

FEBRUARY 1990



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



*Peter Mokaba of SAYCO*



*Western Cape delegates at the conference*

**CONFERENCE  
FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC  
FUTURE**

**FEBRUARY 1990**  
**SECHABA**

ISSN:0037-0509

Volume 24 No 2

**CONTENTS:**

**EDITORIAL**

Our Objectives Remain the Same ..... 1

**ANC PRESS STATEMENT** ..... 2

**JANUARY 8TH STATEMENT** ..... 3

**OUR ECONOMY NEEDS FUNDAMENTAL RESTRUCTURING**

Interview with Jay Naidoo ..... 17

**CDF RESOLUTION ON TRADE UNION MOVEMENT** ..... 20

**THE PRESENT SITUATION**

By Sha ..... 21

**ANC INTERNATIONAL** ..... 24

**ELECTORIAL SYSTEMS — WHICH WAY  
FOR DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA?**

By P.M. Mtshaulana ..... 27

**BOOK REVIEW** ..... 31

Graphic design by Hylton Alcock

**LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM**

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

**Radio Lusaka**

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

**Radio Luanda**

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

**Radio Madagascar**

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

**Radio Ethiopia**

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

**Radio Tanzania**

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

**The above are South African times**

# EDITORIAL

## OUR OBJECTIVES REMAIN THE SAME

The most apt way of describing the decade from which we have just emerged is that it was the most decisive in our struggle. We can say with pride that we have just completed a decade whose results bring us to the doorstep of a new South Africa — a South Africa for which we have fought and lost many heroic and dedicated lives.

The year ahead of us has been designated by the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress as "The Year of People's Action for a Democratic South Africa." It comes in the wake of a momentous year in which the greatest mass defiance of the racist regime recaptured from it the political initiative it had sought to seize from us.

We are within reach of our goal of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. We must therefore concentrate all our efforts on ensuring that the victories we scored in the past year, and throughout the decade of the eighties, do not remain mere laurels upon which to rest, but that we should build our offensive with a view to making a further advance towards our final victory. In other words, our focus must now shift directly to our main objective — the democratic transformation of our country and the restoration of political power into the hands of the people.

To reach this objective, we have to fully grasp and keep our sight on it, while determining the tactics that we should advance at every turn, towards the attainment of this objective. From many sides it has been insinuated that the tactics we have used, for instance, on the issue of negotiations, signify a change in the emphasis on our strategic objectives. The 1990 Statement of the NEC unequivocally states that the people's demand that the apartheid system must be eradicated in its entirety is non-negotiable. Further on, on the issue of tactics, it states that the Harare Declaration is not and was not to be a substitute for other forms of struggle, including our armed offensive. It is an additional weapon

in our struggle to liquidate the apartheid system.

What this means is that our objectives remain the same. What we have done is to enrich our struggle by opening up new areas of struggle.

Our enemy, the De Klerk regime, has no intention of losing the loose grip it still has on the political power in the country. On the contrary, it is doing everything to try to ensure that our offensive to bring peace and democracy to South Africa meets with obstacles wherever it is launched. Its diplomatic emissaries abroad shuttle from capital to capital and to the United Nations pleading for the voice of the ANC and the MDM not to be heard, for its racist policies to be the only ones accepted in the 'group'-complicated South Africa. Clearly, it is not committed to the transformation of our country into a genuine democracy and this means we must ourselves fight even more determinedly for this transformation.

However, we cannot move forward if we are not united both organisationally and in terms of understanding the perspectives of our struggle. This is at the core of our call this year. In every way possible and necessary, the organised formations of the democratic movement have to be strengthened and unity must be worked for as never before. No hurdle should be considered too great in this quest for unity, the strengthening of our organisations and organising those sections of our people who are as yet unorganised. We are at a stage, in our advance, where the luxury of differing for personal or sectarian reasons must be completely done away with. History demands of all patriots that they should unite in action for the decisive step forward that will bring the democratic transformation to our country and avert the bloody consequences that would otherwise result.

As we brace ourselves for the coming battles, we will be joined by some of our leaders who have just been released in December. These are the leaders of the mass democratic movement —

comrades Terror Lekota, Popo Molefe, Moses Chikane, Tom Manthata and Gcinumuzi Malindi. The five harsh years they have spent in enemy captivity have not broken their spirit to fight on and lead their people.

Even as we rejoice at the fact that we have scored a victory in their release, we cannot help but be reminded that our leader Nelson Mandela, together with hundreds of other patriots, remains imprisoned. Untiringly, and with even more urgency, we must fight for their release. Comrade Nelson Mandela must rejoin his colleagues

who were released last year and all the others who have led the struggle while he and hundreds of other freedom fighters have been held in the dreary Robben Island and other hellish prisons over the long, lonely years.

We are certain that as we engage in this final phase of our struggle, the anti-apartheid forces the world over will redouble their efforts to ensure that the peace, democracy and stability we have fought for together, is attained sooner rather than later. Together let us act decisively for a democratic South Africa!

## ANC PRESS STATEMENT

The African National Congress unequivocally condemns the action of the Government of Hungary of inviting and receiving Pretoria's Foreign Minister, Roelof Botha. This unprincipled act demonstrates both bad faith and a cynical disregard for international agreements. Only ten days ago, representatives of the Hungarian Government assured the ANC that they have no contact with the apartheid regime. A mere three weeks ago, Hungary voted with the rest of the world at the United Nations to continue to take effective action against apartheid South Africa. It is now clear that in the meantime, the true intention of the Hungarian leaders was to betray the majority of the people of South Africa by forming a racist partnership with apartheid. Hungary cannot expect to maintain normal relations with the peoples of Africa while it befriends the enemy of our Continent and the rest of freedom-loving humanity.

Alfred Nzo

Secretary-General

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

*LUSAKA, ZAMBIA, 4 JANUARY 1990*

# STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON THE OCCASION OF THE 78TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS — JANUARY 8TH, 1990 THE YEAR OF PEOPLE'S ACTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

*Compatriots and comrades,  
Brothers and sisters,*

*A New Year is upon us. The President of your movement, the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo, is unable to address you today as he has not yet fully recovered his health. We speak to you today, January 8th, the 78th Anniversary of the ANC, on his express instructions. We have, in the first instance, the honour and privilege to extend to you all and to all our friends everywhere, his New Year greetings as well as those of the rest of the leadership of our movement and the membership as a whole. Similarly, we greet our revolutionary allies, the SACP and SACTU.*

## **Our Historic Achievements**

We observed 1989 as the Year of Mass Action for People's Power. We are proud today that we have, as a result of our mass actions, come much closer than ever before to the goal we set ourselves, that of transforming South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

We salute all the patriotic forces of our country for this historic achievement. Millions joined in action to bring this result about. The overwhelmingly successful general strikes, the historic campaign of mass defiance which was characterised by our refusal to submit to repression and state terrorism, the continuing rent boycotts, the mass rallies and demonstrations, the boycott of the elections to the Houses of Representatives and Delegates in the tricameral parliament, all contributed in creating the mood of expectation that pervades our country today.

So too did the reclaiming by our people in the bantustans of their South African citizenship, the hunger strikes carried out by the State of Emergency detainees, the sterling struggles waged by our white compatriots against conscription and for a complete rejection of the apartheid system and its racist tenets, the heroic actions of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the continued offensive of the international community. Of decisive importance as well has been the implementation of the New York Accords concerning Angola and Namibia which opened the way for the progress of the people of Namibia towards independence from apartheid South Africa.

Thanks to the heroic struggles we have waged up to this point, the situation has arisen whereby there is probably no thinking South African today who does not expect that change must come in our long-suffering country. Yet, it is a moment that harbours both the potential for change and the ever-present danger of a terrible bloodbath. What the outcome will be depends on the balance of forces, the steadfastness of the democratic movement and the wisdom of all the people of our country.

## **Apartheid must be Abolished**

What we must make very clear is that the overwhelming majority of our people will not rest until the apartheid system is totally abolished and a non-racial democracy in a united South Africa established. Let those who hold power in our country fix this firmly in their minds that the people will accept nothing less than this and that our common motherland will know neither peace nor stability until this objective is realised.

Our rejection of the apartheid system has always been and remains uncompromising. This system is a crime against humanity. No elements of this crime can be permitted to continue, whatever the excuses advanced for their preservation. The people's demand that it must be eradicated in its entirety is non-negotiable.

We can take no other position precisely because apartheid has meant and continues to mean some of the most terrible suffering that any people anywhere in the world have endured since the end of the Second World War. It has meant the death of millions of people through hunger and deprivation that are a direct result of this system. It has meant the death of hundreds of thousands throughout our region as a result of repression, state terrorism and undeclared war waged for the sole object of protecting the apartheid system.

It signifies the murder of some of the best sons and daughters of all the people of our country, whether on the gallows by official hangmen, in the streets and villages by the police and the army, in prison cells by licensed torturers or elsewhere by the official secret death squads of the Pretoria regime. It has meant the dehumanisation of an entire people. It has led to the inevitable conflict in our country which still has the possibility to claim the lives of so many of our people as we fight on, because we must, to end the apartheid crime against humanity.

## **National Party — Apartheid Architect**

These days, the National Party also speaks of its commitment to end apartheid. The unlamented and melodramatic disappearance of PW Botha from the political scene is presented as a milestone signifying a change of direction by this apartheid party. Its leaders must, however, understand if we remain unconvinced and sceptical and demand that they translate their words into actions.

The same National Party occupies an uncontested position as the sole architect of the apartheid system. For over forty years it has, systematically and callously, constructed this system of white minority domination and used the most brutal means and methods to entrench and defend it, upholding the destructive notion that the security of the white population depended on white domination.

It has trained and equipped an army and a police force as well as a phalanx of civil servants, to say nothing of the white population in general, to stamp viciously and mercilessly on any person and organisation that threatens the survival of the apartheid system.

Repeatedly over the decades, it has thrown these forces of repression into action and built up a tradition of barbarism among them. It would be foolhardy of us to forget that, however engaging the smiles they might wear on their faces today, these forces still hold a deadly sword in their

hand, capable of being used for the purpose for which they have been trained — the ruthless defence of the apartheid system of white minority domination and exploitation.

## **South Africa Belongs to All**

Throughout the seven decades of our existence we have fought against white minority rule and advanced a perspective of equality in freedom for all South Africans. We have put forward and defended the idea that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people. We espoused these principles because we value freedom, justice, democracy and security for all the people of our country.

We also adopted these positions because we cherish peace and knew that so long as injustice persisted so long would the people be denied peace. In addition, and in pursuit of the twin objectives of justice and peace, and as the Pretoria regime can confirm from its own files, we repeatedly asked successive white rulers of our country to enter into negotiations with genuine representatives of our people. Even when we were compelled to take up arms, we tried to conduct a humane war with as few casualties as possible. This was precisely because as a movement for national liberation we value life and fight to assert the right to life in the face of a system that is inherently violent and murderous.

## **Create the Climate for Negotiations**

Because the democratic forces of our country value peace, while being committed to genuine freedom for all the people of our country, they have, once more and in unity, put forward a proposal for the political resolution of the conflict in which our country is enmeshed. That proposal, as contained in the Harare and UN General Assembly Declarations, is intended for the sole purpose of ending the system of apartheid as quickly and with as little bloodshed and destruction as possible. So far, Pretoria's response to this historic proposal has amounted to nothing more than political gamesmanship which has absolutely nothing to do with a serious effort to advance towards a mutually acceptable agreement to end the apartheid system.

It still remains for the Pretoria regime to create a climate conducive to negotiations. In putting forward this universally accepted demand, we are not asking for special favours. We are asking that all who should participate in any process of negotiations should enjoy equal political opportunities. On this historic occasion, we reiterate that the democratic forces of our country will not be terrorised into negotiations and cannot be expected to enter into such a process until they enjoy the same freedoms to engage in political activity as does the National Party.

A little while ago, we converged in Johannesburg in our tens of thousands to welcome, in a disciplined and orderly manner, the leaders of our people who had been released from prison after a quarter-of-a-century of incarceration. We took advantage of the space that had emerged to hold this rally as we had organised the marches conducted in the course of our defiance campaign.

While recognising these advances, we have made it plain that that great son of our people, who continues to wage a principled struggle from

prison as a disciplined and committed member and leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, as well as other patriots, remains in prison. The State of Emergency remains in place. Organisations and individuals continue to be banned and restricted. The De Klerk regime still has a long way to go before it can claim that it has ended repression directed against the national liberation and democratic movement of our country. So long as this repression continues, so long shall we struggle against it.

Therefore, whether the potential for a political settlement is transformed into reality remains the urgent responsibility of the Pretoria regime. For our part, we are committed to seize any real opportunity that might emerge, genuinely to seek a political agreement for a speedy end of the apartheid system. It ought to be obvious that we, who are the victims of this heinous system, can never act in a manner designed either to perpetuate it or to lead to the loss of even more lives.

Despite the promises that have been made to the contrary, the apartheid system remains in place. An apartheid white minority regime continues to rule our country. There is in power a party of racism which has grown accustomed to power and cannot imagine itself as anything except a ruling party. The very real conditions of our lives, including the denial of democratic political rights, demand that we continue the struggle until we have removed the yoke of oppression.

Compatriots, the need for all of us, black and white, to unite around the perspective of one, democratic and non-racial South Africa has never been greater than it is today. This not only requires that we should embrace this perspective but also that we should join in struggle together, marching shoulder to shoulder for its realisation.

We take this opportunity once more to salute the Conference for a Democratic Future. We united at this historic Conference to forge a mighty formation of struggle for a democratic South Africa. By that act and in our decisions, we put on the agenda, as the issue of the day, the transformation of our country into a genuine democracy, in which the people would govern, on the basis of one person one vote in a non-racial society, and **not on a group basis**. This is a demand that we must imprint on all our banners as we continue and intensify our struggle for freedom.

Confronting directly the manoeuvres of the De Klerk regime to draw us into an apartheid structure which would parcel out meaningless portions of power in a so-called power-sharing arrangement that would leave the white minority as the dominating force, we correctly called for an elected Constituent Assembly that would be truly representative of the people and accountable to them; one that would, once and for all, answer the question of who the genuine representatives of the people are. We must fight for this demand to ensure that power does indeed rest in the hands of the people, and not appointees of Pretoria and other self-seeking charlatans.

The fact that the Conference for a Democratic Future took place and that it arrived at these and other important decisions, should not lead us to ignore some of the weaknesses that emerged during its preparation and its sessions. One of the most important lessons these point to, is

## No to Group Rights



that there needs to be greater interaction among all the forces that were represented at the Conference, in a conscious effort to think and plan together on a continuous basis. United action becomes easier for all of us to achieve when we have all participated in the process of determining what action we should take together.

## **Our Strategic Objective**

This pregnant moment in our history, which demands of all of us that we make the decisive push for the democratic transformation of our country, requires clarity of thought in terms of our tactical and strategic objectives, without confusing the two. It requires that we should know the goals of the national democratic revolution and refuse to fall victim to promises of pies-in-the-sky made by demagogues who know they cannot even deliver a stale slice of bread.

Our first strategic objective is to restore democratic political power into the hands of the people in a united and non-racial South Africa. Once this objective is achieved, it will be the task of people's power to dismantle the system of apartheid and to undertake the process of fundamental socio-economic transformation, directed at meeting the aspirations of the people in the manner spelt out in the Freedom Charter, the Constitutional Guidelines and the Workers' Charter that are currently under discussion. These are the strategic objectives of the national democratic revolution around which are united the millions of our people, a strategic unity which we must guard and protect like the apple of our eye.

## **Need for Tactical Flexibility**

Tactics have to do with how we conduct the struggle from one moment to the next, responding to a changing situation. By their nature they require flexibility. The correct tactical approach also demands that we should, at all times, understand the balance of forces correctly and not overestimate or underestimate the strength and possibilities of either our own forces or those of our opponents. Above all and in the present situation, we should 'claim no easy victories' and avoid the temptation of euphoria.

In addition to our clarity on such issues, the victory of the democratic revolution will depend on how organised we are and how successful we are in bringing the millions of our people into continuous and united struggle as conscious fighters for their own liberation. From this, it is clear that we still have many tasks ahead of us.

## **The Tasks Ahead**

Of central importance is the need for us further to strengthen in every way possible and necessary the organised formations of the democratic movement. The truth is that many of these continue to show obvious weaknesses in terms of how the membership is organised, the uneven level of consciousness, the strength and cohesion of the leadership structures and their accountability to the membership as well as the contact of these formations with the masses of the people.

In all these organisations there are adequate numbers of fairly well-prepared cadres who should be able to address these issues and enable those democratic formations affected rapidly to correct any mistakes and improve their capacity to function effectively. The goal of ensuring the

proper organisation of our fighting formations is a priority task without whose fulfilment we shall be hampered in terms of taking the struggle further forward.

We must also not forget the reality that millions of our people remain unorganised and maintain weak contact with the organisations of the democratic movement. This is an issue that we should also address constantly, to build organisation and draw even more of our people into struggle.

## **Organise and Mobilise in the Countryside**

This definitely affects the masses of our people in the countryside. Important strides have been made in organising these heroic masses who are also deeply interested in their own emancipation and that of their country as a whole. But more needs to be done.

We therefore hail and wish to encourage very strongly the efforts being made to organise the agricultural workers. Inspiring progress has been made in the establishment of youth and women's organisations in the countryside as well as democratic village committees and political organisations. We need further to expedite these processes by ensuring the availability of resources to carry out this work and by elaborating programmes of action together with these rural masses, in order to mobilise them into struggle.

A special tribute is due to the traditional leaders who have combined themselves into the Congress of Traditional Leaders. Having broken away from the stable of those who help to administer the apartheid system, these leaders have regained the respect of the people and are a valuable and indispensable component of the genuine forces for change. They have a responsibility to draw other traditional leaders into their democratic formation as well as participate together with the rest of the democratic movement in organising and mobilising the people in the countryside into struggle.

We also salute those who operate within the bantustan system but have elected to join the people as part of the mighty and invincible army that fights for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. We trust that these developments have ensured that never again shall we, as the democratic movement, abandon our task of organising these forces into struggle, regardless of the fact that they serve in enemy-created structures.

We also remind those who have not yet followed this example that, by their actions, they too have the possibility to be counted as patriots who overcame the short-lived temptations of the moment and saw that the future lies not in the perpetuation of apartheid but in its destruction, and its replacement by a social order which they will be honoured to construct as they would have participated in its introduction.

## **Working Class Unity**

As we have agreed in previous years, millions of workers remain outside the ranks of the organised democratic trade union movement. We have to continue to devote maximum attention to this issue to ensure that the overwhelming majority of the workers of our country are organised. All of us must join hands with Cosatu and its affiliates to organise both the unorganised and the unemployed.

The unity of the working class is one of the most important weapons in the hands of the workers and the democratic movement as a whole. It is therefore an objective for which we have to strive continuously. In this regard, we would like to welcome the unity victories the democratic trade union movement scored during the course of the year 1989. Progress is also being made in the vital task of uniting the teachers. Clearly, we need to move with greater speed in pursuit of this objective.

Further work also remains to be done to reach out to other organised formations of workers, including the white or white-led trade unions. It is necessary to show these workers that their fundamental interests are best served by joining the forces that are inexorably bringing a democratic South Africa into being and not those that still cling to a criminal past whose days are, in any case, numbered.

Quite clearly and correctly, the general tendency among the workers of our country is progress towards ever greater unity, whatever the problems we have to overcome in achieving this goal. It is therefore all the more disturbing that there should be some who, while claiming to represent the genuine interests of the working class as a whole, work persistently and unashamedly to wreck and sabotage the unity of the working class.

Sooner rather than later, the ordinary working people whom they lead will wake up to realise that these leaders are isolating them from the majority of the organised workers of our country for purely selfish and sectarian reasons. We call on those responsible to abandon the path they have embarked upon and the objectives they have set themselves, all of which only serve the interests of the counter-revolution.

The democratic movement as a whole has demonstrated more than once that it is ready and willing to listen to the views of the thousands of workers affected by the unhealthy divisive process within the trade union movement, to respect their feelings and, in the interests of the workers themselves and the oppressed masses of our country, to work patiently to achieve unity, without creating a situation of victors and losers. Let all honest patriots act now to build unity rather than to sow division, to help build a democratic future rather than pull backwards towards a racist past.

## **Peace in Natal**

In this context, we need to re-emphasise the absolute importance of the black oppressed. The continuing bloodbath in Natal poses an urgent challenge to all of us to intensify our efforts to bring about peace. We must not be discouraged by those who are playing around with the lives of the people with the objective of gaining an empty political advantage, but must reach out to the people so that they impose peace on those who seem to relish death.

## **Emancipation of Women**

As we speak, an important and exciting conference of the women of our country is taking place in the Netherlands. This is the *Malibongwe Conference*. We salute the women comrades and compatriots who have gathered in Amsterdam and look forward to the results of their conference which must have an important impact on the entirety of our work,

regarding the mass involvement of women in the struggle and their emancipation from the yoke of triple oppression.

The overwhelming majority of the women of our country, the most oppressed section of our population, remain lamentably unorganised and under-organised. As yet, because of this, they remain by and large a reserve force of the liberation movement of our country. In good measure this is so because even the most developed sections of this movement have not addressed seriously the issue of emancipation of women. The consequent continued political marginalisation of women itself works to ensure that they too are not positioned to intervene in a decisive manner to assert the centrality of the liberation of women in the whole process of achieving national and social emancipation.

The time has come that the democratic movement as a whole and all its activists should adopt concepts and practices that overturn old modes of approach towards the female half of the population of our country. We must ensure that the women are organised from the local level upwards and draw them into struggle in their millions and as equal participants at all levels of organisation and regardless of the form of struggle. The mass involvement of the women is vital for our success in the objective we have set ourselves, that of ensuring the speediest democratic transformation of our country.

By achieving this mass participation, we will also prepare for the situation in future when we shall have to transform the legal and constitutional framework, the economy, culture, ideology and other forms of human existence in such a way that ours does in fact become a non-sexist society.

## **Youth — the Pride of our Nation**

The heroic youth of our country, the great pride of all our people, have continues to occupy their position among the front ranks of the forces that fight for liberation. We salute them and urge them further to deepen their involvement in the struggle, as the creative but disciplined and responsible force that they have been. It is of particular importance that the youth should also pay maximum attention to the question of strengthening their own organisation. During the height of the repression under the current state of emergency, the apartheid state made a special effort to weaken the democratic organisations of the youth.

Good progress is being made in reconstituting old structures and creating new ones where none existed before. This work should continue so as to draw the millions of our youth into organised formations of the democratic movement. In this process, we also need to pay particular attention to the political education of the youth as part of the common effort to ensure that they continue to play their role as one of the most important contingents of the democratic movement.

## **Education for Liberation**

Among its tasks, the democratic student movement should, together with other forces, address once again, in a systematic manner, the issue of the transformation of the educational system. Taking advantage of the space we have created through struggle, we should try to determine what can be done even now, to produce the kind of young intellectual whom a democratic South Africa will need. To do this effectively also requires

that we should be organised. It also means that those who are so organised should not fall victim to revolutionary arrogance and be satisfied to walk alone, leaving behind many other students who might require further education and persuasion to join the democratic movement.

An important responsibility also devolves on teachers and lecturers to participate in this process of the transformation of the educational system.

### **Role of the Intelligentsia**

This issue throws up the important question of the role of the intellectuals of our country in the struggle today and in the processes of fundamental social transformation tomorrow. It is our deeply held belief that we need to develop a strong and active democratic movement among the intelligentsia of our country as well. It is true that serious efforts in this direction have begun. Much more still remains to be done. It is very important that the vast body of intellectuals in our country realises that the situation demands that they too should be firmly committed to the democratic vision for which so many have perished.

### **Faith in Struggle**

There is also a continuing responsibility on the part of the religious community of our country to deepen their engagement in the struggle to end apartheid. The 'standing for the truth campaign' has played an important role in enabling parts of this community to contribute its share to the forward movement towards a democratic South Africa. In the period ahead of us, greater rather than less involvement will be expected of the religious community.

Prominent religious figures have played an outstanding role in the fight against injustice. We salute these great patriots. They have been prepared to sacrifice even their lives to remain true to their beliefs. It remains for all other people of faith to follow this example and, by their involvement in action against apartheid, help shorten the lifespan of this system and bring life where death was the order of the day.

### **Non-Racial Sport**

The democratic movement as a whole continues to grapple with the important question of developing a genuinely non-racial, mass sports movement. This too is a matter of importance. We need to encourage ever more of our people, both young and old, to participate in sport. This is not only necessary for health, but is also an important means by which the youth occupies itself in a constructive manner. The end of apartheid is also going to mean that we shall, once more, rejoin the world sporting community as accepted competitors. This certain prospect should inspire as many of us as possible to take to the field.

We reiterate our strong opposition to all rebel tours. These are apartheid tours, intended to reinforce this evil system. They serve further to entrench racism in sport and are a counter-force to the efforts that our sports people are making to develop a non-racial sports movement. It remains our common responsibility vigorously to oppose the rebel tours that are due to take place and demand that the apartheid collaborators go home.

We welcome and strongly encourage the steps taken to unite the various

sports bodies within each code, on the basis of non-racialism and a commitment to the Olympic principles. This should also play an important role in destroying the divisions among our people, and the resulting antagonisms, which are the heritage of the apartheid system. In this context, we also wish to welcome the emergence of the National Sports Congress and urge that it ensures that it continues to develop as an organisation of sports people who must, among other things, also make their contribution to ensure the speedy end of the apartheid system, in the interest of all sports people and sport itself.

### **Strengthen all People's Organisations**

We must, of course, also strengthen other organisations of the people such as the civic associations, the NECC, and organisations which bring together our cultural workers.

#### *Compatriots and fellow freedom-fighters:*

To be victorious in the struggle to liquidate the apartheid system and transform our country into a non-racial democracy requires that we should be organised. Our organisation must be capable of reaching and mobilising the millions of our people into struggle as a united force. They must be able to handle the complicated situation ahead of us, defeating any attempt to break them or render them ineffective.

### **Programme of Action**

To achieve all this they have to be strong. They have to be well organised, with a good leadership, sound political understanding and established democratic procedures. But in addition, and of great importance, they must also have a programme of action for the destruction of the apartheid system and the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

We spelt out the essence of this programme at the Conference for a Democratic Future. The Unifying Perspective, the Declaration and the Resolutions of this Conference point the correct way forward both in terms of the orientation of the struggle and the practical actions in which we should engage in a united offensive. What remains to be done is that in further discussions within our various organisations, among these formations and through the continuing structures of the CDF, we should decide what practically we should do and when.

As at the Conference, we must, in a programme of action, address such matters as the further intensification of the campaign of mass defiance against repression in all its forms and against the apartheid system. We must address the issue of the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, saving the lives of the patriots on death row, the bans and restrictions imposed on organisations and individuals, children under apartheid, the mobilisation of the rural masses against the Land Act, for the land to belong to those who work it, the just demand to end conscription, the issue of people's education and other questions that were tabled at the CDF.

### **Offensive for Democracy & Peace**

At our Conference for a Democratic Future, that eminent leader of our people, Comrade Walter Sisulu, called on FW de Klerk to join the people

in the struggle to end repression, to end apartheid, to plan for, bring about and build a democratic and non-racial South Africa. The focus of our offensive will be to achieve these objectives through action from below, through mass action, involving the millions of the democratic-minded South Africans. On this there can be no going back. The challenge remains on FW de Klerk's table for him to act from above in pursuit of these same goals without whose realisation our country can never know peace, stability and development.

We also call on our white compatriots to join this mass offensive for democracy and peace. There are already many that have stood up in pursuit of these aims. They participated in the Conference for a Democratic Future as distinguished builders of a future common home of all the people of our country. Those who marched into New Brighton in Port Elizabeth to bridge the racial gulf created by the apartheid system and to make their commitment to work for a future of justice and friendship among all, are today the pride of millions of our people.

We urge the millions of our white compatriots to follow their example, to reach across, join hands with their black fellow-citizens and together, black and white, march forward to destroy the old and, together create the new social order.

Such actions, carried out in every town and city of our country, would make an enormous contribution to the speedy end of apartheid and the abolition of the racial antagonisms and mistrust which this system sought to nurture and perpetuate. Now is the time that all South Africans who love our country, in all their glorious shades of colour, join forces and act together to turn the land of their birth into a common patrimony of which we can all be proud.

## **Death Squad Terror**

### *Compatriots:*

The recent revelations about the secret death squads set up by the police and the army, point to the gruesome threat that all our people face from these armed men and women, who have been trained to kill in defence of an unjust system. The closer we get to ending the system of apartheid, the more desperate, vicious and brutal these animals of racism will become. To deny us the peace that will come with the end of apartheid, they will declare war on the unarmed, to produce the peace of the grave.

Now is the time for those patriotic individuals who serve in the apartheid armed forces and police, to declare themselves on the side of the overwhelming majority of the people, to declare themselves in favour of a democratic and non-racial South Africa. Already some have chosen this path, among them serving soldiers and policemen and the brave young whites who have publicly refused conscription, risking and actually serving long terms of imprisonment.

## **Bear Arms in Defence of Freedom**

We therefore reiterate our call to those who belong to these organs of repression, including those in the Bantustans, that if they must bear arms, it must be for the purpose of defending freedom and not perpetuating white minority domination. Their weapons must be pointed not at the people but at the enemy of the people, the apartheid system. In this regard,

we salute the decision by Lt Rockman and others to establish an organisation of police and prison officers and trust it, too, will act in the interests of the people.

## **ANC — Born of the People**

The situation ahead of us imposes new responsibilities on our movement, the African National Congress. Born of the people almost eight decades ago, and charged by them with the task of leading them in their efforts to secure their emancipation, it has the challenging obligation to carry out this historic mission in the period ahead of us.

To achieve this, the ANC itself needs to be strong and well-organised, clear about both the tactical and the strategic demands of the struggle, and capable of leading the millions of our people to victory. We therefore call especially on all comrades inside the country to work hard to strengthen the underground structures of the movement, to expand them and ensure that they reach all corners of our country and all sectors of our people.

## **Build the Underground**

As one of the four pillars on which our entire strategy rests, this task is of central and decisive importance. It must therefore be attended to with all the seriousness it deserves, in the interests of all the democratic forces of our country, for the victory of the democratic revolution.

We also take this opportunity to salute the heroic commanders and combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe for the immeasurable contribution they have made to bring us to the stage where we can pose the prospect of the transfer of power to the people as a matter of practical politics. We lower our banners in memory of the revolutionary combatants of the people's army who have laid down their lives during this past year and before. By their sacrifice, they have brought the goal of freedom within our reach.

## **Umkhonto we Sizwe — Our People's Army**

The conditions which obliged us to take up arms remain unchanged. The ANC remains an illegal organisation. Membership of the ANC is a treasonable offence. The state of emergency continues and a whole series of repressive laws remain on the statute books. We have no constitutional means to change the government of the day. While the apartheid regime remains in power, even if the ANC were unbanned, there is no guarantee that this regime would not, once more, proscribe our movement.

These observations are important in the context of the undertaking we have made, as reflected in the Harare Declaration, that we are ready to enter into an agreement with the Pretoria regime for a mutual suspension of hostilities as soon as a climate conducive to negotiations is created. Given our history and the practical situation in our country, we cannot be expected to surrender our weapons until an agreement to end apartheid has been arrived at.

In this respect, we must make it clear that the Harare Declaration is not and was not to be a substitute for other forms of struggle, including our armed offensive. It is an additional weapon in our struggle to liquidate the apartheid system. It constitutes a vital and new intervention by the



democratic forces of our country in the arena of political struggle for the democratic transformation of our country.

The armed struggle continues to be a critical and decisive component part of our strategy. The commanders and cadres of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will therefore remain at their active posts, committed to the intensification of our armed offensive against the violent apartheid system, for a democratic and peaceful South Africa. The people's army must therefore continue to grow and further develop its combat capacity inside the country, so that it becomes a formidable force capable of delivering telling blows against the apartheid regime on a continuous and nation-wide basis.

### **We Salute SWAPO and the Namibian People**

The sister people of Namibia, our neighbours, are well set on the road to independence. On this historic day in our struggle, we greet them and salute their liberation movement, SWAPO of Namibia. This wise and dignified people has demonstrated that through the democratic election of a Constituent Assembly, by keeping their country together as one united, unfragmented entity, by refusing to treat one another as competing ethnic and racial groups, it is possible to create a situation of peace and stability within a few months of the cessation of armed hostilities.

The victory that is within their grasp is of great importance for the democratic transformation of our own country as well. We reiterate our pledge that we will do everything in our power to contribute to this victory by resisting from our own soil any attempt by the Pretoria regime to block Namibia's progress to proclamation of her independence, fully conscious that this impending victory will push further forward the frontiers of freedom and emphasise the urgent need to liquidate the apartheid system once and for all.

### **Frontline States — No Peace Until Apartheid Ends**

We salute the sister peoples and governments of the Frontline and other countries of Southern Africa. Our region can never know peace until the apartheid system is ended. We are therefore aware of our responsibilities, not only to ourselves, but also to the peoples of our region, to abolish the apartheid system as quickly as possible. We assure them that that day is not far off. We take this opportunity once more to express our profound appreciation to them for standing firm in their support for our struggle, despite the campaign of terror that the Pretoria regime launched against them.

We are at one with the governments of the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique in their effort to secure peace for their peoples. The terrible carnage in both countries has to end. The Pretoria regime must accept full responsibility for its part in this situation of massive death and destabilisation and its attempt to impose its will on the peoples of these countries.

The recent disclosures about the Comoros confirm the threat posed by the Pretoria regime to independent Africa. This demands continued vigilance by the entire continent and the abandonment of any illusions that independent Africa can transform the apartheid regime into a friend and an ally. The task of the OAU and our continent continues to be the

intensification of the offensive against the racist regime in South Africa until our people gain their freedom.

**Impose  
Comprehensive  
Mandatory  
Sanctions**

On this occasion of the 78th anniversary of our movement, we greet all our friends and allies throughout the world and convey to them our thanks for the work they have done to sustain the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime. The apartheid system continues in place. It therefore still remains for the international community to use the most effective weapon in its hands, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, to help bring about a speedy end to the apartheid crime against humanity.

In the coming period, our movement and other democratic forces of our country will require even more extensive political and material support from the world anti-apartheid forces. We are confident that this support will be given generously, to enable our people to realise what the whole world wishes to see — the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

We also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to all states members of the United Nations for their unanimous adoption of the Declaration on South Africa at the 16th Special Session of the General Assembly. We are certain that this will make an important contribution to the speedy resolution of the apartheid question of which the United Nations has been seized almost since its foundation.

**Victory  
is Certain!**

We begin the last decade of the Second Millennium convinced that victory is certain. Democracy in South Africa must and will emerge triumphant. It is the urgent responsibility of all our people who value freedom, justice and peace to combine in their millions and use their irresistible strength finally to put an end to the apartheid system, transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country, enabling it to take its place among the nations of the world as a force for justice, peace and social progress. Consonant with these tasks and in the name of the entire leadership of our movement, we proclaim 1990 the **Year of People's Action for a Democratic South Africa.**

**Amandla Ngawethu!  
Matla ke a Rona!  
Power to the People!**

# INTERVIEW

## OUR ECONOMY NEEDS FUNDAMENTAL RESTRUCTURING

Last month, Jay Naidoo, the Secretary-General of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was in London where he did extensive newspaper interviews and gave briefings to trade unions and various groups. In this issue of *Sechaba* we publish an interview with him based on an intensive briefing he gave in one of the meetings he addressed during his stay in London.

The briefing dealt comprehensively with the policy of COSATU and the efforts it is making to grapple with the highly contentious issue of the future economy of South Africa; the unity that has been further strengthened between COSATU and the UDF and the recently held Conference for a Democratic Future. Other issues discussed were the problems surrounding the recent strikes in South Africa, particularly, at the South African Transport Services (SATS) and the South African Breweries; (SAB) the

urgent tasks that face the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) as a whole and COSATU as an organisation.

Below are some of the questions we selected from the equally wide-ranging interview we had with him. These cover areas of production, investment, manpower development, health, education and so on.

*You said we should have a coherent approach to the future economy we want? What does that mean?*

Apartheid capitalism is the most brutal form of exploitation and oppression found anywhere in the world. The daily experience of millions of workers throughout South Africa is one of living in dormitory ghettos, travelling long distances, being paid starvation wages and denied political rights in the land of our birth. The rural masses live in abject poverty, being denied access to land and job opportunities. Over five million people are homeless and over four million unemployed.

Yet, the enormous wealth we produce is used to prop up privileges of a White racist minority who live in a lifestyle unequalled anywhere in the world.

These are some of the experiences that face workers in their daily lives. We see apartheid and capitalism as being inseparable.

Our economy will therefore have to fundamentally be restructured to meet the most basic needs of our people. The coherent approach I have spoken of means developing an overall strategy that while promoting economic growth and productivity ensures that there is democratic participation by mass organisations in policy development. This will require us particularly in the light of lessons from Eastern Europe, to



*Demonstrating the strong unity between UDF and COSATU*

*Cartoon of workers treading on the LRAA*



## Anti-LRA marches



*A workers' demonstration marching through the centre of Johannesburg*

combine aspects of planning and market mechanisms to ensure maximum growth and creativity and a high wage, low cost economy.

The present economic strategies of the apartheid state and capital is rather to attack the working class and recreate conditions of poverty. This means:

- ★ The privatisation of the public sector which means retrenchment of thousands of workers.
- ★ Deregulation which removes minimum standards negotiated by unions and allows employers to get exemptions.
- ★ Relocation of factories from union-strong areas to Bantustans where unions are banned.
- ★ Introduction of the LRA which armed employers with weapons to sue unions for damages, curtail our right to strike or take solidarity action and roll back the rights to job security and collective bargaining we have negotiated over the past decade.

*Can the unity forged between COSATU/United Democratic Front be sustained? What needs to be done to maintain and expand it?*

We have built a fighting unity between COSATU and UDF. While we exist as independent organisations with our own constitutional and

decision-making structures our alliance has been strengthened by the convergence in interests on many political objectives and campaigns.

Together we now constitute the core of the MDM and play a key role in major initiatives such as the Defiance Campaign, building peace in Natal, broadening anti-apartheid unity and so on.

The key tasks remain the consolidation and expansion of our democratic structures on the ground and within key sectors such as civics and women.

Rigorous and open debate that acknowledges our weaknesses and builds on our strengths will contribute greatly to developing an overall programme to intensify our mass struggle. This approach will strengthen democratic political practice and ensure an all-round cadre development, as well as a leadership that remains accountable to the masses at all times.

Building non-racial structures as part of national sectoral organisations such as the SAYCO, civics and so on will also create the material basis for building and strengthening powerful alliances at all levels from local to regional to national and ensure that we respond to all the needs of our people. This also provides the vehicle for building working class leadership in our struggle for national liberation and socialism.

*Are there particular lessons we can draw from the long-drawn-out strikes at South African Transport Services and South African Breweries?*

Every strike or dispute the workers face is a school where lessons of struggle are learnt. The length of these strikes is indicative of the hardline attitude big business is taking against the unions. The SATS and SAB disputes are a prelude and in 1990 we will probably see an increasing number of bitter struggles as organised workers fight to defend their rights, organisations and living standards.

The unions will have to prepare for this battle by co-ordinating their strategies, pooling their resources and strengthening solidarity action. The ideal vehicle for this is COSATU's living wage campaign, but the strength of this campaign rests on how organised the campaign structures of the unions are.

The strength of the MDM will also be crucial in deciding whether we win many of the struggles we face particularly in relation to building solidarity action and preventing scabbing.



*Celebrating a hard-won May Day*



*What are the major tasks facing the working class this year?*

The working class seeks the transformation of South Africa in both the political and economic sphere.

Firstly, our principal tasks remain the building of mass-based, non-racial, sectoral and democratic organisations, which will simultaneously intensify the mass struggle.

Secondly, we must strengthen the ideology of our class by ensuring open and democratic debate on all issues especially on the building of socialism. These debates must focus on the form and content of post-apartheid South Africa and must be encouraged at a mass level. We have already begun, within COSATU, a discussion on the economy, the Workers' Charter and the Constitutional Guidelines.

Thirdly, we see that the urban working class, as well as the rural poor, are under massive attack. COSATU represents one million paid-up members organised in the major industrial concentrations throughout the country. There are millions of unorganised workers on the farms, in private households and the public sector still to be organised. Our campaigns, particularly against the Labour Relations Act and for a living wage, need to be strengthened. The building of trade union unity under the banner of one country, one federation and one union, one industry, remains part of the major tasks facing the working class this year.

Jay Naidoo, Secretary-General of COSATU, highlighted the need for mass action in his talks during his tour. Below we reproduce part of the CDF resolution on labour-concentrating on the programme worked out for the working class movement and mass democratic organisations that must be a pillar of support in all the envisaged actions.

### **The resolution**

The trade union movement and its allies will begin discussions on programmes of action for 1990. These discussions will address the following, possible action:

- ★ industrial area marches during the week;
- ★ factory, mine and shop occupations;
- ★ blacklisting of companies;
- ★ stay-away actions;
- ★ all strike actions should be supported by a co-ordinated anti-scabbing campaigns;
- ★ solidarity action against identified employers who use the LRA amendments;
- ★ defying the interdicts of the industrial courts;
- ★ worker's conferences;
- ★ country-wide marches should be organised on agreed dates to deliver resolutions of this conference;
- ★ mass rallies;
- ★ isolating and campaigning against companies like Barlow Rand which are leading the attack against unions for a living wage;
- ★ intensifying the boycott or overtime and the demands for reduced working hours to create more permanent jobs;
- ★ the developments of strong structures in the factories, mines and shops and in the communities to link struggles on the ground and to support workers in their demands for a living wage;
- ★ occupation of the Johannesburg Stock

Exchange to prevent trading in shares of privatised enterprises such as SATS, ESCOM and the GPO;

- ★ acts of defiance such as refusing to pay for privatised or expensive hospital treatment;

to fight for:

the repeal of the LRA:

- ★ the temporary removal of restrictions on Economic Activities Act;
- ★ the Group Areas Act;
- ★ the passing of uniform and agreed labour legislation to cover all workers in all sectors in all areas of South Africa.

### **THE PARTIES TO THE CDF WILL UNDERTAKE TO ACTIVELY SUPPORT THE AGREED PROGRAMME OF ACTION.**

In addition parties to the CDF commit themselves to:

- ★ not applying for the deregulation of any business or area or sector that would have the effect of removing any rights currently enjoyed by workers;
- ★ the paying of a living wage and jobs for all;
- ★ to help formulate a Worker's Charter to incorporate the demands of the workers;
- ★ support strike action by workers in those corporations which is aimed at resisting or opposing privatisation or improvements in conditions of employment or for recognition especially the SATS dispute.

# THE PRESENT SITUATION

By Sha

A discussion article on some of the aspects of our present strategies and tactics. These are based on the four pillars of our struggle.

## The Armed Struggle

While we have witnessed a phenomenal growth in the acceptance of the necessity of the armed struggle by our people, we have not seen the corresponding **qualitative** growth of the armed struggle itself over the same period. The questions being raised often go as far as to question the validity of the armed struggle as a realistic form of political struggle in the South African context. We have long stated that due to various factors, we cannot establish a "classical" guerilla presence inside the country. The fact that we have not been able to establish rear bases outside the boundaries of South Africa has been used to justify the slow growth of the armed struggle. Given hindsight, I think we can now say that we will never be able to establish those rear bases because South Africa, with the covert help of the West, uses all its military might to destabilise these countries and I believe it is inadmissible to expect our friends to be ruined for giving us help.

## Setting the Armed Struggle on its feet

If our struggle is, as indeed it is, the product of objective conditions within South Africa, then it must be able to sustain itself from within. I am not questioning the necessity of outside help for our struggle at an initial stage, but questioning its permanence as a necessary condition for its ultimate success.

The key to furthering the armed struggle has always been seen to be the arming of our people. While, undoubtedly, it is one of the most important elements, it is certainly not the key. As a political organisation, carrying out a political struggle through military means, the key to our success is **organisation**. It is the real

means through which we can galvanise our people into taking the actions necessary for furthering the struggle. In our context, that is, being an illegal organisation inside South Africa, this boils down to the establishment of a well-oiled underground machinery. In other words, I am categorically stating that without an effective underground, the armed struggle will never move into a qualitatively higher stage.

## Abandoning of the armed struggle

When one compares the publicity given to the armed struggle to that given to the meetings with the "Whites", it is felt that the armed struggle is being abandoned. While this is not true, the armed struggle has lost much of the prominence it previously held to the mass political struggles. It is this element which has pushed the apartheid regime into an open political crisis.

This does not mean that the armed struggle has become unnecessary. On the contrary, it needs to be intensified. However, one has to consider the probable time necessary to build the armed struggle to a level which would give us a position of strength and the probable time left before negotiations. Obviously we will not be given time to achieve a strong position at the table. But we should not rule out the building of an efficient underground machinery. The mere fact that we are earnestly engaged in fighting for our freedom through all available means, exerts considerable pressure on our enemies. The absence of publicity should not be seen to be the abandoning of the armed struggle.

## The Political Underground

While in general agreement with Kasrils' position on the underground and while not wanting

to rebound on the above mentioned, I believe it necessary to emphasise that **ALL** our activities, as a revolutionary organisation inside South Africa, can only be carried out through an underground.

I also believe it necessary to delve into the structure of our underground. In the areas where these structures exist or are being set up there must exist local leadership which the people are prepared to follow. So, are we going to set up parallel local structures as the ANC underground? Would our people accept and follow these structures?

It is necessary to distinguish the overall political guidance which we exercise from leadership which is provided on day to day issues at local community level. In our role as vanguard we obviously exert overall political guidance of the struggle but due to our recognised weakness in our underground structures we have not been able to exercise local guidance.

It is obvious that we should effectively use our vanguard role as co-ordinators. Instead of creating new structures which would have to still gain the confidence of the community, we should co-ordinate the different structures which exist or are being created into a coherent political organisation. The fundamental premise already exists — we are the recognised vanguard of the struggle. It must be stressed that the individual contacts which we all possess cannot be seen as the underground, for their existence does not imply the existence of an organisation. However, it is quite obvious that these contacts should form the core of the co-ordinators.

## **The Mass Political Struggle**

It is quite obvious that the masses at home are aware that they are on the verge of making political history. Never before have they been seen to possess the extraordinary courage which they today exhibit. This, indeed, is a clear indication that they will never allow themselves to be intimidated as they were in the sixties.

The level of mass political activity is constantly on the increase and more and more of it is orientated towards revolution. The parties which

have benefited from apartheid and have massive interests in South Africa, are seriously alarmed by this and are attempting desperately to stall its growth. It is in this light that the powerful thrust for negotiations must be seen. The prolongation of the conflict within South Africa is detrimental to these interests, both in the short term and long term. But, as long as apartheid exists, the conflict will continue. So, the abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a Western style democracy is in the interests of the forces pushing for negotiations. Their methods are determined by their need not to upset the status quo.

The unprecedented level of united mass activity is also based on the struggle for an unqualified universal franchise. This dictates that there cannot be any other outcome of any negotiated process: our people will not accept less.

## **Weakening the Enemy**

A great deal of publicity is given to the meetings which the movement has with White organisations and other sectors which were previously labelled collaborationist. Our struggle must be seen in its entirety: one aspect is our growth, the building up of our organisations which give us the necessary strength and capacity to carry out our activities. The complementary aspect is the weakening of the enemy. Sanctions are a key aspect. But as long as the main support base of the enemy remains intact, that is, as long as the overwhelming majority of the Whites rally around the regime, it will probably take us another 75 years (at least) to defeat the regime. The destruction of the support base of the regime accelerates the destruction of the regime itself. Hence it is important to destroy the stereotypes which divide our people. It is in this light that we must view the talks with different sections of the White community. The same can be said with regard to the Black businessmen, the traditional chiefs and so on. The fact that some people within these sectors have now aligned themselves with the anti-apartheid united front should encourage us to continue isolating the enemy.



## Stalemate?

It should be clear by now that no stalemate exists in South Africa. If it is meant that while the regime is unable to destroy both the will of the people and our organisations, the people are unable to destroy the regime, that is correct ... **for the time being!** For we witness, at present, the disintegration of the power base of the regime and the growth, numerically and organisationally, of the MDM. Time is clearly on our side. We might compare the situation to a person (us) climbing a wall (the regime) of which the upper blocks are being blown up, some injuring us, while others are strengthening the



**REMEMBER  
SOWETO  
MASSACRE  
16th JUNE 1976  
OVER 1000 KILLED**

*Marchers in London reminding the international community of the massacre of students during the Soweto uprising*

platform that sustains us. The pace of our advance does not matter; we are sure of reaching the top which constantly is drawing closer.

## The International Campaign

This pillar has been converted into the most powerful for change today; the main reason is already stated. The prominence of the apartheid issue in international public opinion is basically due to two factors — the international campaign waged by the ANC; and as a means of pressure for change which the West uses on the apartheid regime.

The unprecedented level of rebellion by our people has highlighted what the movement has been saying for years about the apartheid regime. This has permitted the ANC to raise international awareness and solidarity with our struggle to levels rarely seen. The West has allowed the international campaign to assume these proportions for it needs to exert pressure on the regime to dismantle apartheid **Now**. However, the role of the movement in creating an Anti-Apartheid Movement worldwide should not be undermined.

The climate created by "new thinking" and the thrust for peaceful solutions to "regional conflicts" has been used to bring pressure to bear on both the regime and the ANC. International public opinion is completely on our side; they wholeheartedly support our position on the issue of negotiations. The obstinate Maggies are slowly making concessions. The ANC, undoubtedly deserves credit for that.

## Negotiations

The key questions which should determine our position on negotiations is whether it implies a renunciation of our principles or a rejection of our objectives. As it does not imply either of the two, we should support it. What we don't achieve at the table, we will have to fight for when we get home. In other words, if war is a continuation of a political struggle by other means, then the political struggle should be the continuation of the war. It is a long road to freedom, isn't it?

# ANC INTERNATIONAL

## NELSON MANDELA INTERNATIONAL RECEPTION COMMITTEE

### INTERNATIONAL APPEAL

As we enter a new decade we are witnessing great changes in the world as millions of people strive for their freedom and an end to injustice. This is especially the case in Southern Africa, for 1990 will see the birth of a new nation — Namibia. With Namibia's independence the world's attention will focus even more on the struggle for freedom in South Africa itself.

The 1990s must be the decade which finally sees freedom in South Africa and the destruction of apartheid. All the signs are that early in 1990 we shall see the release of Nelson Mandela. His release is bound to have a profound impact on the course of the freedom struggle in South Africa. It will also be an occasion to celebrate for all those who have campaigned for his release.

The Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee has been established in order to promote and co-ordinate activities to celebrate Nelson Mandela's release and to provide a framework for co-ordination with the National Reception Committee that has been formed within South Africa.

Since his arrest in 1962, Nelson Mandela has been continuously held in captivity. Throughout this period millions of people have joined in the campaign to secure his freedom and that of the people of South Africa as a whole. Great cities

have honoured Mandela by granting him the freedom of the city; universities have awarded him honorary degrees; numerous streets, squares, parks and other public venues have been renamed in his honour; innumerable meetings, rallies, concerts and marches have been held to call for his release; songs have been written and performed in support of the campaign; and numerous petitions and postcard campaigns have been organised. Without doubt Nelson Mandela is the most famous political prisoner in the world today.

Numerous inter-governmental and parliamentary bodies have responded to this world-wide campaign. The United Nations Security Council has unanimously and repeatedly called for Nelson Mandela's unconditional release, as have summit meetings of the Organisation of African Unity; the Non-Aligned Movement; the Commonwealth and European Community.

Nelson Mandela's release will represent therefore a great victory above all for the people of South Africa — but it will also be a victory for the international community which has campaigned for the release of Nelson Mandela and therefore an occasion for all those who have participated in this great campaign to celebrate.

The Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee which is being launched today

makes the following appeal to the international community and above all to all those who have participated in the international campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners:

—intensify the campaign to release Nelson Mandela

—prepare to celebrate Nelson Mandela's impending release with activities throughout the world especially in towns, cities, universities and other places which have honoured Nelson Mandela

—step up the on-going struggle to secure the release of all South African political prisoners and detainees

—intensify the struggle to end apartheid

The Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee is calling for the establishment of National Reception Committees in as many countries as possible which will seek to promote the aims of the campaign at a national level.

The Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee appeals to the international community to ensure that the release of Nelson Mandela is not only made an occasion for great celebration but also becomes an opportunity for us all to re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle to end apartheid.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston  
CR

Convenor

*January 8th 1990*

## **COMMITMENT TO PROFOUND, NOT COSMETIC, CHANGE**

*At the end of 1989, the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales adopted a Statement which is testimony to their deep commitment to the struggle against apartheid. It echoed their South African brother bishops' abhorrence for apartheid, the ANC's and the Conference for a Democratic Future's position on the climate for negotiations, and called on the British government to take action to ensure that meaningful negotiations take place.*

*We feel that this statement is of great importance to our readers and will certainly greatly encourage the solidarity movement in Britain and other countries in their endeavour to get the British government to respond in favour of the victims of the evil apartheid system. We, therefore, reproduce the statement as it was adopted.*

### **Solidarity with Christians in Southern Africa**

The Bishops' Conference agreed to the immediate publication of the following statement:

#### **The concern of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales**

At this time of critical importance for the future of South Africa, it is both timely and op-

portune to reaffirm our opposition to the apartheid system. We have no hesitation in echoing the words of our brother bishops in South Africa who have repeatedly declared apartheid intrinsically evil. They stated: "We reaffirm our total abhorrence of the system of apartheid which is directly opposed to the teaching of Christ and the God-given dignity of every human being and is the greatest single obstacle to peace in our land."

We would also like to state anew our deep sense of solidarity with the Churches in South Africa in their continuous search for a peaceful solution to their people's suffering, and in their active support for the relief of their people's suffering, and in their active support for the realisation of their people's hopes and aspirations for freedom and justice.

#### **Continuous and strengthening external pressures**

We, in Britain have a special responsibility, because of our historical and financial links with South Africa, to work for the speedy and complete dismantling of the laws of apartheid (including the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Bantustan Homelands Policy and the system of separate education) which will be the touchstone of genuine change in South Africa.

If further violence is to be avoided, however, clear-cut

steps leading to meaningful negotiations with all the authentic leaders of the Black majority need to be taken, including:

- The lifting of the current State of Emergency;
- The ending of all political trials and executions;
- The unbanning of anti-apartheid organisations, including the ANC;
- The release of all political prisoners and detainees without further restrictions, and especially of Nelson Mandela;
- The removal of troops from the townships.

Whilst recognising a modest degree of progress in this direction, a question mark remains as to the commitment of the South African government to profound, as opposed to cosmetic change.

Since 1988, we have noted how international pressure has already contributed to bringing about change in South and Southern Africa. As we stated in 1988: "We are persuaded that the time has come for the British government to give serious consideration to ways of exerting effective economic pressure on the Republic. Now we wish to associate ourselves clearly with the calls for increased international economic, political, cultural and diplomatic pressure to be brought to bear on the South African government. In order to be effective, such pressures should be selective, targeted, and applied progressively as the situation demands.

We do not advocate such

pressures as an end in themselves, but as a necessary means to the real objective, that is, negotiations to dismantle the apartheid system and for the emergence of a democratic united and non-racial state in South Africa. We are fully alive to the burdens of the poor but the urgent need is to remove the humiliations and suffering created by apartheid.

To this end:

- The British government should, together with the Commonwealth, the European Community and the United Nations, bring every legitimate pressure to bear on the South African government to begin meaningful negotiations for an end to apartheid.
- We ask all Catholics in England and Wales to think carefully about their indirect involvement in South Africa's economic system, either as investors or as consumers. It is possible for everyone, in the simple choices of daily life, even choices about the fruit they eat, to give witness at a personal level to their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

### **Southern Africa Coalition**

The Southern Africa Coalition, supported by a broad range of organisations and individuals including Catholic bishops, is a short-term initiative leading up to a lobby of Parliament on February 27th, 1990. It aims at a change in British policy which would strengthen the legal con-



*The call for economic sanctions against Apartheid South Africa*

trols on trade and financial links so as to increase the pressure on South Africa towards the abolition of apartheid.

The Bishops' Conference of England and Wales commends the Coalition and its aims to Catholics for their consideration as an appropriate organisation for popular concerted action to promote the necessary and urgent abolition of apartheid by peaceful means.

### **Prayer for peaceful progress**

Our first and fundamental duty is to pray for peaceful progress towards a just state of affairs in South Africa. The upsurge of popular peaceful protest in the Republic and the call for justice

are encouraging signs of the force of moral power. Christian leaders who have strongly backed them deserve and need international support in the defence of the victims of apartheid and in non-violent struggle for the dignity of all. Legal and structural changes, if they are to be meaningful, require Christian teaching and example, constructive efforts to promote justice, charity, and renewed social and community life. We pray that the faith, hope, and love of Christians in South Africa may be sustained, and that they and the world may see the emergence of a country truly reflecting the love, justice, freedom, and peace which is God's will.

# ELECTORIAL SYSTEMS — WHICH WAY FOR DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA?

By P.M. Mtshaulana

In this article I discuss two major electoral systems. I hope to stimulate discussion to enrich the discussion around the Constitutional Guidelines.

In our daily political lives we always say that one of the main changes that has to take place in South African political life is the transformation of the parliament from one of a minority into a peoples' parliament. In the Freedom Charter this sentiment is expressed in the clause "The people shall govern." It is an expression that reveals the present anomaly that only 15% of the population has a right to vote and to partake in all activities relating to governing and policy-making in the country. Naturally the clause itself does not express all the values underlying it. One must first read the whole clause to understand what is meant by the phrase. For the purposes of this article I will take only that part of the clause which declares that every man or woman shall have the right to vote and to be voted for, into all representative bodies without distinction of colour or race. Here again we see an attempt to focus attention on the anomaly referred to above without saying how the voting itself will take place; nor is there an indication whether there will be any exceptions to this, the general rule. Some months ago the ANC announced to the world its Constitutional Guidelines and this was followed recently by another document which has become known as the OAU Harare Declaration which also speaks of 'one person one vote under a common voters' roll.

All the statements seem to focus on emphasising what should not be: "there should be no separate parliaments, no separate voters' roll, and so on." That aspect should continue, because without emphasising, especially to the world, what apartheid is, the struggle would not be where it is today. It is also important that we share views on how we envisage the future South Africa.

Naturally, the most revealing factor showing that the country is run undemocratically is that the majority does not have the right to vote. This is the first evil that has to be remedied, but the struggle is not only about remedying the evils of apartheid but about building a democratic future for the people. In our committees, both inside and outside the country, we are used to electing our representatives using the system of elections we are used to, namely that the one who receives most of the votes wins. This has made us assume that when we talk of elections it is clear what we mean. However, the problem, seemingly so simple, of electing one person out of more than two — of three — candidates, is mathematically insoluble.

For example, if an assembly has to elect its president out of three candidates A, B and C, it is possible that the assembly as a whole would prefer A to B, B to C and C to A. This is one of the reasons why this simple problem is mathematically insoluble.

Our Constitutional Guidelines approach the question of electing representatives as follows: "In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person, one vote. Every voter shall have the right to stand for elections and be elected to all legislative bodies."

South Africa uses the simple majority system combined with districts. That means that if a constituency has 100 voters and 34 voters vote for A and 33 vote B and 33 vote C — then A is elected although he has the support of just a third of the voters plus one. He is rejected by 66% of the voters. This hypothetical example of what can happen within one district can, if repeated in more districts, result in victory of a party which has the least number of voters country-wide. A good example of this situation are the election results in 1948 and 1953 in South Africa.

With 41% of the votes Malan got 56.5% of

the seats, whereas the UP coalition got 43% of the seats with 51% of the votes in the 1948 elections. It could be said that in 1953 the situation was aggravated by the incorporation of Namibia which, while having 24 000 voters, got six representatives. At that time in South Africa the normal size of a constituency ranged from 9 000 in the rural areas to 12 000 in the urban areas. Why was it possible that a party with fewer votes got the majority of seats?

Various authors attribute this to various factors. Wiechers in his book acknowledges that it is not a pure one man one vote system but he attributes this to Section 51 of the South African Constitution that allows overloading of constituencies in the different provinces. In his argument he implies that if the system was organised on one basis without a division of the country into provinces then this problem would not exist. The *Sunday Star* of April 23rd 1989 also refers to the Nats as not respecting 'the principle of one man one vote when it comes to Whites' in so far as some 'votes will be worth nearly 15 times more than others.' The *Star* attributes this directly to the government's ill intentions.

It might well be that both factors play a role in deforming the will of the electors but they cannot be the decisive factors for the victory of the minority over the majority.

## Proportional Representation

This is an electoral system in which 'each party receives a share of the seats which it can claim on account of the number of votes it has received from the nation.' The result is that the representative organ or parliament becomes a reflection of the political thinking of the whole country. The system is based on the existence of a proportional relation between the total number of votes cast and the number of seats obtained by each party.

The country is not divided into districts or constituencies and every voter wherever he/she is, is free to vote for the party and candidate of their choice. For candidates to be elected, it is not necessary that they obtain a majority of votes in one district, but that they must attract so many

voters in the whole country that they receive a quota of the votes that entitles them to be elected. This quota is arrived at by dividing the total number of votes by the total number of seats in parliament as follows: total number of votes plus one, divided by total number of seats plus one.

## Election Results

These depend on whether you are using the person or list system. Under the person system the candidates are listed alphabetically, irrespective of political affiliation. The voter votes by putting a cross next to the name she/he prefers. The voter can also put preferences in order, thus putting one for his first preference, two for second and so on. In allocating the seats the candidate who has the most votes (first preferences) thus gets a seat if he/she gets the quota and so on. The advantage of this system is that the voter can determine precisely to whom the vote must go (the voter has an influence in the transference of the vote). The disadvantage is that in South Africa the electorate is largely illiterate and this system is not recommendable at present. The list system is easier because the voter votes for the list, thus putting a cross next to the list he/she prefers, is sufficient. The lists themselves are prepared by the political parties and also the order of following of the candidates. The disadvantage is that the voter has no influence on who must go to parliament but only which party is chosen.

An in-between system is that of lists made by the parties, but the voter can still put a cross next to the candidate he/she chooses. Thus a voter votes for the list and at the same time for the person. Under this system people who cannot read can simply vote for the list but those who are not satisfied with the order of the candidates can still vote for a candidate who is at the bottom of the list. If this candidate gets the quota then he/she is automatically elected. If the voters all vote for the list then the allocation of the seats goes according to the wishes of the party.

Under proportional representation it is possible for parties to join their lists for the purposes of the elections without having to merge together.

## Comparisons

Under the system of proportional representation there is a logical relation between the total votes cast and the distribution of seats. However, the simple majority system (districts) does not have this relation. The relation exists only within a district and there only to the extent that he who gets the majority of votes wins the seat. But a seat can be won by a margin of 100% in the case of an uncontested seat to seven votes (or 39 as was the case between Worrall and Heunis). This discrepancy can lead to the minority winning the majority of seats at national level.

Then we have the curious situation that one person one vote leads to minority rule or, put in other words, one person one vote is no guarantee for majority rule.

How is this possible? In our previous examples we saw that the party with fewest votes won the majority of seats. An examination of this situation shows that this occurs because this party won seats with very small margins while it lost the other seat with a large margin.

Since one majority, no matter how large or small, returns one candidate, a party whose votes are so distributed as to give small majorities in many places will win more seats than a larger party whose votes are concentrated in a few places. This is naturally a good recipe for the cry "we was robbed" for the ordinary citizen who has seen how big their rallies were and will not understand how his party, being big, has lost the elections. The result can be a loss of confidence in the democratic process.

Under the system of simple majority a small swing-over of voters in a following election can bring about dramatic changes in parliament. If, for example, the ruling party in an election gets a combined majority of 235 votes in six constituencies, then a swing-over of only 118 voters in the following elections could bring about a change of government and a loss of six seats for the governing party. Now, under a proportional representation system, 118 votes can at most give a party one seat.

## Position of minorities

Under the simple majority system small parties

and groups scattered all over the country have less possibility of being represented (proportionally that is). I exclude the rare cases where independents win seats in particular constituencies. Under proportional representation, on the other hand, the incidental fact of geographic location of the voters is replaced by the political ideological relation. A voter is free to vote for whoever and wherever he wishes within the country. In this way minorities are no longer dependent (in order to get a seat) on whether, where they are situated, they are in the majority or not. Obtaining a seat depends on the objective fact of whether they are big enough to satisfy the quota. The fact that under this system it is possible to combine lists between different parties means that small parties in order to strengthen their representation can also combine their lists in order to avoid losing remaining votes to bigger parties.

In this regard I want to make a remark about the ongoing discussion on group rights. No one says what these involve: do they mean the right of workers as a group to organise themselves? Or do they mean the right of the Whites as a group to have constitutionally protected rights to govern? Naturally linguistic groups will have a constitutionally guaranteed right to protect their language and culture. But the constitution cannot contain any right which has the effect of maintaining inequality between individuals or groups. The essence of apartheid is this inequality.

The advantage of proportional representation above all other systems is that it is democratic. If the party happens to have support from one group (whether it is workers or peasants or Whites) that party gets representation proportional to its strength. This electoral system creates the possibilities for proportional representation of minorities without being a barrier to the development of national unity. There is no legal barrier barring combination of lists between De Klerk and, say, Inkatha, if these parties feel themselves ready to work together. On the other hand, no White person is barred from joining a party simply because its majority members are Black.

## Simple Majority

The simple majority system is based on the assumption of the existence of a community of interests within the constituencies. A country like ours which is embattled for so long cannot expect from its citizens that after two days they will have forgiven and forgotten. It will take years before the suspicions that exist between the people are eliminated. This therefore means that in some, if not all constituencies, this important element and basis of the simple majority system will be missing (namely the existence of a community of interests).

The biggest advantage of the simple majority system, it is said, is that it guarantees a strong government. By this is meant that because in most cases the ruling party has the majority of seats, it can always push its will through parliament (sometimes in total disregard of the wishes of the minority which can be representing the majority of the people).

## Conclusion

Now, the electoral system must not be so "democratic" that it renders the assembly a toothless mass that cannot act. An electoral system must produce an organ able to govern and if democracy is at stake it must be able to act decisively in defence of that democracy. Under the simple majority system decisions so easily taken by the majority of today can likewise be easily removed by the majority of tomorrow. This is not good for continuity. Now, under proportional representation continuity is guaranteed by the fact that if there are three parties left, right and centre (if we exclude the extremists on both sides) then government always has to be formed around one of these parties. There is some guarantee of continuity. In the long run proportional representation brings about economic stability because changes in government are unlikely to bring about dramatic policy changes.



*An anti-election protest against the white-dominated tri-cameral parliamentary elections.*



# BOOK REVIEW

*The Struggle: A History of the African National Congress*, London 1989 by Heidi Holland (Grafton Books p/b. £4.50)

In South African historiography there have always been two traditions, namely, that of the ruling circles and that of the people. The formation of the ANC in 1912 meant, among other things, the creation of an independent African political voice and opinion in their own right which were to have an indelible impact and now exercise an influence on all major developments in South Africa, including the writing of history.

Recently, in the light of Botha's "reform policy" and the "new constitution", quite a number of books, articles, unpublished papers and monographs have been written on the ANC and its history. Unlike those which appeared earlier the tone of these recent publications is "conciliatory." The ANC is no longer portrayed as a moribund organisation whose back has been broken by the all-powerful racist state machinery.

There are reasons for this shift in approach. The crude racist regime's falsification of South African history and the goals of the national liberation movement, which constitutes an integral part of the regime's strategy of justifying the status quo and also aims at "proving" that the Blacks have neither right nor historical justification

for their claim and demand for land and national self-determination, has to be modified to adapt to the changing situation in Southern Africa. One of the techniques used in "official" history is the "selective" historical approach which automatically leads to a "missing" or "excluded" past, a process which inevitably becomes part of a deliberate pattern known as the "hidden history", e.g. Black students in South Africa are forced to read Boyce's history text-book which makes no mention of the ANC<sup>1</sup>. There are inherent problems in this shift in approach. Bozzoli makes the comment that it is hard for the ideologues used to the language and attitude of the intellectual rapist to transfer their skills to the task of sedition<sup>2</sup>. This is the dilemma facing establishment and school text-book historians in South Africa in the wake of De Klerk's "reforms."

Heidi Holland does not belong to this school of thought. Born in South Africa and having worked for 18 years as a journalist in Zimbabwe, she has a grasp of the things she is writing about. Her book is based on factual information, research and interviews with ANC leaders. Though the book covers ground which has been

well-trodden by other authors, it is in parts fresh, stimulating and vigorous. The book has its strengths and weaknesses. Her hesitation to make her own judgements leads her to prefer to quote extensively from interviews with those she thinks better qualified to judge. This is perhaps difficult to avoid in a popular history but it does lead to story-telling and the material gathered becomes anecdotal rather than analytical and in the process important episodes in the narrative pass without comment.

There are a few spelling mistakes (of names of people) and minor factual errors, but some of them are actually not that minor. These problems could have been ironed out through strict copy-editing. Some of her assessments are totally unacceptable. She writes:

*"Exactly a month after the arrests at Lilliesleaf Farm, police were dismayed to learn that two of their sabotage suspects, Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe, accompanied by two Indian prisoners, had bribed a 19-year-old prison warden and escaped from cells at Marshall Square police station" (p.155).*

These "two Indian prisoners" were neither nameless nor faceless — they were Charlie Jassat and Mosie Moola, two senior officials of the ANC. They were far from "accompanying" Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe. The significance of this event,

the escape from prison in 1963, is not that the "police were dismayed" but the fact that the four made history in the struggle of the political prisoners in South Africa — something which was to be repeated under different circumstances by Moumbaris, Jenkins and Lee in the 1980s, thus demonstrating that the struggle continues even behind iron bars and that the prison walls are not as solid as they seem to be.

She also says that the ANC began to "move from its distant administrative headquarters in London to bases in Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola" (p.180). This is supposed to have taken place in 1975 and yet we all know that since the 1960s ANC headquarters were always in

Morogoro, Tanzania before transferring to Lusaka, Zambia, in the early 1970s. In the historiography about our movement it is not unusual to come across clichés and stereotypes and the following formulation which stands contrary to facts is a typical example:

*"The small but energetic Communist Party which, despite its militant efforts on their behalf, failed to attract Blacks in significant numbers" (p.47).*

The red flags which are seen at demonstrations in South Africa prove the contrary.

Despite these shortcomings and flaws this book provides new details and fresh information which has been systematically put together to

give a coherent picture of the history of the ANC in a readable form and easy-to-understand style. By merely putting the record straight and therefore helping to correct the injustice caused by apartheid in its attempt to deform and distort the historical memory of our people, Holland's book is a contribution to the struggles being waged by our people in the streets and valleys of South Africa. This struggle has an international dimension if one considers that the mere existence of the system of apartheid in South Africa (not taking into account the activities of its embassies and spokesmen abroad) is an encouragement, if not an inspiration, to racists and fascists throughout the world and logically the liberation of South Africa will serve to weaken the forces of international imperialism and racism.

It goes without saying that a liberated South Africa will write its own history but Heidi Holland's book will serve as one of the bricks in that monumental edifice we shall erect.

— F Meli



Steve Tshwete addresses a UDF meeting in the Eastern Cape.  
A photograph from the book.

### Footnotes:

1. Boyce, A., *Europe and South Africa. A History for Standard 10*, Cape Town 1974.
2. Bozzoli, B(ed), *Class, Community and Conflict — South African Perspectives*. Johannesburg 1987 p. xvi.

**Sechaba and other ANC publications are obtainable from the following ANC addresses:**

**Annual Subscriptions:**

**USA and Canada (air mail only): \$30**

**All other countries: £12**

**Please make cheques payable to:**

**Sechaba Publications c/o ANC PO Box 38 London N1 9PR**

**ALGERIA**

5 Rue Ben M'hidi Larbi  
Algiers

**ANGOLA**

PO Box 3523  
Luanda

**AUSTRALIA**

Box 49 Trades Hall  
4 Goulburn Street  
Sydney NSW 2000

**BELGIUM**

PO Box 137  
1040 Brussels

**CANADA**

PO Box 302  
Adelaide Postal Station  
Toronto  
Ontario M5C-2J4

**CUBA**

Calle 21A  
NR 20617  
Esquina 214 Atabey  
Havana

**DENMARK**

Landgreven 7/3 t.h.  
1301 Kbh Copenhagen K

**EGYPT**

5 Ahmad Hismat Street  
Zamalek  
Cairo

**ETHIOPIA**

PO Box 7483  
Addis Ababa

**FINLAND**

PO Box 336  
00531 Helsinki

**FEDERAL REPUBLIC**

**OF GERMANY**

Postfach 190140  
5300 Bonn 1

**FRANCE**

28 Rue des Petites Ecuries  
75010 Paris

**GERMAN DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC**

Angerweg 2  
Wilhelmsruh  
Berlin 1106

**INDIA**

50KP Thacker Block  
Asian Games Village  
Siri Fort Road  
Khel Gaon Marg  
New Delhi-110049

**ITALY**

Via S. Prisca 15a  
00153 Rome

**JAPAN**

Square-House Shin-Nakano  
Room 105  
4-38-16 Honcho Nakano-Ku  
Tokyo

**KENYA**

PO Box 40432  
Nairobi

**MADAGASCAR**

PO Box 80  
Antananarivo

**NETHERLANDS**

PO Box 16657  
1001 RD Amsterdam

**NIGERIA**

Federal Government  
Special Guest House  
Victoria Island  
Lagos.

**NORWAY**

PO Box 6765  
St Olavs Plass  
N-0130 Oslo 1

**SENEGAL**

26 Avenue Albert Sarraut  
PO Box 3420  
Dakar

**SWEDEN**

Box 6183  
S-102 33  
Stockholm

**TANZANIA**

PO Box 2239  
Dar es Salaam  
PO Box 680  
Morogoro

**USSR**

Konyushkovskaya Street 28  
Moscow 123242

**UNITED KINGDOM**

PO Box 38  
28 Penton Street  
London N1 9PR

**UNITED STATES**

801 Second Avenue  
Apt 405  
New York NYC 10017

**ZAMBIA**

PO Box 31791  
Lusaka



**Delegates voting at the CDF last year.**

**"We take this opportunity once more to salute the Conference for a Democratic Future. We united at this historic Conference to forge a mighty formation of struggle for a democratic South Africa. By that act and in our decisions, we put on the agenda, as the issue of the day, the transformation of our country into a genuine democracy, in which the people would govern, on the basis of one person one vote in a non-racial society, and not on a group basis. This is a demand that we must imprint on all our banners as we continue and intensify our struggle for freedom.**

**Confronting directly the manoeuvres of the De Klerk regime to draw us into an apartheid structure which would parcel out meaningless portions of power in a so-called power-sharing arrangement that would leave the white minority as the dominating force, we correctly called for an elected Constituent Assembly that would be truly representative of the people and accountable to them; one that would, once and for all, answer the question of who the genuine representatives of the people are. We must fight for this demand to ensure that power does indeed rest in the hands of the people, and not appointees of Pretoria and other self-seeking charlatans."**

**8TH JANUARY 1990**