosi Mini, Thandi Modise, Theresa Ramashamola and Marion Sparg. We call on the women of our country to reproduce themselves in the mould of these heroines, to build and strengthen their democratic organisations and to raise the level of participation of the millions of our women in the struggle for our liberation.

Black mothers have to live with the agony of having to bury their children every day. Too often they have to search for their sons and daughters who have perhaps been arrested or perhaps disappeared forever without trace. Across the barricades, the White mothers see their children transformed and perverted into mindless killers who will not stop at murdering the Black unarmed, but will surely turn their guns on the very mothers who today surrender their sons willingly or unwillingly to the South African death force. These Black and White mothers must reach across the divide created by the common enemy of our people and form a human chain to stop, now and forever, the murderous rampage of the apartheid system.

The enormity of the crime of apartheid and the physical threat it poses to the lives of millions of people throughout our region, demands of our religious community that its institutions must at last transcend their temporal limitations. The evil which holds us in bondage will neither be wished away nor talked or shamed out of existence.

For the religious institutions truly to honour their sacred mission, must surely mean that they act now, together with the democratic forces of our country, to vanquish this evil. Let it never be said that when the moment of truth came, those who had the possibility to lead their fellow worshippers into action failed to do so, and thus negated the very essence of their calling.

Once more, we make an appeal to those among the Black people who find themselves in the service of the enemy of all the people of our country, to turn their backs on the oppressors. Whatever you are paid to do, soldier or policeman, clerical worker or administrator of



*Veterans of the struggle Albertina Sisulu and Helen Joseph commemorate the 30th anniversary of the women's march on Pretoria in 1956.*

some ethnic or racial institution, so-called moderate or vigilante; African, so-called Coloured or Indian, the moment when you have to choose has come. Either you, too, go down with the doomed apartheid system or you live on, a hero or heroine among your people, a proud combatant for the assured democratic victory, never again to carry the lifetime badge of shame of a traitor and a sellout. The blood of the oppressed should no longer stain your hands.

### **Take the War to the Enemy**

We must move forward towards victory. Therefore we have to take the war to the enemy.

We must attack the forces of apartheid in the areas where their power is concentrated, striking powerful blows at the enemy's military, economic and administrative structures and resources. All the revolutionary work we do should be directed to ensure that we utilise the strength we have accumulated to carry out this strategic offensive in a determined manner, on a nationwide basis. We must create the situation when the enemy will no longer have the possibility to withstand our assault.

The nature of the tasks we have to carry out imposes special obligations on the underground structures of the ANC and on Umkhonto we

Sizwe. In the 75 years of its fighting existence, our movement has established its place as the force that has led the people as a whole under widely different conditions, but always correctly and consistently, towards final victory. In the new situation, with the new tasks ahead of us, we are certain that your movement, the ANC, will live up to its responsibilities.

And so will your army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, whose 25th anniversary we have just observed. The objective to transform our armed offensive into a People's War remains one that we must pursue with the greatest vigour. This is especially important in the light of the strategic tasks that we have just been discussing. Our mass military offensive must aim to increase the number of casualties among the enemy's armed forces, to disperse and reduce these forces, make it increasingly impossible for them to defend themselves and undermine the material-economic base which enables the apartheid regime to maintain itself in power.

In the process of this, we must ensure that we build up our combat forces truly into a People's Army in its national and social composition, in its size, effectiveness and the nature of its operation. It must continue to distinguish itself from the apartheid death forces by the bravery of its combatants, its devotion to the cause of liberation and peace and its refusal to act against civilians, both Black and White. But the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, must, in all its elements, act boldly against the apartheid enemy and create the conditions when our superior forces will finally overrun and overthrow the apartheid regime of terror.

### **Apartheid Crisis**

Our country is steeped in the worst crisis ever. The apartheid regime, and solely this regime, is responsible for this situation. The crisis will not end until the racist regime is removed from power and replaced by a government elected by all our people. The White population of our country, from whom the apartheid regime claims to derive its authority, has a heavy responsibility to join the majority to bring about this result.

We have been encouraged in the recent past by positions taken by important sections of the White community to break out of the stranglehold of the ideology and practice of White supremacy. The trade unionists, students, business people,

religious leaders, women, politicians, academics and others who have begun to make this movement forward will need to move faster and further than they have. The rapidly worsening crisis situation in our country demands this.

It demands that our White compatriots should make a clean break with the past and themselves declare war on racism as the enemy of all the people of our country. It requires that they unequivocally reject the ruling group as unrepresentative of them, a cabal whose only interest is to continue to rule without regard to how many of our people, both Black and White, have to die in the process. The call of the day is that both Black and White should come together in a massive democratic coalition to oppose the racists and to struggle side by side, as equals, for the birth of the new South Africa.

Our White compatriots should thus join the majority of our people to render unworkable the apartheid organs of government within the White areas themselves. Manoeuvres such as those represented by the new-styled Provincial Councils, the Regional Service Councils and the so-called Natal Indaba are nothing but manoeuvres. All White patriots have a responsibility to participate in the concerted attack against the sensitive points of the apartheid system in the towns and cities. These fellow South Africans know that, in the face of the undisguised dictatorship exercised through such agencies as the State Security Council and the Joint Management Centres, they have no 'democracy' to defend, but an actual military tyranny to overthrow.

We take this opportunity to salute the White youth who have continued to wage a very important struggle against compulsory service in the racist army of repression and aggression. It is vital that this campaign should continue and grow, to deny the oppressors the war machine through which they wish to reduce our country and region into a wasteland. We must also continue to work to win over to the side of democracy as many of the enemy soldiers as possible.

### **People's Sanctions Now!**

Compatriots, in your name we salute the nations and the peoples of the world who have over the years, and especially in the recent past, responded so well to our appeals to isolate apartheid South Africa and to render all-round assistance to the ANC and the rest of the democratic move-

ment of our country.

As we mark our 75th Anniversary, we can truly say that we have broken through a critical barrier in terms both of world understanding of what is to be done about the apartheid system and the unwillingness of the international community to act. The conditions therefore exist that, in the current period, this community should impose both unilateral and universal comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa. Where governments refuse to act, the public at large should respond with people's sanctions. Now is the moment for deeds and not words.

One of our greatest achievements is that we, the oppressed, have succeeded to build an alternative and indestructible system of international relations between our people and those of the rest of the world. It is a system of relations based on the noblest of human aspirations for a world of peace, friendship and co-operation among free peoples. It is an element in a new world order which shines as a beacon on a mountain top.

In its permanent light, all can see clearly the nasty brutishness of the external relations which our oppressors have sought to maintain — relations based on racial superiority and domination, aggression, war and murder, underhand dealings and the perpetual lie. The hour has come when the world, especially the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and other major Western powers, must finally say no longer will they associate themselves with and encourage the pursuit of such relations and the commission of these crimes. Surely the time is upon us when the democratic movement of our country should everywhere take its place as the rightful representative of our people.

The peoples of Southern Africa are locked in the final stages of mortal combat with our common enemy. In action, our region is doing what it can and must to realise without further delay the hopes and the aspirations of the patriots and the masses who established the ANC 75 years ago. The sacrifices the peoples of Southern Africa are willing to make for liberation, justice and peace are truly inspiring. More than ever, the international community should give all-out support to all the peoples of our region as part of the world offensive against the apartheid system. It is equally imperative that the democratic forces of our country should

themselves mount a vigorous campaign against the wanton acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria rulers against the neighbouring countries.

### **Samora Machel — A Towering Giant of the African Revolution**

The late President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Moisés Machel, and others who have been murdered by the Pretoria regime and its agents, will forever remain examples of that steadfast refusal of the peoples of our region to surrender to racial and colonial domination, fascist tyranny and state terrorism. Samora Machel was a towering giant of the African Revolution. He dedicated his life to our own liberation. His ideas and his deeds are a material force in the struggle for our emancipation. The blood he shed on our soil is and will forever be a fountain of freedom for all our people. On this historic day we make an undertaking to the brother people of Mozambique and our entire region that, at Mbuzini, where the fellow-combatant, Samora Machel, lost his life, we shall erect a monument that will symbolise the common suffering of the people of Southern Africa, a tribute to their heroism and a solemn affirmation that we share a common destiny of liberty, peace and social progress.

### **Long Live SWAPO**

We extend our militant greetings to the brother people of Namibia and their vanguard organisation, SWAPO. Our movements have the common obligation to lead our respective peoples in the confrontation with the last bastion of racist tyranny on our continent. The historic advances made by our Namibian comrades-in-arms are a factor of decisive importance to our struggle. We too must contribute to the just cause of the Namibian people by intensifying our offensive in our sector of struggle. Together we will win. In a similar manner, we greet also our allies in the struggle, the PLO, the Polisario Front, the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front, Frelin, their respective peoples and others who are fighting for their genuine national emancipation and the consolidation of their independence.

We salute the OAU and the people of Africa, the Non-Aligned Movement, our friends in the world socialist community, in the Nordic and other European countries and in North America.



We greet also our allies in the world anti-apartheid as well as the peace movement. Together with all these forces we shall advance inexorably towards victory.

Many of our leaders have been held hostage by the apartheid regime for almost a quarter of a century now. Since they were captured and illegally imprisoned, they have been joined by thousands of others, young and old, women and men, patriots drawn from all the racial groups in our country as well as some internationalists originating from other countries. The continued imprisonment of all these is a grievous offence against justice, an intolerable challenge to all who love freedom. We all must strive harder to secure their immediate and unconditional release so that they can make what will be an inestimable contribution to the liberation and the reconstruction of our country.

Through our sacrifices, we have advanced close to our victory. We have both the will and the organised forces to move ever nearer to success. The enemy of the peoples has no possibility to recapture the strategic initiative. This situa-

tion, which we ourselves have created, demands of us that we seize the time. It obliges us to take the battle to the enemy, to advance in the attack.

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of your movement, the African National Congress, we proclaim this, our historic 75th Jubilee Anniversary, the Year of Advance to People's Power. Let us all, young and old, Black and White, political activist and armed combatant, unite in a concerted offensive against the apartheid regime in the town and the countryside. Let us act to corrode the political, economic, military and administrative power base of the racist regime, and thus take a giant and strategic step forward towards the capture of power by the people.

**Score new victories during the historic Year of Advance to People's Power!**

**Guarantee our victory by advancing in the attack!**

**Long live the 75th Anniversary of the ANC!  
Amandla Ngawethu! Matla ke a Rona!**

## **COSATU HAILS 75 YEARS OF THE ANC**

*The Secretary-General of the ANC, Comrade Alfred Nzo, has received the following message from the Congress of South African Trade Unions.*

On the occasion of your 75th anniversary, we remind you that, at our founding congress, the beleaguered working class of our land asserted that the unbanning of the African National Congress is an indispensable condition for the advance towards a liberated South Africa.

By meeting on the 8th January 1912, the foundation members of the ANC were sowing the seeds which will sprout and produce a South Africa which shall be free from the nightmare of political oppression and economic exploitation. It is this fact, together with our people's experience on the ground, which inspire the working class to take mass actions necessary and strong enough to take our struggle to greater heights.

We celebrate, not only the 75 years of struggle, but also the resilience with which you defied obstacles put before you by the racist regime. Some of you died and were buried in foreign lands. This is not a peculiarity of the South African struggle. It took the courage and heroic determination of the people of Zimbabwe to take the heroes' acre in the country of their birth. Definite indications are currently being sent to Pretoria by the masses of our people.

**From your 75th anniversary to victory!  
Amandla!**

# PRESIDENTS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



ADVANCE TO PEOPLE'S POWER!



**J.L. Dube**  
1912 — 1917



**S.M. Makgatho**  
1917 — 1924



**Z.R. Mahabane**  
1924 — 1927 & 1937 — 1940



**J.T. Gumede**  
1927 — 1930



**Dr P. ka Isaka Seme**  
1930 — 1936



**Dr A.B. Xuma**  
1940 — 1949



**Dr J.S. Moroka**  
1949 — 1952



**Chief A.J. Lutuli**  
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# DISINVESTMENT & THE WORKERS

*The South African Congress of Trade Unions gives an analysis of the recent moves made by multinational corporations to withdraw their investments from South Africa.*

SACTU, as part of the revolutionary alliance led by the ANC, has been at the forefront of the campaign for sanctions against the apartheid regime. In the campaign for compulsory mandatory sanctions, SACTU has called for total withdrawal of multi-national capital from apartheid South Africa.

In making the call for total disinvestment, SACTU has never taken lightly the effect such a withdrawal would have on the South African workers and the trade union movement. When SACTU called upon our trade unions not to restrict themselves to bread and butter politics of the factory floor but to embrace the wider political issues, the sanctions question was part and parcel of this.

## **Multinationals Are Here for Profit**

It is important to grasp the fundamental point that apartheid owes its existence to the many forms of direct and indirect assistance from its allies in Western countries. Multi-national corporations (MNCs) that invest in South Africa extract huge profits by extreme levels of exploitation of Black workers and are responsible for propping up a brutal regime that has murdered thousands of people, detained thousands more, a regime that resorts to abduction and assassination in a desperate bid to stop our people's brave struggle for liberation. The sole objective of the MNCs is to reap huge profits — no matter what the cost.

Our demand is based on a clear understanding of the role that the MNCs play in our country. SACTU has never believed the insincere claims by the MNCs that their continued involvement in our country is out of a loyalty to Black South African workers. South African workers have

fought long and hard for the trade union representation we now have in many of the MNCs. The MNCs have done nothing to challenge the apartheid laws which govern our lives daily — where we may work; whether we have a right to work; whether we have homes; where we have a home and whether we may have our beloved families live with us. The international capitalist bosses are intrinsically tied to the apartheid economy. Apartheid has worked well for them, as they continue to rake in annually the billions of dollars of super-profits squeezed out of the blood of our workers.

## **Codes of Conduct**

MNCs have tried to justify their presence in South Africa by introducing the so-called 'Codes of Conduct' as possible agencies of progressive change. SACTU has always said that these codes are being used as a pretext for the continued investment in apartheid's cheap labour market. These MNCs are adopting measures like the 'Codes of Conduct', because they are afraid of the growing strength and struggle of the working class of South Africa. They are afraid too of the growing international campaign mounted by workers, their trade unions and other progressive organisations, to force investors to pull out of South Africa and to isolate the regime completely. Hiding behind the 'EEC Codes of Conduct' and the 'Sullivan Codes' in the USA, MNCs continue to pay Black workers starvation wages.

For example, British Tyre and Rubber (BTR) has been openly breaching the EEC codes. According to the British Government's own Department of Trade reports, BTR pays workers below the minimum poverty line set by the EEC code. In April 1985, 1 000 workers at the BTR Sarmcol plant in Howick went on strike to get proper union recognition. BTR fired the workers, recruited migrant workers to scab on the strikers, and called in the police. Children of the workers

are at present suffering from malnutrition. In the year prior to the commencement of the strike BTR made a profit of R12 million in South Africa.

MNCs that justify their continued presence in South Africa by claiming that they are improving the lives of Black South Africans are among the very first to call in the racist police to break strikes — as a result of BTR management calling the police a striking worker was shot and four others injured in November 1985. What of the very MNCs that encouraged the motor workers of the Eastern Cape to fight the petty apartheid of 'Whites only' beaches but refused to offer support and job security to workers, and their families, detained under Botha's National State of Emergency? How many MNCs — such as Metal Box for instance — have made Black workers redundant, only to employ Whites in their place? In this respect the MNCs are as South African in their management style as any local firm. There can be no 'industrial islands of democracy' in apartheid South Africa.

### **MNC Loyalty Lies with no Country**

The MNCs are recognised as strongly anti-union in the developed western countries. How much more so in South Africa where they have the overt backing of the apartheid military machinery in their confrontation with labour. The MNCs circle the globe constantly looking for cheap and consequently unorganised labour. No sooner do workers organise for a decent living than the MNCs start scouring for a new patch of starvation and misery to exploit. In our country this policy has reached a new low in the past couple of years when companies like BTR-Dunlop fled from so-called 'White South Africa', where non-racial trade union organisation had met with success, to apartheid's barren bantustans, where all genuine trade union organisation and strike activity is outlawed.

If the historical experience of the MNCs in the mother countries they developed from is anything to go by, their loyalty lies with no country, but with maximised profit. Once the cost of labour starts cutting their super-profits in the smallest way the MNCs transfer production elsewhere. The past decade has witnessed the bitterest of struggles in Western Europe and North America. Millions of workers have been made unemployed, millions of jobs have been lost and fac-

tories closed. There are always some workers 'elsewhere' on the globe who are more 'competitive', such as those forced to do more for less! Since the birth of trade unionism in the industrialised west the struggles have been bitter and the gains of the labour movement modest and far from secure.

Clearly, a large number of MNCs remain locked into apartheid's cheap labour system. It is against this background that SACTU emphatically believes that there can be no progressive role for continued MNC involvement in the apartheid state. The question of a future role for the MNCs must be seen in the light of the South African people's demands as outlined in the Freedom Charter, which says:

"The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people. The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry, shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole. All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people."

### **MNC 'Withdrawal'**

As recently experienced, as soon as the mass actions of our people's struggle knocked world confidence in the apartheid economy, a large number of MNCs began to apparently withdraw, not out of moral indignation against apartheid, but out of the usual MNC strategy of going where they can securely maximise profit.

Among the many MNCs claiming withdrawal are Coca Cola, IBM, General Motors, Kodak, Honeywell, Revlon and Allied Colloids and the British bank, Barclays. Other MNCs create new companies to deal with the intensifying struggle. The Cookson Group, for instance, have created a new company which will be jointly owned with Anglo American Corporation.

Once a study is undertaken of these 'withdrawals', however, the question arises: are these MNCs really pulling out? In most instances the answer is a clear negative. There is just sufficient withdrawal to hopefully ease the international pressure from the parent company and a convenient passing of the 'labour relations buck' to the local management. On the whole the objective is to protect MNC profits.

IBM, for instance, have signed a three-year renewable supply contract and extended a low five-year loan to the so-called new company. As

IBM announced its 'withdrawal' it also conducted a reassurance campaign by advertising in most major newspapers that its products would continue to be available.

General Motors (GM) as another example have sold their assets to the local management but enclosed in the contract the option to purchase back the operation at a later date. Again, as with IBM, the parent company has provided a low interest loan to the 'new' company, and signed a long-term licensing and franchising agreement.

Coca Cola, consistent with its slick public relations act, has attempted to portray itself as sincerely anti-apartheid by claiming to be: "involved in negotiations to sell a large portion of our equity holdings in the bottling and canning business to our retail dealers, most of whom are Black." This gesture will not affect its major profit earner in South Africa, its syrup sales, which accounted for \$50 million in 1985, and whose production is being moved to a new plant in Swaziland.

The significance these indicators have for the unions is that, firstly, careful thought needs to go into how best to protect the interests of workers in each case of disinvestment, and secondly, it is necessary to arrive at a general strategy that will cope with the complex and gradually developing sanctions rather than the short, sharp sanctions shock.

The National Liberation Movement has always correctly stated that sanctions will not destroy the regime but will weaken it sufficiently to enable the South African people to take the opportunity of destroying a disadvantaged enemy through united mass action. As trade unionists we must in addition deliberately look not only at how best to protect the interests of our members but also how to capitalise on the situation and intensify the struggle for People's Power.

### **Unions Call for Sanctions**

In answer to the question of worker support for sanctions, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) General Secretary, Jay Naidoo has said: "It wasn't just a call made by senior leadership or the Central Executive Committee, it was a call made in congress after proper discussion and democratic discussion at all levels of all our structures."

The resolution on disinvestment, adopted on December 1st 1985, states that COSATU: "... believes that all forms of international pressure on the South African government — including disinvestment or the threat of disinvestment — is an essential and effective form of pressure on the South African regime and we support it." Of the recently merged industrial unions, the South African Domestic Workers' Union (SADWU)



*General Motors workers hand in ID cards, striking in solidarity with sacked comrades.*



*Workers from OK Bazaars on strike.  
Their main branch in Johannesburg was bombed in January 1987.*

has passed a resolution at its first conference on November 29th 1986, stating that: "We fully support sanctions."

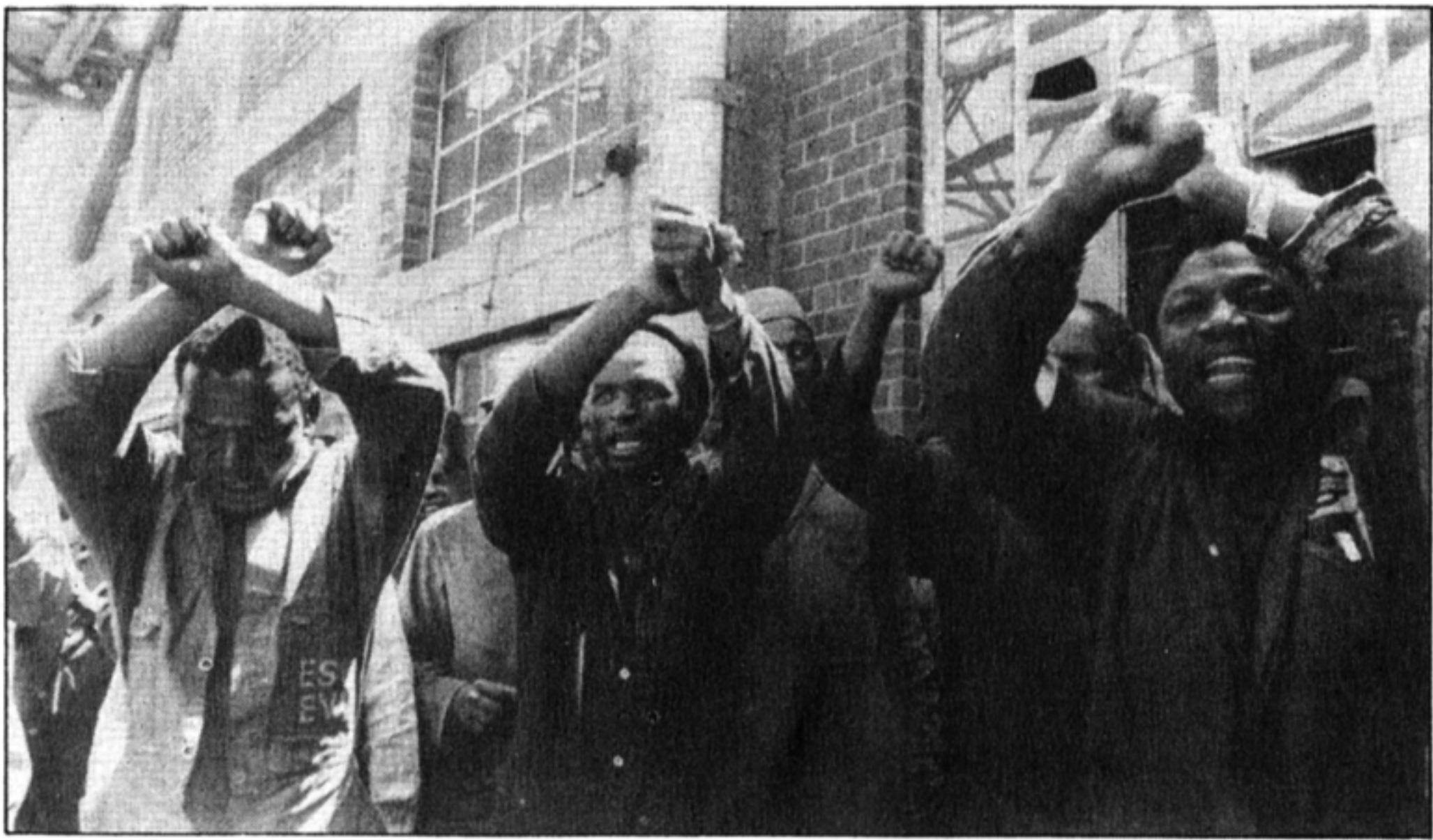
The vital task now facing the trade unions is that, having adopted disinvestment/sanctions resolutions, they should undertake comprehensive studies to fully assess the effects sanctions are going to have for workers and what can be done by the unions in the situation. It is important that the recently formed COSATU sanctions sub-committee pursue its task as a matter of urgency and that COSATU translate the collected information into accessible forms for workers.

South African union delegates participating in the International Labour Organisation (ILO) seminar entitled *Equality of Opportunity and Treatment in the South African Metal Industry* concluded on the issue of disinvestment that "the increasing withdrawal of assets by foreign companies in South Africa makes it imperative that workers are mobilised to ensure that it is the regime that is affected by disinvestment of foreign companies, and that the workers suffer no deterioration in their conditions of employment or reduction in their wages by incoming managements."

### **Workers' Rights and Demands**

Accumulated pension contributions must be guaranteed, as well as entitlements of annual leave, bonuses or other benefits and payments due to them. Workers should be guaranteed that they will not be deprived of severance pay by outgoing management and be further assured that they will receive all other payments to which they are entitled. In order to guarantee their welfare and their rights, workers demand representation on the board of management and directors of their respective companies. In addition, extensive efforts need to be made to create the widest forum to inform workers of their rights and mobilise all those affected, including workers not yet organised into trade unions.

On October 29th 1986, General Motors workers in Port Elizabeth began a sit-in because of GM's intransigence to negotiate the terms of its disinvestment. The strike was not against sanctions or disinvestment by GM, as the capitalist press in the West attempted to portray it; but rather, in the words of Fred Sauls, General Secretary of the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU), "all about the right



*Workers symbolically break their chains, demonstrating against the detention of Moses Mayekiso, 1986.*

to determine on what basis companies can withdraw from this country. It is nothing more than that."

One of the lies put to rest in the GM dispute was that trade union support for sanctions is support for the loss of jobs. The workers of GM showed through their committed action that loss of jobs does not need to be among the terms of disinvestment.

The main demands that arose were that:

- Sufficient notice and information must be given of the disinvestment programme.
- The new owners must recognise and agree to negotiate with unions on all issues affecting workers, and this includes the procedures and issues related to the disinvestment programme and the sale of the company.
- The company must guarantee that there will be no retrenchments arising from the withdrawal; no benefits should be lost; full earnings should be guaranteed for workers for at least one year.
- Should retrenchments take place, the disinvesting company must guarantee minimum severance pay of one month's pay per year of service.

The demand by NAAWU that two representatives elected by workers sit on the new GM

board of directors has added to the debate within COSATU about workers' control. The struggle between the unions and management is all about control: the control workers have over their own lives, control of ensuring secure employment. By having representation on the board of directors, unions will have greater access to valuable information. The challenge that arises is for worker representatives to be trained to deal with the information made available; representation in such a situation should not be cosmetic but be of concrete value. Of course every opportunity should be seized to disrupt management strategising.

Perhaps the main point made in the GM dispute was outlined in the COSATU statement in support of the GM workers: "Jobs should not suffer — profits should bear the consequences." As COSATU General Secretary, Jay Naidoo, said: "... we would make sure that it is not the workers who suffer but it's profits and the apartheid regime that suffer, and obviously there are sacrifices that we would have to make and we are fully prepared to make them, and we have made them over the past 300 years."

**An Injury To One Is An Injury To All!  
Organise Or Starve!**



# RESISTING THE EMERGENCY OF BOTHA'S GENERALS THE CASE OF RENT BOYCOTTS

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*By Sello Moeti*

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The fact that the Pretoria regime has entered the most decisive stage of its deep-going crisis is recognised even by its most devoted supporters both inside and outside South Africa. All the frenzied and desperate attempts at staving off impending doom and regaining control are there. The death of the grandiloquent dreams and schemes going under the name of new constitutional dispensations dreamt up by the Broederbond, and zealously implemented by Piet Botha and his generals is recognised by all. Their coming in with pompous proclamations of total war, total strategy, winning the war in Namibia and hearts and minds in South Africa proved to be nothing more than hot air. They have now fallen back on their usual tactic: violence, violence and more violence. Botha has crossed Rubicons. Many Rubicons. He has declared war on the people, killing thousands of people in street massacres and death-squad-style executions. The detained alone run into tens of thousands. He has declared one state of emergency after the other, each one more stringent than the last. But even here they have had to face, for the first time since the wars of resistance, that their guns won't do, their gaols won't do, death squads won't do, nothing will push us back.

## **Death is Nigh For Botha**

The muzzling of the already circumscribed media; brazen criminal attacks on neighbouring states, their ferocity and savagery increasing all the time; the ritualistic Whites-only elections to test their well-known opinion, are all signs that Pretoria is firmly on the last lap of the road Ian Smith had run with such devotion to the dustbin of history. Indeed the fascist apartheid emperor is performing a macabre naked dance of death

in broad daylight for the whole world to see. But it is in the townships where the collapse of the regime is written with even bolder letters than anywhere else. And it is there too that the boers are making their most determined effort to regain control by brute force, to re-establish their rule. Botha and his generals see their first task as the destruction of the democratic movement, especially the street committees. They are arresting, executing, detaining middle rank activists mainly to destroy the national rent, schools and other boycotts taking place throughout the country. It is the rent boycott that is now receiving their attention.

**No Land, No Houses, No Services, No Rent!** 54 African townships throughout South Africa involving an estimated 4 million people or 650 000 houses have been or are involved in one way or the other in a rent boycott. This costs the boers about R1.3 million a day according to the Community Research Group from the University of Witwatersrand. Rent boycotts are in force from as far as Chilota township in the bantustan of Vendlan in the north, to Gugulethu in Cape Town. Everywhere, in Mamelodi, Soweto, Sebokeng, Boipatong, Phomolong, Mdantsane, people are not paying rent. Young people are boycotting schools and putting forward an alternative educational system to Bantu Education. At work, their parents are locked in continuous battles with the bosses for trade union rights, higher wages and better working conditions. At home through their civic associations they are engaging the racists in massive multi-faceted campaigns covering mass removals, bus boycotts, consumer boycotts.

This comes in the wake of the collapse of Pretoria's community councils, administration boards and other structures which administer apartheid. Not only have they been crushed but alternative structures organised by the people have been set up throughout the country. From justice to rubbish collecting, the people are organising themselves. But consumer and rent boycotts are the two unique weapons created by the people, which have repercussions far from the townships themselves. It is against these two tactics that the regime has now unleashed its full might to try and crush.

In order to understand how the rent system came to be central to control of the townships we must understand its history. Rent is paid basically for a house and services rendered by the council. Pretoria took away the administration of African townships from the various city councils in the name of centralising Bantu Administration and with the dubious intention of im-

proving services. The idea was also to isolate Africans from the towns in which they were located in order to facilitate their integration into the various bantustans. But more importantly for the ideologues of apartheid to freeze African housing in the townships in an attempt to stop Black urbanisation once and for all. The result was the unnatural situation where the population was growing but its geographical boundaries stagnant. The overcrowding led to the proliferation of the so-called squatter camps everywhere. Incredible poverty characterised by deliberately created overcrowding. Then the economy was on the upswing and the boers were optimistic, dreaming all sorts of things, in an attempt to advance and fortify apartheid.

**Oppression Needs an Army of Bureaucrats**  
The huge army of bureaucrats who administer apartheid are employees of the regime and paid from its pocket. They were spread out in a



*The banner reads: "No rent hikes for kennel houses!"*

plethora of committees and administration boards, management committees and community councils, their names being changed all the time. In the late '70s and early '80s the regime tried to adapt the policy itself to the changing fortunes of apartheid. The Croeser Commission Report on Financing of Local Authorities in SA and the Kleu Report on Industrial Development Strategy were an attempt to adapt the system of apartheid to total strategy. They were an attempt to integrate Blacks in the total strategy itself. This meant in practice the enemy needed to try and change his influx control laws, which had failed anyway. Instead of trying to reverse African urbanisation, the two commissions in their reports advised Botha to control it effectively for the benefit of industry. This suited the industrial barons who have been advocating a policy of co-option for certain types of Blacks for a long time. It was music for the generals too, who needed a song that apartheid is dead. They proclaimed from the rooftops African home ownership and 99-year leasehold. In any case the regime was feeling the financial burden of running double administrations for the same locality, one for Whites and one for Blacks, during recession and the war in Namibia, and passed on the burden to Blacks. Despite boycotts of elections, and protests. Blacks were proclaimed beneficiaries of apartheid benevolence and had to take on the cost of administering it. "Soweto," Connie Mulder declared, "is going to be the most beautiful city in Africa."

In the Vaal Triangle, for instance, the rent boycott took its most determined form in September of 1984. The boycott was provoked by the Vaal Triangle Community Council introducing what it called 'economic rentals'. The costs of housing provision, municipal services and administration were to be covered by rents. These rose dramatically, predictably combined with the general decline of services. The regime had learned its lesson and wanted to improve on the Urban Bantu Councils which had just collapsed. This time Pretoria wanted in its bureaucracy the most articulate puppets who could be displayed in front of television cameras performing, proclaiming their desire to be in a new dispensation, especially the Fourth Chamber. This is regarded by the puppets as a prestigious place where they stand along with the Coloureds

and Indians who occupy the Second and Third chambers of total strategy's three-tier parliamentary system. The participation of Blacks in the Fourth Chamber was going via the denationalisation of the majority of them. Creating a stratum called Urban Blacks, represented by the Community Councils, linking up in a grandiose scheme which would have involved the bantustan puppets. The community councils, unlike their predecessors, were going to be linked to nearby towns through a sophisticated system called management committees which was blatantly said to be aimed at creating pools of cheap labour, catchment areas as they were called, for industrial White South Africa.

### **Township Resolve: We're Sick of Puppets**

At first, the reaction of the people was to try and fight the steep rent increases, the corruption, negligence and decay imposed by the councillors. The councillors naturally, not elected by the people, ignored them, being interested more in ingratiating themselves with the boers and lining their pockets. Others in fact went on elaborate overseas trips, taking on loans from commercial banks in international markets in the name of the very people who opposed the creation of their councils. They were paraded in front of television cameras performing, "criticising apartheid" and calling for more power to themselves. They got a lot of money from the friends of Pretoria. This increased pomp and pageantry among the bureaucrats. A lot of the money ended up in the big bellies of the councillors. The poor residents of Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Boipatong, Sebokeng, Soweto, who had never seen a dollar in their lives, ended up with an international debt, in some councils going above R50 million. In order to get the money back to the banks with interest, they introduced rent increases and service charges. Throughout the whole country Community Councils raised their charges, from electricity to water in some places by as much as R5.50 (Ratanda), R8.80 (Atteridgeville and Saulsville in Pretoria).

What put the Vaal Triangle on fire in 1984 can be found in the results of a survey of the Bureau of Market Research which showed that the per capita income was lower than the national average, despite claims to the contrary by the regime and its puppets. Worse still, while real increase in Blacks' income between 1980 and

1985 was 17%, rents increased by 56% in the Vaal Triangle.

It was the same story throughout the whole country from Chilota to Guguletu. Finding itself overstretched, militarily and economically, Pretoria was compelled by circumstances beyond its control to try and force the residents of the townships to pay for their own oppression. For instance in Pretoria, the rents of Atteridgeville, Saulsville and Mamelodi were sharply increased. In October (1986) the rent was increased by R11 a month and electricity charges alone were R60, bringing the average rent to R150 a month in a place where the average monthly salary is about R200. By then of course people had long stopped paying rent.

### **Total Strategy is Total Terror**

The response of the Pretoria regime, or more accurately the generals, to the rent boycotts was made, not through the administration boards and community councils, but through the total strategy of apartheid survival, more specifically the State Security Council (SSC) with its 12 JMCs and 60 sub-Joint Management Committees (JMC) and mini-JMC. They are made up of the army, police and civil servants, "to coordinate government action which has influence on the security situation in their respective areas of responsibility." Their jurisdiction covers the whole spectrum of activity from crushing the schools, rent and consumer boycotts to public relations exercises to sweeten apartheid or ram it down the throats of Blacks at local level.



*Members of the racist army guard a site where a captain was nearly killed by a hand grenade:  
KTC, Cape Town, 1986.*

Newspapers recently published a document by the JMCs for their 448 mini-JMCs, entitled: "Strategy for the Collection of Arrear Rental and Service Charges". This document revealed a wide range of strategies involving business, community councils, ex-development boards, SADF, SAP and paramilitary groups under the community councils and administration boards. Ever since, there has been a systematic escalation of the mass removals campaign, this time concentrated on evicting families taking part in the rent boycotts.

### **New Controls for Old Apartheid**

The so-called scrapping of pass laws in June 1986 was hailed by almost all the media, owned by people who had never carried a pass, as a major concession from the regime and a dispensation towards the end of apartheid. Blacks who carry passes, who have seen passes "abolished" from time to time, knew that the new orderly urbanisation was a new name for the pass laws and influx control. In fact the UDF correctly pointed out that the "new policy, that the so-called Orderly Movement and Urbanisation was an attempt to regain control over the people, to push them into greater poverty and subservience, and to break the growing national challenge which people are presenting to apartheid." It did not take long to realise that the so-called "approved accommodation", loans to buy houses, allocation of land, were an updated version of the same influx control regulations for Blacks. In fact a more updated version of a scheme that was going to see more Blacks evicted en masse from their houses.

The state of emergency, now virtually martial law, provided the smoke screen behind which the regime wanted first to destroy Black resistance in general, but the rent boycott and resistance to mass removals in particular. Crossroads is an example of the new tactic of the SADF, SAP and the so-called Witdoeke who destroyed it to enforce influx control. Other organised communities equally opposed to mass removals are taking part in one form or another in the rent boycott — Brits' Oukasie, Langa outside Uitenhage, Soweto, Lawaaikamp in George, Duncan Village in East London, Despatch's Old Location, Khayelitsha, Mdantsane, Mamelodi and Herschel's African community in the Cape. In all these communities, and others throughout

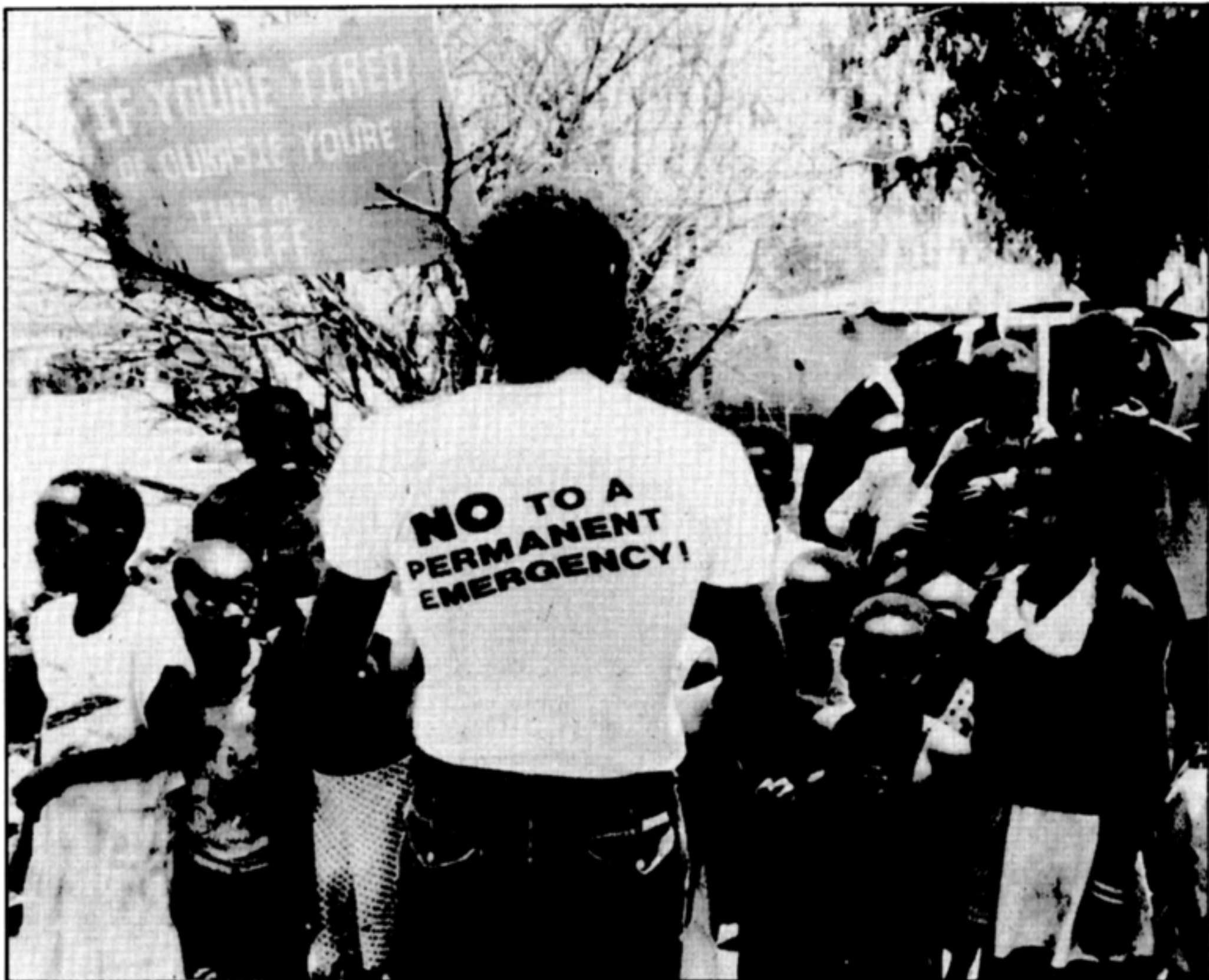
South Africa, the regime is undertaking a massive campaign to restructure the whole country on a counter-insurgency programme. Blacks are severely restricted, with roadblocks between streets, sections and around the township itself. Everywhere people have to show special identity papers issued to households. With this tight control by the SAP and SADF, Pretoria hopes to carry out its murders, massacres and street executions far from the Whites and the world public in general.

Under the emergency, the mass removals which were supposedly affecting squatters are now being undertaken within Soweto, Mamelodi, Chilota, Mdantsane and other townships themselves, partly to break the rent boycott, but more ominously taking advantage of the rent boycott to evict large sections of the population in order to create an artificial middle class, supposedly "urbanised Blacks," living legally in "approved accommodation". This group will, it is hoped, form a layer between the majority and the Whites. While "gainfully employed" by the Whites "administering to their needs", it will also be insulating them from the majority of angry, homeless, voteless Blacks. As in most sectors of Total Strategy, the enemy is failing hopelessly.

Despite a powerful propaganda about 99-year leasehold less than 2 000 families have taken up Botha's version of home ownership and leasehold housing.

Women have been taking the main brunt of the house evictions and generally the mass removal campaign. While the men, wanted for labour, can at least have a house in their name, women, supposedly as perpetual minors, cannot. Widows have been particularly hit as their houses are invariably taken on the death of their husbands. Old people, the majority of them pensioners, the unemployed and other groups have systematically been losing their houses through evictions, then later through mass removals as squatters. So eager are the boers to sow division and destruction within the African community that in some instances they evict the old people and give the houses to other younger members of the family on the grounds that they can afford the rents.

The boers are fond of soft targets, not just in military attacks. In the townships, they choose the more vulnerable members of the Black com-



*Resisting mass removals — People of Oukasi, Brits, 1986.*

munity at random, send an army to arrest the whole family at night and force them to undertake paying the rent. It is clearly an attempt to choose a soft target with the view of creating a climate of fear so that the others pay up the rent. This has taken place in Soweto where individual families have actually been evicted from their homes and later shipped out of town as "illegal squatters". The street committees have put up brave resistance to the night raids at a cost of many lives. They have formed units to protect victims of evictions and have frustrated the whole exercise in many townships. The military and police, organised in special units (including remnants of Smith's former Selous Scouts) are now rampaging through the townships trying to kill individual members of the people's defence committees. Pretoria believes that systematic mass arrests, executions and evictions carried out with the assistance of the courts will pay dividends at

the end. That is, the JMCs pick up the residents one by one, forcing them to sign papers in the middle of the night in police stations saying they are going to pay up or dragging them through the courts where they are forced to pay.

Another tactic which was tried in the Eastern Cape, was to deduct the rent from people's salaries forcibly through compulsory deduction by employers. In some cases people found almost a third of their salaries removed supposedly to pay rent areas lasting the three years of the rent boycott. This led to serious threats of strikes by the trade unions.

Thus while the regime with its secret and public paramilitary forces is trying to behead the democratic movement, liquidate the street committees of the comrades in a violent campaign of street executions, disappearances, killings, the bureaucrats have been pulled in to try and change the structure of township life.

# ANC INTERNATIONAL

## PEOPLE OF FRANCE REJECT P W BOTHA

P W Botha paid a visit to France in November, ostensibly to attend a ceremony in honour of those who fell in the First World War. There was strong condemnation of this visit from many quarters, and, according to reports, President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Chirac did not receive Botha because of this widespread opposition. George Marchais, Secretary General of the French Communist Party, stated in a television interview that France should not have given Botha a visa. The Secretary of State for War Veterans, George Fontes, announced that he would not be meeting Botha as he had a previous engagement.

Before November 6th, there was almost no mention of the impending demonstrations in the French media, but when the day arrived not even the television could ignore what was going on in the streets of France. On November 6th, about 15 000 people demonstrated in Paris alone, and many thousands demonstrated in other parts of France.

On November 11th, the day of the ceremony, about 1 000 people gathered as near as they could get to the memorial at the old battleground of the Somme, which was thoroughly blocked off by police as Botha flew in by helicopter. There was an angry demonstration.

## THE 12th WFDY ASSEMBLY

The Assembly of the World Federation of Democratic Youth is held every four years and is the highest policy-making body of the Federation. The 12th Assembly was held in Hungary on November 23rd-29th.

The conference centre was the hall of the Hungarian metal workers' trade union, in the centre of the capital, Buda Pest, an especially beautiful city that combines ancient architecture with some of the best achievements of modern civil engineering. Banners with inscriptions decorated this hall, and expressed the satisfaction of the Hungarian people in acting host to this important event.

It was a gathering of 136 member organisations plus scores of observers, guests and inter-



*Demonstration in Paris 6th November 1986. The banner on the right reads:  
"Botha, Assassin, Out of France!"*

national organisations. Most of the member organisations were represented by First Secretaries or Heads of national youth organisations.

The question of averting thermonuclear war featured prominently in the contributions almost all the delegates made in the plenary. Delegate after delegate referred to the serious threat posed to humanity by this imminent war, and condemned western imperialism, especially the United States, for this situation. Many hailed the Soviet Union for declaring a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, and also gave their unqualified support to the Soviet proposals made in Iceland.

The Assembly afforded the four-man ANC youth delegation yet another opportunity to expose further to the people of the world the criminal behaviour of the apartheid regime. This delegation of four people, headed by the Deputy Head of the National Youth Committee of the ANC, Comrade Manala Manzini, held bilateral discussions with scores of other delegations, including that of Nicaragua, the Federal Republic of Germany, India and Mozambique. It made

contributions at the plenaries, the regional meetings, thematic workshops and the sessions of the specialised agencies. It was also chosen to speak at the solidarity meetings, and was offered interviews with several journalists from the press, radio and television.

There were five regional meetings, dealing with Africa, Asia and Oceania, Europe, Latin America and the Middle East. There was consensus at the Africa meeting about the fact that the situation in Southern Africa is the most urgent problem of the continent, and that the attention of the assembly must be drawn to it. At this meeting, unflinching solidarity with the people of Western Sahara was also expressed.

The International Committee of Children and Adolescents' Movement, to which the ANC Pioneer organisation is affiliated, was one of the three specialised agencies which had their sessions while the assembly was in progress. It approved a programme of action that included the launching of an international campaign of solidarity with the children of Namibia in 1987 and with those of South Africa in 1990.

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## OBITUARY

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# Johnny Mbizo Dyani

The untimely death of Johnny Mbizo Dyani brings to a close a brilliant chapter in South African cultural history. It leaves a gap among the ranks of committed South African musicians which will be difficult to fill. During his all too brief life he has left an indelible imprint on Black South African music and the international jazz scene.

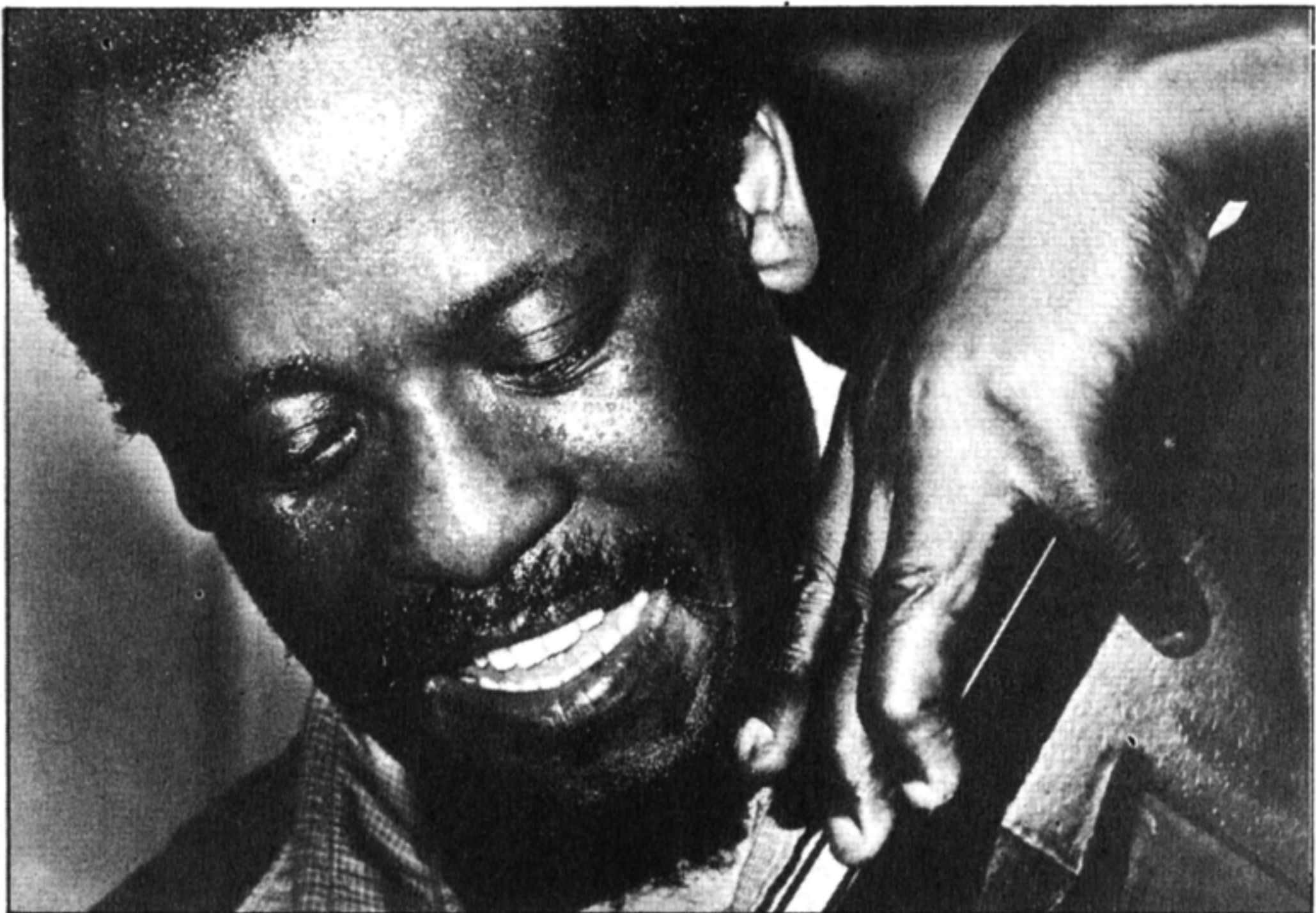
Through his music, Johnny managed to reach out to millions, touching each of their hearts with that subtle and sensitive blend of pain, sorrow, hope, desire, but above all, a joy that is at the core of our musical tradition.

Johnny Dyani, like most of our modern musi-

cians, was sprung from the loins of the Black working class. He was, in the best meaning of the term, a man of the people. From an early age he was possessed of a quiet dignity and self-assuredness, endowed with a strong sense of discipline, a capacity for hard work and sustained effort. These were the qualities he brought to his first love — music — which was his chosen career.

Johnny was never a pompous, stuffy or conceited person. Humble, almost to the point of self-effacement, he was known amongst friends and colleagues as a wit, with that digging, ribbing sense of humour so common in the Eastern Cape.





*Mbizo Dyani*

Unlike many of his peers at home, he was, perhaps, fortunate in having had the opportunity to go abroad, where, despite the many hardships he suffered, he was at least free from the ubiquitous racial barriers, restrictions and constraints that have smothered so many other talents amongst our people. As we cast our eyes back over the life and times of this outstanding young musician, we are uplifted by a record of no mean achievement. Yet this very same record reminds us also that "Full many a flower is born to blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air," because of the evil system of national oppression that holds our country in thrall.

Johnny Mbizo Dyani was never the type of artist who subscribed to the notion that "The double-bass is mightier than the sword." He knew from his experience as a man, through his sensitivity as an artist, that the freedom he sought could not be achieved solely in the key of B-flat or C-major. He clearly understood that freedom for the artist and in the arts is inextricably bound up with freedom in society. It was this recognition that determined the path he hewed as a politically committed artist.

As we say our last farewell to Johnny Dyani, we extend to the bereaved family — both those in Copenhagen and those at home — our heartfelt condolences. We say to you, draw strength from Johnny's proven courage to help you overcome this moment of grief. As a family you have a monument in the body of work Johnny leaves behind him. As a people, the only real monument we can erect to Johnny's memory is a free South Africa.

The ANC dips its banners in respectful homage to one of the greatest talents our people has produced. The South African artists' community has lost one of its distinguished members. It is the duty of that community, working, creating and fighting alongside the rest of our people, to translate into reality the ideals for which Johnny strove — the liberation of our motherland, South Africa.

**Lala Ngoxolo Radebe. Hamba kahle qhawe.**

From the Secretariat of the National Executive Committee of the ANC.  
November 6th, 1986.

*Football in Africa*, Ed: Anver Versi, Collins, London, £7.95.

Anver Versi has done Africa and the world of football a great service by playing midwife to *Football in Africa*. Such a work was long overdue, and it is to his credit that he mustered such an array of scribes to make this book possible. We hope that it will not be the last of its kind (Versi assures us that other editions will follow) because the first edition has only touched the surface of the problems besetting sports in general, and soccer in particular, on the continent.

The book deals with soccer in the various regions of Africa, but not one word is devoted to South Africa.

While no great strides in continental and international competition have been made by economically weak countries like Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho, this does not detract from the popularity of the game in these countries.

South Africa, on the other hand, is a football power. True, the country has been placed on ice in various sports, including soccer. It was the progressive Black footballers of South Africa who started the ball rolling for the isolation of the racists from the international sports community. That was way back in 1954, when Harry Bloom, the South African lawyer and author, acting on behalf of the South African Soccer Federation (Black sports officials were refused travelling documents by the Pretoria regime), appeared before FIFA to have the racist South African soccer body expelled from the world organisation and replaced by the non-racial federation.

The racist regime has its friends and supporters, and those in FIFA did everything in their power to prevent the suspension of the racists, but failed. After a battle lasting over 20 years, the followers of apartheid were finally thrown out of the world body in 1976. The non-racial body has not yet been admitted to FIFA, while the racist regime, through the aid of its fat cheque book, is making desperate attempts to re-enter the international sports arena, and the

soccer field is one of its targets. We hope that this theme is dealt with in the next edition.

"African football finally arrived on the world stage in the 1982 World Cup in Spain," says Versi. He explains: "Until then, the soccer giants of Europe and South America had not taken Africa seriously. They believed that the inclusion of African and Asian teams in the expanded World Cup format would at best provide practice for the 'real' competitors."

Before 1982, both Africa and Asia had a gruelling battle for the one place allotted to each continent in the World Cup Finals. This was changed to two teams, from 1982 onwards. Naturally, this did not please the soccer bosses in Western Europe and Latin America. Some soccer writers said it would bring down the standard of the Finals to allow so many "ungraded" teams to participate with the "cream" of world soccer.

After the fantastic performance of Africa's representatives in Spain and then in the Mexico Finals in 1986, these critics began singing a different tune. Suddenly, no superlative was good enough to describe the standard of soccer in Africa. Previously the general impression was that sport in the continent meant long-distance running and nothing more. With this book, Versi has proved that people like the incredible Eusebio, who became a world star at the Finals in England in 1966, were not accidents of history, but that there are Eusebios galore in Africa.

The book has its controversial aspects. One of them is that of professionalism. Versi's opinion is that professionalism would help soccer a great deal in Africa. I beg to differ. Instead of professionalism, governments on the continent should provide the facilities for proper training and encouragement, thereby persuading sportsmen not to seek their fame elsewhere. This should begin in school as part of the curriculum. Such a move will enhance the talent which, as Versi correctly says, is abundant on the continent.

This stimulating book should find its way into other languages. It is a good beginning.

ES

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We have to achieve the broadest possible political and organisational unity between the workers and the students, the women and youth, the urban and the rural masses, the old and the young: African, so-called Coloured and Indian. No elements from among ourselves should seek to impose their views on others. We should rely on political work to organise and mobilise the masses of the people into united action.

**ANC January 8th Message, 1987**