



Sechaba, Dec. 1986

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Alternative title	Sechaba
Author/Creator	African National Congress (Lusaka, Zambia)
Publisher	African National Congress (Lusaka, Zambia)
Date	1986-12
Resource type	Journals (Periodicals)
Language	English
Subject	
Coverage (spatial)	South Africa
Coverage (temporal)	1986
Source	Digital Imaging South Africa (DISA)
Rights	By kind permission of the African National Congress (ANC).
Format extent (length/size)	33 page(s)

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SAMORA MACHEL A TRULY AFRICAN HERO Comrade Samora Moises Machel, President of Frelimo and of the People's Republic of Mozambique, was killed in an air crash on Sunday the 19th October, together with 31 other Mozambicans (some of them members of the Government) and internationalist workers. Comrade Machel, like the country and people he led for more than 20 years of war, first against the Portuguese colonialists, then the illegal regime of Rhodesia and now against the Pretoria racists, is a truly African hero. He is one of the very few who can rightly claim to have stood firm at the front line of struggle throughout his adult life. His death has profoundly moved freedom fighters everywhere, and in South Africa in particular. The President of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo, sent the following message to the Political Bureau of the Frelimo Party: The tragedy that has befallen the people of Mozambique is without parallel in the history of independent Africa. It is a tragedy that has shocked and stunned progressive mankind. It is a staggering blow to Africa, and especially to the people of Southern Africa, a blow that is felt most intensely by the African National Congress and the entire oppressed and democratic people of South Africa, a tragedy I can never forget. Our leader, comrade-in-arms and brother, Samora Moises Machel, President and Marshal of the People's Republic of Mozambique, President of Frelimo Party, one of the most outstanding leaders of our continent, one of its best brains, an unsurpassed fighter who sought to turn Southern Africa into a liberated zone of humanity - this great giant has been killed by the only enemy who hopes to gain by his death - the apartheid regime of Pretoria and its agents. President Machel fell in the course of duty to mankind. He was accompanied to his death by his great countrymen, and by nationals of countries involved in the struggle against apartheid South Africa. On behalf of the African National Congress, the masses of South Africa, and on my own behalf, I send heartfelt condolences to the Mozambican nation, to the Government and the Frelimo party, to our grief-stricken sister, Graca Machel, and the children, as well as to the bereaved families of all the deceased. The Mozambican people will yet again rise to the challenge of the hour, and use this great tragedy to execute a great leap forward. A luta continua. Venceremos. Comrade President OR Tambo and the late President of Mozambique, Samora Machel, March 1986. i

Message from the National Executive Committee of the ANC to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of Frelimo

The African National Congress has learnt with shock and a great sense of grief of the tragic and untimely death of Comrade President Samora Moises Machel, President of the Frelimo Party, President and Field Marshal of the Republic of Mozambique, together with seven other Mozambican leaders and officials. Comrade Samora personified the close and comradely links between the sister liberation movements of the ANC and Frelimo, forged in the crucible of struggles of our respective peoples against colonialism and racism. As a founder member of Frelimo and later its leader and President of the Republic of Mozambique, Comrade Machel's constant concern was the consolidation of the independence of Mozambique and the enhancing of the struggle for the total liberation of the African continent including the liberation of South Africa and Namibia. His vision of a free Africa extended also to the economic emancipation of the African continent, particularly the countries of the Southern African region, and he lent his immense skills in an unstinting measure to the creation of the SADCC as a vehicle for regional economic co-operation. As a leader in the grouping of Front Line States, he played a prominent role in support of the struggles for the liberation of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia. The tragic loss of this great visionary of African liberation comes at a critical juncture in the history of our continent and region when all the countries of the sub-continent are under armed invasion by the Pretoria regime. Indeed the People's Republic of Mozambique, which wrested independence from Portuguese colonialism in a protracted armed struggle, has never known peace since 1975. Mozambique and the other countries of the region have been subjected to an unrelenting campaign of sabotage and destabilisation by Pretoria. The latest threats against Mozambique, uttered only seven days before this tragedy, by the racist defence minister Magnus Malan, serve to strengthen our suspicion that Pretoria bears full responsibility for it. The passing of Comrade Machel, in circumstances that still need to be fully resolved, is a loss to the Mozambican people, from amongst whose ranks he rose to lead his country to liberation. Southern Africa, the continent and indeed the entire international community have lost an outstanding leader whose charismatic figure will be sorely missed in the fora of the world. The African National Congress and the people of South Africa dip their revolutionary banners in homage to this indefatigable freedom fighter and African revolutionary. Our movement draws inspiration from his example. We are confident that under the sterling leadership of the central committee of the Frelimo Party the Mozambican people will rise beyond this tragedy and together with their compatriots in the region will redouble their efforts in defence of their sovereignty and for the realisation of the ideals for which Samora Moises Machel has striven and laid down his life. To the bereaved family, our comrades in Frelimo and the Mozambican people we offer our heartfelt condolences in this hour of great sorrow. The Spear of the Warrior has fallen. Let us pick it up as we say: A Lutu Continua! A Vittoria e Certa. 2

SOLDIER AND STATESMAN LIFE STORY OF SAMORA MACHEL The Mozambican news agency, AIM, published the following account of the life of President Samora Machel: Samora Moises Machel was born into a peasant family from the village of Chilembene in the Limpopo valley in southern Mozambique's Gaza province, on 29 September 1933. Despite the barriers raised by Portuguese colonialism to prevent Mozambicans receiving education, Samora Machel completed a nursing course. This was one of the highest professional qualifications that Black Mozambicans could then reach. While working at what is now Maputo Central Hospital, he continued his secondary education at night school. When under the leadership of Dr Eduardo Mondlane, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) was formed on June 25th 1962. Samora Machel left the country and made his way to Dar es Salaam, where he joined the Front. In 1963 he was among the first groups of Frelimo guerrillas that went to Algeria for military training. Samora Machel took an active part in launching the independence war on 25th September 1964, drawing up plans, selecting guerrillas, and organising their entry into the country. In 1965 he led the opening of the front in the eastern sector of the province of Niassa, and later organised the major political and military training centre of Nachingwea, in Southern Tanzania. He also fought in the Tete and Cabo Delgado provinces, after commanding operations at great risk to his life. After the assassination of Filipe Samuel Magaia, the secretary of the Frelimo Defence Department, in 1966, the Frelimo Central Committee appointed Samora Machel to the post. At this time he also became a member of the Central Committee. When the Portuguese colonialists murdered Eduardo Mondlane by parcel bomb in Dar es Salaam on 3rd February 1969, Samora Machel was appointed to the three-man council of the presidency, a provisional leadership body. In 1970 the central committee appointed him president of Frelimo. As president, Samora Machel conducted the process of negotiations with the new authorities in Lisbon after the overthrow of fascism in Portugal on 25 April 1974. This culminated in the Lusaka Accords, signed by President Samora on 7th September 1974 which laid down the mechanisms of the transfer of power to Frelimo on behalf of the Mozambican people. During the ensuing period of transitional government which included both Frelimo and Portuguese ministers, President Samora remained outside the country organising the movement for the assumption of full power. He returned to the country in a triumphal voyage from the northern border, the Ruvuma river, to Maputo in June 1975. On June 1975 he proclaimed the country's independence and the foundation of the People's Republic of Mozambique. In March 1976, President Samora announced the closure of the border with the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, and the full application of United Nations sanctions against the illegal Smith regime. In February 1977 the Mozambique Liberation 3

Joaquim Chissano, Foreign Minister of Mozambique; Joe Slovo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party; President Samora Machel and President OR Tambo at the funeral of Comrade Moses Mabhida, Maputo, March 1986. Front held its Third Congress and decided to constitute itself afresh as the Frelimo Party, a Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party of the worker-peasant alliance. President Samora played a key role in organising Mozambique's support for the Zimbabwean liberation movement, and the defence of the country against repeated Rhodesian aggression. He was deeply involved in the political process that led to the Lancaster House Conference in London and thence to the independence of Zimbabwe. When ranks were introduced into the Mozambican Parliament, Samora was distinguished with the country's highest military title, that of Marshal of the Republic. The fourth Congress of the Frelimo Party, held in 1983, re-elected Samora as president of the Party. In 1984 he was decorated with the country's highest civilian award, the title of Hero of the Republic, by the Mozambican parliament, the People's Assembly. On 16th March 1984, President Samora signed the Nkomati Accord on non-aggression and good neighbourliness with the then South African Prime Minister (now President) Pieter Botha. Despite this accord, the South Africans did not abandon their support of their surrogate army in Mozambique, the MNR bandits. President Samora Machel was a founding member of the Front Line States and one of the signatories to the Lusaka Declaration of 1980, which founded the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) President Samora was honoured with distinctions from many countries. These include the Lenin Peace Prize of the Soviet Union, the Playa Giron and the Jose Marti Medals of Cuba, the Georgi Dimitrov medal of Bulgaria and the order of St Michael and St George of Great Britain. The Zimbabwean authorities named the main thoroughfare in Harare Samora Machel Avenue in honour of the role he played in the liberation of Zimbabwe. He was best known, both by his leadership colleagues and the Mozambican people, as an intransigent patriot and defender of the Mozambican Revolution's popular gains, valuing the sovereignty of his country above all else. Nationally, regionally and internationally, he came to be known for his unflinching anti-racism. His vision of Southern Africa was one of a region whose immense riches could be shared by all its peoples, uniting in a common bond all races, people from all ethnic origins and different religious beliefs. 4

Message from President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of Frelimo We have learned with sadness of the tragic and untimely death of Comrade Samora Moises Machel, President of Frelimo and of the People's Republic of Mozambique, at the hands of criminal enemies of Mozambique, Africa and progressive mankind. The fact that the presidential aircraft crashed on South African soil is a clear indication that the dastardly and criminal act was committed by the Botha regime, which, over the years, has been continuously carrying out acts of unprovoked aggression and destabilisation against the People's Republic of Mozambique. Comrade President Machel played a decisive and historical role in leading the heroic fighters of Frelimo in the bitter and bloody struggle for the Mozambican people and the total defeat of centuries of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique. His historical contribution to the liberation struggle will forever be remembered by all the future generations of Mozambique, Africa, progressive mankind and, above all, will continue to inspire, strengthen and encourage those of us who are still struggling to break the chains of colonialism, racial oppression and apartheid to achieve genuine freedom and independence in Namibia and South Africa. On this sad occasion, all the Namibian patriots join their Mozambican brothers and sisters in mourning the untimely loss of this great African freedom fighter and statesman - Comrade President Samora Machel. On behalf of the Central Committee of the South West Africa People's Organisation - SWAPO of Namibia - the entire struggling people of Namibia and, indeed, on my own behalf, I wish to convey to the Central Committee of Frelimo and, through it, to the government, the people of Mozambique and to the bereaved family, our solemn condolences. Glory to the everlasting revolutionary spirit of Comrade President Samora Moises Machel. A luta continua Vitoria e certa Comrade John Nkadimeng, the Secretary General of the South African Congress of Trade Unions said on behalf of SACTU: It is with profound sorrow that the National Executive Committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions dips its banner at the untimely death of the great son of our continent, leader of the Frelimo Party and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique - Field Marshal Samora Moises Machel. Comrade Machel was an outstanding leader of the African liberation struggle, a comrade and friend who devoted most of his life to the service of his people and our continent, a dedicated internationalist who has played an effective role in the anti-imperialist and anti-apartheid struggle for world peace and security and for social progress. With the untimely death of Comrade Machel and the other victims of the air crash, our continent has suffered a great setback, the effects of which will be everlasting. Convey, dear comrades, our condolences to the families of Comrade Samora and all the bereaved, the Party and the Government." 5

The South African Communist Party issued the following statement: We of the South African Communist Party received the news of the tragic death of Comrade Samora Moise Machel and other leaders of Frelimo and your Government with profound shock and sorrow. We grieve with you and the Mozambican people. Comrade Samora was not only the foremost son and leader of the Mozambican revolution but a giant of our continent and outstanding internationalist. Your incalculable loss is also a tremendous loss for Africa and the world community. Comrade Samora will always be admired and revered for his role in the liberation of Mozambique and his tremendous, strenuous efforts against tremendous odds, of consolidating your hard-won independence and sovereignty and of steering your country along the path of economic and social advance. He emerged as an implacable opponent of apartheid and minority rule in Southern Africa, and of imperialism throughout the world. All those involved in the struggle to liberate South Africa, Communists and non-Communists alike, came to value his principled support together with the enormous warmth, friendship and militancy that radiated from him. No amount of crocodile tears from Pretoria can minimise the fact that the racist South African Government saw in Comrade Samora a major foe and obstacle to their aims. We are convinced that this tragedy cannot be separated from the context of Pretoria's strenuous backing for the MNR bandits, its concerted attempts to destabilise Mozambique and the entire region, and Magnus Malan's more recent bellicose threats against your country. We of the South African Communist Party strongly believe that the leaders of your Party and country, together with the entire people of Mozambique, have the courage and resolve to overcome this heavy blow. We are confident that you will stand united and firm and that you will follow the heroic path forward, blazed with such distinction by Comrade Samora. Comrade Samora Machel's life serves as an inspiration to all freedom-loving people. PRESIDENT JOAQUIM CHISSANO The Central Committee of Frelimo has since elected Comrade Joaquim Chissano as the new President of Frelimo and of Mozambique. Comrade Chissano is an old member of Frelimo, one of the young freedom fighters during the days of Nachingwea. He later became the representative of Frelimo in Dar es Salaam. He was the Prime Minister of Mozambique during the transitional government of 1974 to 1975 and later became the Foreign Minister in the government that was formed immediately after independence by Comrade Samora Machel. He has served as the Foreign Minister to this until now.

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A SURVIVOR TELLS THE STORY OF THE DISASTER The Mozambican daily, Noticias, published the following account from one of the survivors of the air crash in which President Samora Machel was killed: One of the survivors of Sunday night's crash has said that shortly before the disaster he heard "a sound like a shot," after which the engines failed, and simultaneously the cabin lights went out. The words of the survivor, one of President Samora's bodyguards, Fernando Manuel Joao, were spoken at the site of the crash to Mozambican Security Minister Sergio Viera on Monday afternoon. They were recorded on the spot by Carlos Cardoso, director of the Mozambican News Agency (AIM). Mr Joao was brought from Nelspruit, in the eastern Transvaal, where he was being treated by Mozambique's Deputy Health Minister, Dr Fernando Vaz. When Col. Viera spotted him at the desolate scene of the crash he immediately walked towards him. As a soldier, Mr Joao stood to attention, and the two men saluted each other. Tears trickled down Mr Joao's face. Col. Viera placed his right hand gently on the neck of the wounded soldier, and drew Mr Joao's face on to his own left shoulder. The two remained in that position for several seconds. Mr Joao recomposed himself and resumed a military posture. He then reported succinctly what had happened on board the presidential plane. He said that shortly before 21.00hrs Sunday night the plane was approaching Maputo, and a steward told the passengers to prepare for landing. Then suddenly, "we heard the plane screech; it seemed that it was shot at." The lights went off, the engines failed, and for some three minutes, the plane was travelling "blindly, with no power." Col. Viera pressed Mr Joao on the matter of the noise, and the soldier once again said that he heard "a sound like a shot." When the plane hit the ground, Mr Joao was thrown out of the craft as it broke up. At about 22.00hrs he began to walk in search of help. At a nearby house he first tried to speak to a man, but he understood neither Portuguese nor Mr Joao's mother tongue, Shangaan. But a woman holding a baby understood Shangaan. "She switched on the oil lamp and saw that I was bleeding. "What's happening?" she asked. I said, "Our plane has crashed. I am Mozambican. We were coming from a journey. There are many people there." Mr Joao asked the woman to accompany him to the crash, but she refused because "that area is dangerous - last week someone stepped on a mine there." The woman took the wounded soldier to the Induna (traditional chief) of the area. Mr Joao met this man around midnight. Through the radio of a local religious mission, a police station at the border town of Komatipoort was informed. Mr Joao told the Komatipoort police what had happened, then requested that they immediately inform Mozambique "that the plane coming from Mbala (in Zambia) to Maputo has crashed here in Mbuzini." The Mozambican people line the streets of Maputo for the funeral of Samora Machel. 7

IOJ CALLS FOR WORLD PEACE Over 300 delegates from 117 countries and representing more than 250 000 members, attended the Tenth Congress of the International Organisation of Journalists, which took place in Sofia, Bulgaria, on October 20th-23rd 1986. ANC journalists also participated. The Congress re-elected Kaarle Nordeustreung as President. The following is one of the resolutions that were adopted. It is an appeal to the journalists of the world. "The participants of the Tenth Congress of the International Organisation of Journalists urgently appeal to all journalists to unite their efforts in the struggle for peace, against the threat of nuclear conflagration, for democracy and progress. "The policies pursued by imperialist forces lead to an ever-increasing accumulation of weapons, of means of mass destruction of human lives, of material and intellectual values. The frequent nuclear tests carried out by the USA in defiance of urgent protests by world public opinion continue to shake our planet. The plans to spread the arms race to outer space cause considerable anxiety among the nations. "The meeting in Rejkjavik has opened up realistic prospects of ridding our planet of nuclear weapons in the next ten years. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union's far-reaching proposals corresponding to the interests of all nations have not been implemented. We deplore the fact that the US administration has failed once again to seize this historic opportunity of bringing a radical solution to the problem of war and peace. "We appeal to the US political leadership to re-examine the reality of our time and embark on the way to the preservation of peace and the deliverance of mankind from the terrible threat of total annihilation. "We journalists have a special responsibility in this complicated and dangerous situation because we are the ones who not only express but also shape public opinion. The mass media can, and must, bring a significant contribution to the safeguarding and consolidation of peace and to the establishment of a climate of trust among countries and nations. "The Congress of the International Organisation of Journalists urges all colleagues in different countries to mobilise public opinion in defence of peace on our planet and to avert a nuclear catastrophe. This is our major duty to our contemporaries and the generations to come. "The Congress appeals to the press, radio and television journalists in all countries without exception to deploy more effective action to help solve the problem of hunger, to develop new types of foodstuffs, protect the environment, preserve the existing, and discover new, sources of energy. "We fully realize that we live and work in different social, economic, professional and other conditions. But the sacred duty of every authentic journalist has always been, and will remain, to serve good and not evil, truth and not lies, concord and not enmity, freedom and not oppression, peace and not war. "On behalf of the 250 000 journalists united in the IOJ we appeal to the journalists of the world to join the forces fighting with determination for lasting peace and co-operation to the benefit of each and every nation and of mankind as a whole. "

CALL FOR SANCTIONS FROM WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS The 11th Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) was held from 16th-22nd September in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic. Present were more than 1 000 delegates, guests and observers, representing 296 million workers organised in 432 trade union organisations from 154 countries throughout the world. Among the speakers to the Congress was Comrade John Nkadameng, General Secretary of 8

SACTU and member of the NEC of the ANC, who led a SACTU delegation. He called on the international trade union movement to intensify solidarity actions aimed to isolate the apartheid regime in Pretoria, and said that sanctions should be imposed now. He pointed out that the working class in South Africa is engaged in political, economic, trade union and military struggle to achieve freedom and democracy. He further said that the struggle for peace and disarmament is inextricably bound up with the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. He appealed to the Congress to organise a world conference of the trade union movement on peace and disarmament in Southern Africa. The Congress passed a resolution in solidarity with the workers and people of Southern Africa, calling for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist regime in Pretoria, and calling on the trade union movement throughout the world to co-ordinate in imposing its own sanctions. The resolution also called for strengthening of the campaigns for the lifting of the State of Emergency in South Africa and the release of all imprisoned trade unionists. It called for the immediate independence of Namibia, and for a cessation of all acts of aggression by the racist regime against neighbouring countries in Southern Africa. It resolved on greater material support for SACTU and the National Union of Namibian Workers; it hailed the formation of COSATU in South Africa, and resolved on greater material assistance to the trade union movement in Southern Africa. The Congress was a mighty forum, demonstrating unambiguously that the WFTU is a committed, reliable and trustworthy ally of the working people in our region, and a true champion of the cause of workers throughout the world. Its size was testimony to the growing prestige of the WFTU within the international trade union movement.

DANES RUN AGAINST APARTHEID The Committee on South Africa in Copenhagen has been organising a string of anti-apartheid events. In collaboration with the "AK73" Athletic Club in Copenhagen, it organised a Run Against Apartheid through the streets of Copenhagen in August 1986. The aims of the run were to give the people of Denmark the opportunity to show that they object to apartheid, and to give moral and financial support to the ANC and the people of South Africa. About 2 000 people heard a speech by Comrade Aaron Mnisi, Chief Representative in Denmark. He said: "While we run this evening, there is a struggle between life and death taking place." Each runner paid a fee to run, and all profits have gone to the ANC. Runners against apartheid in Copenhagen. 9

25 YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE Army Commissar Chris Hani Speaks On December 16th 1961, Umkhonto We Sizwe, our People's Army, issued its Manifesto and carried out its first operations. To mark the 25th anniversary, Sechaba interviewed Comrade Chris Hani, Member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and Army Commissar of MK. Comrade Chris, this year, 1986, has been declared the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). What do you think has been the progress and achievements of MK in the military field? If we go back to the day when the President of the African National Congress, who is in fact the Commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, designated it, we shall remember that this is the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army, for the following reasons. It has become very clear that the enemy has no other option in the solution of the problems of the country, except violence. And we also know that the trend since the escalation of the militant resistance of our people has been the violent response of the enemy. In the face of the escalating violence of the enemy, the revolutionary violence of the people becomes very, very important. And we know that the revolutionary violence of the oppressed people of our country is epitomised by MK. MK is the revolutionary violent arm of our people. The designation of the year as the Year of MK was a clarion call to the People's Army, MK, to escalate the armed struggle. Now you are asking the question, what have we achieved in the military field? I believe in all modesty that MK has become a permanent feature of the struggle of our people for national liberation and social emancipation. We have enriched the struggles of our people by introducing the armed element. The enemy's statement itself has admitted openly that 1986 has seen the unprecedented escalation of armed struggle. I believe we have taken the armed struggle today to every corner of our country. We have, for instance, spread the armed struggle to areas which in the past few years were not affected by armed struggle. We know that for a long time the armed struggle tended to be confined to the Transvaal and Natal but this year our units have spread armed activities to the whole of the Cape Province as well as to the Orange Free State. Our units have been in action in the Western Cape, attacking police stations and installations of the enemy. What is important is that we have converged with the forces on the ground. What I mean by this is that the militant upsurge of our people has thrown up thousands of activists who have reached the same conclusion as the ANC, that the crucial aspect of our struggle is the armed one. We have got young militants, literally numbering thousands, confronting the enemy. At the beginning, of course, these militant youths confronted the enemy with stones, petrol bombs. But now we have introduced an armed element to the militancy of our young people. We have introduced hand grenades. I think this has deepened 10

the development of the process we began to see last year, the growing ungovernability of our country. As the result of the armed element of the struggle, including MK and the other armed units, military units of our people which are born out of the struggle, our people have utilised the skills we have imparted to them, deal with the police, community councillors, and various col- laborationist elements. By so doing we have rendered most townships ungovernable. The enemy is no longer in control of these areas. I think we have facilitated the question of the emergence of organs of popular power - the street committees, area committees. But also this has seen a new development in our country, the spread of the struggle to rural areas. If we are to elaborate, briefly, our units have taken part in armed operations in the bantustan areas. I think the most significant part of this escalation was the attack in the very heartland of the Transkei bantustan, Umtata, where an MK unit literally overran a police station, killing more than ten puppet police. Even in Bophuthatswana, where there was an escalating reign of terror by the Mangope pup- pet forces, our units dealt with the most notorious commander of the police forces there, Brigadier Molope. As a result of that we kept up the momentum of struggle in a number of bantustans. But what is also important especially as regards our struggle in the bantustans and in the country- side, is that in KwaNdebele where there was a militant mass movement against bantustan in- dependence, the intervention of MK led to the elimination of the most notorious of the col- laborationist elements, Piet Ntuli. The elimina- tion of Piet Ntuli by an MK unit galvanised the Where are the Hippos and Casspirs? These men are waiting for them. 11

population in KwaNdebele and led to the government actually being forced to suspend the independence which was scheduled for this year. So, in brief, I think MK this year has made armed struggle the reality throughout the whole country. What has been the impact of these military operations on the population as a whole? The population of SA is divided between the oppressed and the oppressor. I think the enemy is facing a crisis of a new type. It is a very, very deep crisis. I don't think it's a crisis the enemy has faced before. We see a situation where the entire oppressed population is involved in a mass militant struggle against the enemy, literally not collaborating and rejecting that government. A new situation is beginning to develop. In classical terms I would think that the objective elements of a revolution or a revolutionary situation are maturing. Our people have shown a willingness to sacrifice and die if necessary for the struggle. Secondly our people have said clearly that they are not prepared to live in the old way. They have rejected all organs of minority institutions like community councils, like management councils and even the fourth chamber. Botha is right now groping for puppets who would participate in the fourth chamber. And you can imagine a similar situation when Botha can't even get the so-called moderates to participate in his solution. And I think this is a victory which belongs to our people. Now we have also forced the enemy to declare a state of emergency. The declaration of the state of emergency is also an admission by the enemy that it can no longer rule in the traditional manner. With the trappings of bourgeois democracy, the enemy has been forced to declare martial law. The enemy preserves its right to rule through occupation by soldiers and the police. In the townships in fact there is no administration. The enemy can't move in the African areas without an armed escort. I think this is an important aspect of our political and military victories. Where the oppressed people are concerned, I believe they have gained a new confidence in their own capacity to move and free themselves. Why do I think so? Our people have created their own organs. Mass democratic organisations. They have created their own trade unions, very militant. And they don't just confine themselves to the day-to-day issues of the workers, like better living and working conditions. The workers have come of age and have begun to involve themselves in the national liberation struggle. We are seeing now a skilful combination of the national liberation aspects of struggle as well as the economic struggle in terms of the workers wanting to improve their working and living conditions because this is also important. We are seeing now a growing tendency to plan together, to strategise together between the workers and the mass democratic movement. We are seeing the acceptance of the central role of the ANC, and we think this is a very important development. Virtually all the mass democratic movement in our country, all the trade unions see the ANC as the vanguard of the national liberation struggle. Recently we have seen an important development where the ANC has been accepted by virtually all the patriotic movements in our country, organisations especially of the oppressed people, but even from the White side. We are seeing a new development where certain sectors of the White population, losing confidence in the ruling class, feel that the ANC is at the core of the solution of the problems of our country. The Whites have come to accept that Botha has failed to provide any solution to the serious crisis which faces us. In the universities this tendency is growing, in the urban areas and even among the big industrialists. I think you are aware the ANC has been consulted by the leaders of big industry having discussions with leaders of Anglo-American, Barlow Rand and others. We have also introduced a new element, our escalating activities in the rural areas. We know that traditionally these have been areas where the ruling class has always had a lot of support. But the armed struggle is spreading in our country, the rural areas, the farms themselves, have become theatres of operations, in the northern and the eastern Transvaal. In other words, the armed struggle has injected a new confidence in our people. The youth of our country, and the old people as well, have embraced MK. We are seeing a development where our MK units are accepted virtually everywhere in the African townships. MK has become the most important development 12

in the assessment of our people. We are surviving better than before. Which means that our movement has created a political infrastructure within the country where most of our people see that they have a duty not just to be spectators, but to come forward providing shelter, providing information, providing hiding places and providing even recruits for MK. Umkhonto we Sizwe is beginning to be entrenched all the time among the people themselves. That is why we find the situation that, despite the most massive deployment of the SADF in the townships, MK units are continuing to operate in Durban, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London and many other centres of our country. Can you tell us a bit more about rent boycotts, the destruction of Community Councils and the emergence of street committees and other organs of popular power? The enemy mass media have admitted that the government is no longer in control of the situation. Very few community councils are operative in our country today. In most areas, especially the Eastern Cape, I mean, places like Port Elizabeth, Port Alfred, Grahamstown, Cradock, areas in the Western Cape, like Gugulethu and Crossroads, KTC areas in the Free State, like Tumahole and some parts of Bloemfontein, the whole of the East Rand and Soweto, areas in Pretoria like Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, the government has no organised presence. There is no administrative apparatus. In place of the dummy institutions of the past, we have seen a growing progressive tendency where the people have set up organs of popular power, street committees, area committees as well as yard committees. In other words, the people have taken it now into their own hands to organise their lives. To organise their own administration. This is an important development because this is the basis now for the situation in future, where the people will have their own democratic organs, where the people will have their own institutions to discuss their own problems. To discuss the problems of the struggle. To discuss development. And for us these are sort of semi-liberated areas in the sense that we are in control there. When the enemy comes in to challenge us we withdraw into our own houses, in our own ghettos but as soon as the enemy disappears we come out and we are in charge of the situation. It is the admission of the mass media that the government has lost millions in uncollected rents. Our people are no longer paying rents. In other words our people are no longer paying for their enslavement, because these rents are collected not for the improvement of the lives of our people, but to strengthen these administration boards, to employ a big battalion of civil servants to oppress our people. In places like the Vaal, Soweto, Pretoria, the Eastern Cape, Free State and Natal, people are no longer paying their rent. Our people are saying: "Why should we pay rent when we are not participating in the running of our areas?" And when we speak of our areas I am not referring to the ghettos. I am referring to the whole city. Our people are demanding a democratic participation in the running of their lives, in the running of their cities, in the decisions of how the revenues should be divided, how the city should be developed. Our people are really challenging the very central aspect of apartheid - that we don't belong to the ghettos, we belong to the cities. These cities are what they are, the infrastructures which have been built, they are ours, so we must have a democratic participation. In other words, at a number of levels, our people are challenging their oppression, and are saying that "We are the majority, and we are the democratic majority, and we not going to allow you to dictate what we should do, and we are not going to collaborate, as long as we don't have any word in decision-making." Our people are saying, "We represent the majority, we decide what is good for us. And we're not going to leave it to a Malan, to a Koos or to a Van Der Merwe to take decisions for us. We shall take our own decisions. If you refuse to allow us to take our own decisions then we are not going to collaborate." The Western countries are pushing for negotiations between the ANC and the racists. Can you comment on that? The Western countries are desperate. I don't think they have become friends of the liberation movement. All of us know that they have their own material interests. They have huge investments in our country. South Africa is a very wealthy country. Apart from that it is a strategically situated country. For America and 13

Britain as well as West Germany and France, it is very, very important that South Africa ultimately should be ruled by those who are going to preserve the economic interests of these countries. I think now it is fast dawning in their minds that the ruling class in our country, Botha, Huenis, Malan and others are no longer able to preserve conditions for the continued exploitation of our country by the transnational companies, for the continuation of a situation where the wealth of our country is literally being siphoned out of our country. They do not want to see their profits and their properties and investments going up in flames. There is a growing syndrome within the ruling class of open defiance, of being indifferent to what happens eventually. The western countries are keen on negotiations and the basic intention is that we should negotiate so as to serve their own interests. That is why now America, Britain and other countries are being concerned about what is happening in South Africa. It is because they can now see the balance of forces shifting in our favour. It is not concern for democracy and for human rights but is concern for their pockets. We take the position that we want political power to be transferred to the democratic majority. This is the bottom line of our argument. We are saying that the question of democracy in a united South Africa is not negotiable. The second thing we are saying is power should be handed over to the democratic majority in our country. We are prepared to negotiate for the dismantling of apartheid and the transfer of power to the democratic majority. What are the prospects for the armed struggle in South Africa? Without sounding melodramatic, the prospects for the armed struggle are very, very bright. I believe in the recent period we have witnessed a very significant development of MK. Never before in the history of MK have we come across the central pride of the oppressed population in our country. Never before have we reached a situation in our country where even according to the admission of the enemy himself, the activities of MK are escalating every day. Without exaggeration I would think that never before have we seen such unparalleled achievements by members of the People's Army. The level of performance of MK has improved even more. Very few of our comrades have surrendered to the enemy. There is a growing tendency to fight the enemy to the end. Let me quote a few examples, such as the heroic efforts of Barney Dladla, Victor Khayani and Sidney Sibepu, where they fought and forced the enemy to bring helicopters and armoured cars in order to destroy only four members of MK. We have for instance dealt with a lot of strategic installations of the enemy. We have attacked, I think for the third time, Sasol. We participated in the trade union struggle by attacking the offices of Anglo-American, Gencor and other mining houses. We have been attacking police stations, homes of police. Inside our country we have units of MK surviving, growing and being given all sorts of opportunity by our people. This is a new and significant development. Our people are ready to sacrifice for the armed struggle. There was a situation in Mdantsane where one of our comrades was raided by the police. He was able to take out his gun and he dealt with the Ciskeian police. He had not time to put on his clothes. But as soon as he got out he met an old woman who was ready to take him and give him overalls and clothes. This is not just an isolated situation. MK units have fought side by side with the people of KTC using AKs and, without exaggeration, KTC would have been demolished today if MK had not participated on the side of the people. Clement Bogatsu Sentenced to 20 years on the 16th of May, 1986 for transporting MK cadres into the country. 14

We introduced an armed element to the mass struggles of our people in KTC, Crossroads, Alexandra, Mamelodi, in White City Jabavu and in Rockville, and we are even beginning to defend our people against the rampaging brutal activities of Inkatha ka Zulu in Umlazi, in Claremont and KwaMashu. We have become part and parcel of the ongoing mass struggles of our people. As far as I am concerned, we are very optimistic that MK continues to grow and strengthen its capacity to confront the enemy. Our people should look forward to the situation where, in the course of their confrontation with the enemy, units of MK will be with them. Can you comment briefly on the necklace? Why the necklace? You know for a long time South Africa, being a colonialist power of a special type, has depended on the continued repression of our people through active collaboration by puppets. We know that even in the classic colonial situation in countries like India, Kenya, the old Tanganyika and elsewhere, the colonialist has always depended on the African askari. Similarly, in our country, we know ourselves that the colonialist, the racist, regime if you like has always depended on the active collaboration of the oppressed, on the recruitment of the Black policeman, the Black special branch. Because the Black policeman, the Black special branch and the Black agent stay in the same township as we do, they have been the conduit through which information about our activities, about our plans has been passed to the enemy. This has made the process of organisation and mobilisation very difficult. So the necklace was a weapon devised by the oppressed themselves to remove this cancer from our society, the cancer of collaboration of the puppets. It is not a weapon of the ANC. It is a weapon of the masses themselves to cleanse the townships from the very disruptive and even lethal activities of the puppets and collaborators. We do understand our people when they use the necklace because it is an attempt to render our townships, to render our areas and country ungovernable, to make the enemy's access to information very difficult. But we are saying here our people must be careful, in the sense that the enemy would employ provocateurs to use the necklace, even against activists. We have our own revolutionary methods of dealing with collaborationists. Petrus Mthembu Soldiers of MK, each sentenced to 15 years in 1973. In the same trial, Gardner Sejaka was sentenced to 15 years, Sean Hosey to 5 years and Alex Moumbaris to 12 years. Moumbaris escaped from Pretoria Central Prison in 1979. CONTINUED ON PAGE 18 15

Far left: Nelson Mandela, the first Commander in Chief of MK, with an Algerian army officer, 1962. Left: Joe Modise, Commander of MK, 1986. UMKHONTO WE SIZWE IN ACTION Selfless dedication by MK cadres is bearing fruit - today our people engage the enemy in battle in townships throughout South Africa. VICTORY IS CERTAIN! Sasol Oil Refinery, 1980. One of the first sabotage operations, 1961. Above: Marion Sparg sentenced on 6th November, 1986 to 25 years for bombing an East London (Cape) police station and Police Headquarters, John Vorster Square, in Johannesburg (right).

For left: Nelson Mandela, the first Commander it Chief of MK, with an Algerian army officer, 1962. Left: Joe Modise, Commander of MK, 1986. UMKHONTO WE SIZWE IN ACTION Selfless dedication by MK cadres is bearing fruit - today our people engage the enemy in battle in townships throughout South Africa. VICTORY IS CERTAIN! Sasol Oil Refinery, 1980. r One of the first sabotage operations, 1961. # MW O~ilw'1l udi; Above: Marion Sparg sentenced on 6th November, 1986 to ?S years for bombing an East London (Cape) police station and Police Headquarters, John Vorster Square, in Johannesburg (right).

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16 laborators, the methods of the ANC. But I refuse to condemn our people when they mete out their own traditional forms of justice to those who collaborate. I understand their anger. Why should they be cool as icebergs, when they are being killed every day? As far as I am concerned the question of the necklace and how it should be used belongs to all of us, to the ANC, to the democratic movement. We should sit down and discuss amongst ourselves how we should mete out justice. What is revolutionary justice? One fact is that, where agents and collaborators are concerned, we should establish, where it is possible our own revolutionary courts where justice should be meted out. And in those courts we should involve some of our best cadres so that our forms of justice do not degenerate into kangaroo justice. We would like to maintain revolutionary forms of justice. But SA is not a normal society; the situation is very very abnormal. People are angry because we are fighting fascism in that country. The ANC will never abandon its leading role. We are saying to our people, whatever method you devise, there should be democratic participation, there should be democratic discussion and whatever method we use, that method should conform to the norms of the revolutionary movement. As I say we understand why the necklace has been used. We know even the negative and positive aspects of the necklace. There is a lot of discussion now going on the question of the necklace. But it is not this silly conclusion that it is Black on Black violence. The necklace has been used against those who have been actively collaborating with the enemy. We say the movement should be vigilant to ensure that whatever sentence is passed on anybody, it is a result of participation by the revolutionary elements of our struggle. And I suppose the revolutionary approach of the ANC applies equally to the attitude towards bombing of beaches, cinemas and so on? Of course it does. Of course it does. It applies to the bombing of cinemas, supermarkets. You know we have units on the ground inside the country. We have quick reaction units there. Sometimes the enemy carries out acts of terror against our people. We should read carefully what Comrade Sibuyiso Andrew Zondo said after the bombing of Amanzimtoti. Here was a commander of an MK unit feeling very very angry, and emotionally disturbed by the assassination of our comrades in Maseru and feeling that it was his duty as commander of an MK unit to respond. And of course in his response he chose a centre in Amanzimtoti, and in the course of the bomb blast, the so-called civilians are caught in the process. We are going to come increasingly across a situation where comrades in anger are going to react and deal even with White civilians. That is not the policy of the ANC. One must remember that we are in a state of war. The ANC is clear. I must repeat its position: we want to deal with the enemy personnel, the police, the army, with the administration of the enemy, with the economic installations, with farms and farmers. But in the process our people are going to get angry. And I think the world in general, and especially the Whites in SA, must reckon with the fact that the Botha regime solely is responsible for this sort of situation. We are not authors of the situation. And increasingly as we confront the enemy, as we deal with enemy personnel, more and more White civilians are going to be caught in the cross fire. And I want to repeat that we are not responsible for this situation. We shall try as much as possible to avoid civilian casualties. We are not a terrorist movement. We abhor terrorism. We are a revolutionary movement. Mondy Motloun Arrested in June 1977 with Solomon Mahlangu, who was executed in April 1979. Motloun had been so badly beaten up at the time of his arrest that he was declared unfit to stand trial because of brain damage. Since then nothing has been heard of him. Where is Mondy Motloun now? 18

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE Building People's Forces for Combat War & Insurrection Part 1 t

~.^:Yc'ira:r~i~:bra%~Ce%.a~':aa~ai~'k`kif~'~w~dt By Mzala An extract from a conversation between Mr Wickson, a member of the ruling class, and Ernst Everhard, the American revolutionary, in Jack London's novel, The Iron Heel: Mr Wickson: What if you get a majority, a sweeping majority, on election day? Suppose we refuse to turn the government over to you after you have captured the ballot-box? Ernst: That, also, we have considered ... Power you have proclaimed the king of words. Very good. Power it shall be. And in the day that we sweep to victory at the ballot-box, and you refuse to turn over to us the government we have constitutionally and peacefully captured, and you demand what we are going to do about it - in that, I say, we shall answer you; and in roar of shell and shrapnel and in whine of machine-guns shall our answer be couched.' The passage of political power from the racist minority to the democratic majority will ultimately be decided by material strength, and military force is the key element of that strength. This war perspective of our liberation struggle must never be obscured by the processes of implementing the other tactics of our revolution. That is why one of the immediate and principal objectives of our military programme is to build a people's army in South Africa. The history of all revolutions without exception shows that the stability and organisation of any state depends, in the final analysis, upon its army. If the army of the ruling class is still intact in morale and material, if there is no appreciable degree of disaffection within it resulting in its commanders and rank-and-file losing their dedication to the defence of the state, then such an army is capable of making the victory of the revolution difficult, even if all conditions for a revolutionary situation are favourable. The outcome of the revolution very often depends on the degree of sympathy for the revolution in the army of the ruling class and on the extent to which its commanding officers can use it against the revolutionary people. There has been a maturing recognition among the broad sections of our people that the single most decisive obstacle standing between us and our liberation at this period is the ability of the apartheid regime to make maximum utilisation of its armed forces and police. In street battles, behind township barricades, even during stayaway strikes, we are overwhelmed by this military superiority of the enemy. Stability of the Racist Army It is certainly beyond doubt that economically and politically the regime is entangled in a crisis it is unable to manage, let alone solve. But unless this crisis is extended to have direct effect on the stability of the racist armed forces, it would be naive to suppose that it is possible for the present economic and political crisis alone to lead to the collapse of the regime. When Lenin wrote about the collapse of the Second International, he firmly maintained that a revolution can only take place if: "... objective changes are accompanied by a subjective change, namely, the ability of the revolutionary class to take revolutionary mass action strong enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, 'falls' if it is not toppled over." It would be equally naive to expect the racist army or parts of that army to waver or even go over openly to the side of the forces of change without first meeting an intensive military combat

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paign directed against its military strongholds and personnel, the success of which is facilitated also by the conduct of political organisational work within the armed forces of the enemy. We are therefore as far away from our freedom day as we are from organising military combat forces of the revolution that match the present level of political organisation, that will be sufficiently strong to break or dislocate the racist army and police, and that will finally lead to the collapse of the government. Those who have no knowledge at all of what a revolution in modern times actually means and requires, tend to gloss over the significance of this question of military organisation as a condition for the victory of the oppressed. And the more such people imagine 'militarism' lurking whenever mention is made of the need to reinforce political organisation with equal military organisation, the more they mystify the practical requirements of our liberation. But are we not absolutising this factor of 'military organisation' in the equation of our revolution? Let us look at the history of Iran. The Shah's regime collapsed only under the pressure of political uprising of the masses, without this process being preceded by any kind of war or military organisation of the oppressed against the ruling class. What can prevent the apartheid regime in South Africa from collapsing for the same reasons as the Shah's regime? A South African Solution It seems that, whenever a revolution breaks out, most people perceive its likely course of development and its culmination in terms of previous historical experience, whether it be within the country in revolution or elsewhere in the world. There is generally nothing wrong with this 'natural' imagination, since, after all, most people's minds are dominated by the most striking events and experiences in history. This is avoidable, if we acquaint ourselves not only with the general, but also with the specific characteristics of revolutions in history. Only then shall we discover that, whereas there are common denominators to all fractions, both in mathematics as well as politics, however, no single experience can be duplicated. History will require us to find a South African solution to our problems. The armies of most countries (including Iran) had a class composition which made it not only possible but relatively easy for them to be affected by the political and economic crisis within their countries, and subsequently to be neutralised or even, in many cases, to join the revolutionary forces. In South Africa, on the other hand, the problem is compounded by the fact that this army is part and parcel of the ruling class in the broad meaning of the phrase; because of this internal colonialism, the army defends its own material privileges. Its present social position feeds on the existence of this colonial dichotomy and perpetual suppression of the uprising of the colonised. Strategists of the South African revolutionary war of liberation have always been conscious of these facts, right from the start. The very existence today of Umkhonto We Sizwe is testimony to the fact that, 25 years ago, we realised the necessity for the formation of a mass military organisation of the oppressed people of South Africa. Objective Military Conditions Our military strategy has been determined by certain basic objective conditions. These conditions have not undergone any significant changes over the past 25 years, although our strategy has made Mosima Sexwale Accused No. 1 in the trial of the 'Pretoria 12'. Sentenced for MK activities in April 1978 to 18 years. 20

certain developments. These are developments which need to be seen not so much against the background of the emergence of liberated territories on the borders of South Africa, but rather in the perspective of the development of a revolutionary situation in South Africa itself, particularly in the past few years. In 1961, we were faced, as we still are today, with a powerfully armed modern state with tremendous industrial resources. The massive increases in the defence budget over the years, which have taken a greater proportion of the state revenue, have been the clearest indication of the development of South Africa into a military state. In 1961, the apartheid regime received its arms directly from the key industrial nations in the West. In 1963, United Nations Security Council resolutions 181 and 182 called on: "... all states to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa," and: "... the sale and shipment of equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in South Africa," respectively. Even after this, however, such arms and ammunition continued to reach South Africa clandestinely or via defiant third countries like Israel. Furthermore, the Western governments went ahead to give South Africa the technological expertise for the creation of a domestic military-industrial complex to render the state self-sufficient in the manufacture and supply of armaments. At the same time, the state has always relied heavily on the support of the White community. Just as the Manifesto of Umkhonto We Sizwe observed in 1961 that the regime was not only enlarging and rearming its armed forces but was also "drawing the White civilian population into commandos and pistol clubs," so did General Malan confirm this as late as 1977, when he said: "South Africa is today involved in total war. The war is not only an area for the soldier. Everyone is involved and has a role to play." Militarisation of the White Community This was not a rhetorical expression. Apartheid military strategists have ensured this process of total militarisation of the White community. In this respect every municipality and local authority has been instructed by the regime to establish and provide facilities for the maintenance of a 'civil defence' organisation. The legislative definition of 'civil defence' is: "to provide for the protection of the Republic and its inhabitants in a state of emergency and for other incidental matters." Military training bases have been erected throughout the country to provide each strategic area with at least one major base that can easily be transformed into operational headquarters. The purpose of this military mobilisation and organisation is to provide each area in which the White community is permanently resident with a military defence system and structure in which each member can participate. In 1961, when Umkhonto We Sizwe was formed, our people were unarmed and lacked personnel who had been trained in all aspects of warfare. Those who were ultimately selected, sent abroad to acquire such skills, and came back to train the recruits that had been organised just before the Rivonia arrests, were key members of the ANC, known to the enemy security forces for their political militancy and qualities of leadership. Their survival in the new role, therefore, had limited chances, and the subsequent arrests throughout the provinces smashed all the regional and area command structures that had already been set up. Although over the past 25 years noteworthy achievements have been made in training and arming certain advanced contingents of our people, particularly after 1976 (whether this was done principally from outside or from within the country), yet this general strategic imbalance between the enemy and ourselves in terms of arms has not shifted to our favour, even if this is judged by the most subjective standards. Ready to be Recruited We were taking note precisely of this fact at our 1985 Second National Consultative Conference when our Strategy and Tactics Commission reported that: "... we have a people (especially a proletariat and fighting youth) which constitutes a revolutionary contingent which is highly politically conscious, experienced in struggle over a period of more than half a century, who stand ready in their tens of thousands to be recruited and organised into contingents of political and armed fighters." The founders of Umkhonto We Sizwe had no illusions about the difficulties which would face us in having to launch and successfully prosecute

guerrilla operations leading to a general insurrection, in the absence of friendly borders which can serve as rear bases for the combatants, especially in the initial phase. Until 1974, South Africa was surrounded by a protective barrier of states that were sympathetic to its policies and defence. Angola and Mozambique were under the control of the Portuguese colonialists; Zimbabwe (then called Rhodesia) under White minority rule; and despite the political independence gained by Botswana and Swaziland in 1966 and 1968 respectively, their degree of economic dependence on South Africa made them South Africa's hostages. Lesotho was, and still is, completely surrounded by South African territory. Almost all historically recorded guerrilla wars ever since the emergence of nation-states in the world, were given advantage by the existence of a reliable rear base in a neighbouring territory. Probably no guerrilla war since the end of the Second World War, except that of Cuba, has ever been successfully conducted without relying on a neighbouring territory, at least for its initial launch. This fact, as well, did not escape the attention of the apartheid military historians and strategists. It is precisely their awareness of this fact which answers the question: why did the apartheid regime give priority to armament for a conventional war in the processes of its military build-up? South Africa's defence strategists have for a long time believed that the country faces no real threat from within or (till 1974) from its immediate neighbours. An article reflecting this thinking appeared in June 1973 in *Armed Forces Journal International*, in which the writer said: "None of these (neighbours) are likely to launch an attack against South Africa or even countenance harbouring an 'Army of Liberation' within their borders." Yet South Africa continued to prepare herself for conventional military superiority over her 'friendly' neighbours as well as states as far away as Zambia, Tanzania and Congo. Its arsenal was swelled by anti-aircraft guns, surface-to-air missiles, artillery pieces, tanks and anti-tanks, armoured cars and armoured personnel carriers, aircraft and so on, all of which bear no direct or tactical relevance to an internal threat of guerrilla warfare. When Frelimo in Mozambique and MPLA in Angola won victories in 1974 and '75, apartheid strategists perceived the implications, and accordingly increased the strength of the SADF with a dramatic growth in conscripted manpower; the 'defence' budget increased from R472 million in 1973 to R1 899 million in 1978. Measures were also introduced to subordinate political and economic goals to the needs and demands of the SADF, and, to ensure strict compliance with this principle, the whole economy was integrated into the war effort. Subsequent destabilisation activities against these independent States by way of either direct military intervention or support of counter-revolutionary rebels against these legitimate governments, has ensured that their respective independence gains do not benefit the guerrillas of Umkhonto We Sizwe or give them any advantage at all. The Strategy and Tactics Commission of the 1985 ANC National Consultative Conference was articulating this very situation when it reported to the Plenary Session: "We have never had, we have not got, and we are unlikely to ever have, a rear base in the classical sense. So when we begin to examine the concept of people's war, guerrilla activity, guerrilla zones, problems of arming the people, creating, sustaining and supplying a people's army in the initial stages, etc., we must accept that all these objectives have to take off and grow within the limitation of the absence of an effective rear base with a friendly border." How did we hope to compensate for our disadvantages? The Pre-Rivonia Period The founding fathers of our army were fully conversant with our disadvantages, and they discussed them uninhibitedly and extensively. Their draft plan (code-named Operation Mayibuye, which was still a draft document since it had not yet come into operation) was that they would send abroad an initial group of about 120 trainees who, on the completion of their training, would land by ship or air simultaneously, in four groups of thirty each, at pre-selected areas, armed and properly equipped in such a way as to be self-sufficient in every respect for at least one month, 22

in the process of which they would join locally recruited guerrilla bands. This was to coincide with a massive propaganda campaign both inside and outside South Africa and a general call for unprecedented mass struggle throughout the land, both violent and non-violent. It was envisaged that these platoons (made up of 30 persons) would break into sections of ten persons, who would then operate within selected areas and link up their military activities with pre-arranged local groups. The choice of these areas was to be based, in the initial phase, on the nature of the terrain, with a view to establishing base areas from which the guerrilla units could attack, and to which they could retreat. The drafters of Operation Mayibuye argued that: .. we must not underestimate the fact that there is a terrain in many parts of South Africa, which although not classically impregnable, is suitable for guerrilla type operations" They cited as example the military activities that were conducted by Boer guerrillas operating in the plains of the Transvaal. Our conception of guerrilla struggle was undeniably influenced by the example of Cuba which had just been liberated through armed struggle, and where the general uprising was sparked off by organised and well prepared guerrilla operations during the course of which the masses of the people were drawn in and armed. No one expected such a struggle to be over swiftly. It had to be protracted, since, although we were quite aware of the possibilities of unlimited material assistance which could obtain from friendly governments, we fully realised that in the final analysis, guerrilla warfare has to rely on the enemy for its source of supply. Guerrilla operations would therefore aim, primarily, at disarming the enemy. The Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns In 1967, only three years after the Rivonia Trial (the event which epitomised the collapse of an effective internally based leadership with crucial political influence and with material resources at its disposal to wage and sustain military operations), another attempt was made at injecting armed units of our army into South Africa to spark off guerrilla war. Although this plan was not as elaborately worked out by the leadership as Operation Mayibuye in the early '60s, but merely envisaged that a large armed unit would move through the then Rhodesia, and would then split into small units when in South Africa, the shortcomings of this plan are traceable to the way the whole process was begun. It was not the leadership, but the guerrilla soldiers in the camps that insisted on 'going back home'. Under this 'understandable' pressure the leadership finally set about making preparations, in co-ordination with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), to send about 100 men to South Africa, through Zimbabwe. This group was rather too large and therefore conspicuous, although it was undeniably composed of the most dedicated and outstandingly daring combatants; they were discovered prematurely by the Rhodesian security informers and forces. On learning that the units were composed of both Zimbabwean and South African guerrillas, the Smith regime invited the South African army into the battlefield. For the first time since 1906, the time of Bambatha in Natal, the colonial forces of South Africa were met with fire-power from the oppressed community. Since my purpose here is not to recount historical events, but to make a survey of the evolution of our military strategy particularly in relation to actual practice, I shall not take the liberty of narrating these heroic battles. Suffice it to say that, judging these events today with the benefit of hindsight, it is doubtful whether these units, even if they did reach South Africa safely, would have managed to survive long in the absence of a pre-arranged political infrastructure to receive them and serve as their first local trainees. Morogoro Conference Decisions The Strategy and Tactics Document adopted at the First National Consultative Conference of the ANC in 1969, was the first comprehensive strategic guideline for our movement since the drafting of Operation Mayibuye by the National High Command. The 1969 document was obviously a development. Unlike Operation Mayibuye, it clearly saw the military strategy as forming part of, and being guided by, a broader political strategy to ensure that revolutionary battles were fought on all possible fronts, involving not just an army but the whole masses of the oppressed people. Probably Operation Mayibuye was never intended to be such a broad strategic perspective 23

For the whole revolution after all, particularly when we judge it by its extent of technical detail involving specific names of places and names of people, plans of implementation, appointments and promotions, transportations and supplies. The 1969 document went further also in placing the South African revolution within the international context, during the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. This piece of analysis radicalised the strategic perspective of the ANC more than any other official document or proclamation since 1912; and its consequence was the special place this strategy accorded to the working class. This approach was inevitable, anyway, insofar as any strategic perspective would be moving from insufficient, nay, false, premises, if it did not recognise that South Africa is above all else an industrial capitalist society. The fact that the 1969 document, like Operation Mayibuye, saw rural areas as the main theatre of guerrilla operations in the initial phase, did not alter our recognition of the fact that only the industrial proletariat can and should play the role of leader of the South African revolution. Combat Actions or General Uprising? The theoreticians of our military strategy were not planning for a general uprising, rather for guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare takes the form of combat actions: the destruction of enemy garrisons, command posts and personnel by the guerrillas. The theory of guerrilla warfare maintains that the enemy has to be attacked where he is weakest. It is this consideration, therefore, that gives the rural areas this strategic role, as the areas where the enemy's military structure is actually weak (in contrast to the cities where, in the initial period, the enemy is only potentially weak owing to the position of the proletariat in the production structure). Such a strategy therefore ensures that the enemy forces, which are concentrated in the cities, are dispersed and spread throughout the vast expanses of the countryside and the small towns, thereby transforming the cities from being potential to being actual weak links in the enemy's structure. We have always seen South Africa as a colony of a special type. The implication of this thesis is that the geographical positions occupied At funerals during the day the guard of honour holds toy guns. At night ...

by the Black people in the territory, despite the singleness of the country and State, are completely separate from those of the Whites. This is so not only in the rural areas because of the 1913 Land Act but also in the urban centres. When we think of Johannesburg (and correspondingly plan for urban warfare at the initial stages), we do not imagine the Black people living in the city as was the case with Nicaraguans, Iranians or even Russians in 1917. The Black people in South Africa stay in Soweto, which is tens of kilometres from the centre of the city. We do not attempt to think away this reality in our planning. And we are equally very conscious of the fact that true urban warfare in South Africa will take place, not in the Black ghettos, but in the cities' industrial heartland and suburbs. The building of Black townships so far from these cities was not accidental, but precisely for military purposes, in the event the oppressed attempt to rise up in arms against the regime. Our potential urban army is therefore encircled in the ghettos, it is fenced, it is surrounded by enemy military garrisons. We are allowed in the city only within certain hours of work.

Townships: Theatres of War This choice of the main theatre of guerrilla operations in the initial phase is therefore a matter based on specific military considerations rather than general political guidelines. Military strategy often has to consider certain specific details, like the actual strength of the enemy, problems of manoeuvrability, expansion and consolidation of areas. Military engagements, incidentally, are carried out with more mechanical precision than is required in staging a political demonstration or stay-away strike. Obviously, the assumption of this choice is that the rural population, where the guerrilla units are to be based, should have been sufficiently mobilised and organised politically. Only the practical existence of this assumption gives meaning to this approach, even if this should mean dispatching urban workers from trade unions and other political organisations to the rural areas to do this mobilisation and organisation work. We have never doubted that, given the topographical disadvantages of the South African terrain, the support of the people will offer better protection than mountains and forests. This thought underlines the approach of Operation Mayibuye as well as the 1969 Strategy and Tactics document. In fact, looking at the crux of the matter in military struggle, the opposing armies are fighting, ultimately, for the organised support of the people. Johnson Lubisi Petrus Mashigo Soldiers of MK given death sentences in November 1980, for an armed raid on Soekmekaar Police Station in the northern Transvaal, in January 1980. The sentences were later commuted to life imprisonment. 25

Face to face with the enemy: women attack. port of the people. The side that wins this support is guaranteed the final victory. Racist strategists endorse this view, as Lt-General C. A. Fraser, then O/C Joint Combat Forces of the SADF explained as way back as 1968: "The objective for both sides in a revolutionary war is the population itself. Military tactics are well and good, but they are really quite useless if the Government has lost the confidence of the people among whom it is fighting. And by the time their confidence has been lost, more armed force will cause the population to become more antagonistic." Actual events very often move faster than theory. While the 1969 document remained an adopted guideline, and ANC structures were correspondingly changed to give full play to it, political momentum in South Africa gathered with increasing speed. Taking Up the Torch It developed first among the university youth towards the end of the '60s, resulting in the formation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO), then followed the organisation of high school pupils in the beginning of the '70s. Simultaneously, there was a rapid growth of militancy within the Black trade union movement, culminating in the mass workers' strikes of 1973 in Natal. These events were indicators that a new phase in the struggle had been reached. The devastating apathy in the oppressed community that followed the Rivonia arrests had come to an end. A new generation of Black South Africans had now taken the torch, as heirs of that great tradition of resistance, from Cetshwayo to Mandela, from Moshoeshoe to Luthuli, from Makhanda to Tambo. That their political philosophy had an element of bitterness, it is true, but neither did they pretend that it was not there. It was, above all, a proud youth, tempered by racist conditions, and was therefore unwilling to witness or permit the gradual resolution of South Africa's problems. Like their forebears, these young people were prepared to pay any price, to bear any burden, to meet any hardship, to assure the survival of the people's struggle for freedom. For the African National Congress, the vanguard of this liberation struggle, which had already resolved that only political reconstruction of the movement within South Africa offers the only secure base for successful military organisation the youth in the independent trade unions offered this necessary base. The flowers of today were in the seeds of yesterday. The events of the '70s, especially those of 1976, were not deliberately organised by our movement, nor was our movement alone in initiating them. The study of our experience, however, during that decade yields ample proof that after the adoption of the 1969 Strategy and Tactics document, the ANC underground machinery was already at work within factories and academic institutions. The thousands of young people who left South Africa after the Soweto uprising found it a logical continuation of their struggle to join the African National Congress once they were in exile. Whereas the apartheid regime boasted that it had broken the back of the ANC, history was proving on the contrary that the ANC was alive and beaconing the masses of the South African people to freedom. The second part of this article will appear in a forthcoming issue of Sechaba. 26

THE REGIME MAKES WAR ON CHILDREN By M x, Pretoria's imposition of a nationwide State of Emergency, and its attendant regulations preventing media coverage of resistance in the country, initially met with a blaze of international publicity. But slowly, the regime's aim of stemming the information flow began to have its effect. One of the most sensitive areas for the racists in terms of international opinion has always been their enforcement of 'law and order.' The massive weight of state repression is very difficult to hide. Yet apartheid South Africa has found various ways to try and conceal not just the scale of state terror but also the impact of mass resistance. The judicial system and the myriad of repressive laws have been a most effective weapon in this respect. Pretoria's latest tactic has been to resort to charging political activists under common law. Charges of murder, arson and public violence are the order of the day. The aim is to criminalise resistance. Looking at official statistics, the untrained eye may well believe that the number of political trialists and prisoners has not in fact increased. People charged and sentenced under common law do not fall under this category. Judicial Whipping While it is difficult to take in the scale of the onslaught against our people, it is clear for all to see that the bulk of those branded as criminals by the regime are youth and young children. In March 1986 the punishment of whipping was extended to cover a number of 'criminal' offences. The regime has failed to give information on the number of people whipped - the figure is so large that it would not be in the interests of the regime to reveal it. Minister of Justice Coetzee avoided the issue by alleging that the figure "could only be obtained by examining the court records of all courts country-wide, which is not economically feasible." There is no doubt that the apartheid judicial system is reflecting the strains being felt by the apartheid state machine as a whole. It has been announced that another judge, as well as additional staff, are to be allocated to courts in the Eastern Cape, following a dramatic increase in their work load, which is reported to have risen by a third. Coetzee told reporters that these "short-term arrangements" would last for as long as there was political upheaval in the country. The long grind of the legal process, with its now routine risks of injury through assault and torture, has become a punishment in itself. In August of this year the Repression Monitoring Group (RMG) of Cape Town reported that more than 80% of people who had come to them for help with politically related cases in the past year were ultimately acquitted or had had their cases 27

dropped. The courts, the RMG alleged, are being used to attain objectives that actually bear little relation to the conviction of alleged perpetrators of 'crimes.' It seems that the amassing of information, as well as wearing down the resources and strength of people's organisations, are high priorities for the regime. No Legal Representation Lawyers have also spoken out against the disturbing trends which the imposition of Emergency regulations have accelerated. Krish Govender, secretary of the Democratic Lawyers' Association, revealed that lawyers had come across cases where emergency detainees had been asked to plead without legal representation. Two of those charged and convicted without the help of lawyers were minors, unaware of their rights. The passage of detainees through the courts is, according to Govender, a "sausage-machine type process." Under South African law, police and magistrates are not compelled to advise people facing charges that they have the right to legal representation. Youth and children are suffering the worst excesses of apartheid brutality. Labelled criminals and murderers by the regime, their fate has been monitored by a number of concerned organisations inside the country. During 1985, of the 18 996 people arrested for politically related offences, 13 556 were under 20 years old. Of those charged, 2 712 were not yet 16. A memorandum drawn up in March 1986 by women representing 14 voluntary organisations dealt with the fate of young detainees under the Emergency regulations of July 1985 to March 1986. They were aged 11 to 18. Out of a sample of 40 statements, it was found that 24 children had been assaulted by kicking, sjambokking, the use of fists, caning or slapping. Eight children had been subjected to forced exercise for long periods, and beaten when they tired. Children are not just suffering this brutal treatment as detainees. In February of this year, an eight-year-old boy, Amos Khubeka, was refused bail when he appeared on a charge of 'intimidation' in the Middelburg Magistrates' Court. When his family saw him in court, he was crying and had a huge bruise on his forehead. The case was postponed pending further investigation. Ten-Year Sentences Stiff sentences have been meted out to young people convicted of such crimes as 'stone-throwing.' In rural courts, pupils of only 15 and 16 years old have been facing sentences of up to ten years. This experience is, of course, repeated in the 'independent' bantustans. In Ciskei recently, two boys aged 12 and 14 were among a group of eight trialists who reportedly "conducted their own defence" on a charge of sabotage. Long-term incarceration of children, and its attendant problems, has become a major issue for the Department of Prisons of the regime. A departmental work group has been launched to pursue possible strategies "in the treatment of juveniles, recognising the need for their exposure to special programmes." A prototype programme for juveniles was approved in April 1986. A spokesman from the Prison Service proudly announced that, as from April 1st 1986, a separate prison at Leeuwkop, Transvaal, "was made available with the sole purpose of detaining and treating sentenced juveniles." The sinister implications of this development, as well as the reports of "re-absorption camps" for former young detainees, are very clear. As a certain Lieutenant-Colonel A Van Vuuren put it: "on the one hand it is fair to protect them from the negative influences of hardened criminals by means of separate detention, and on the other hand it presents an opportunity to influence the juveniles positively and equip them with such capabilities as will enable them to re-integrate with society." The racists, then, are set to win the hearts and minds of our youth. Like repressive regimes the world over, they will use arrest, torture, imprisonment and 'training and education' in this quest. What is clear is that, despite the difficulties thrown in the path of organisation and struggle by the State of Emergency, in spite of the thousands of criminal charges laid against activists, our youth and entire people are not cowed. Terrible crimes are being committed by the racists. Many are as yet unknown to us. Inside, South Africa, activists see it as their responsibility to monitor the extent of repression under the State of Emergency. It is a duty that also rests with the international community. The real criminals, and the nature of state terror in South Africa, must be relentlessly exposed. 28

THE ANC & OUR PEOPLE'S HEALTH By Johnny Sachs The First ANC Health Council Meeting took place in 1977. As a result, the ANC Medical Committee was formed, and, afterwards, regional health posts were set up in Mazimbu in Tanzania, and in Angola. The immediate aims of the Medical Committee were to satisfy the health needs of the many people - particularly young people - who were forced into exile as a result of the internal struggles of 1976, and to provide health care for our comrades in the Front Line States. In 1979, the Medical Committee became the Health Committee, signifying the active role required in health care delivery of different categories of health workers. The Health Committee had the objective of focusing attention and mobilising international opinion on the effects of apartheid on the health of the South African people and on the disparity between health services for the White minority and the Black majority in South Africa. It also had the task of formulating a health policy for the future in a non-racial, democratic South Africa. Policies for the Future The Second Health Council meeting in 1982 arose in response to the beginnings of the transfer of power to the people inside South Africa. It arose also in response to the need for an ANC health policy capable of fulfilling basic health needs as envisaged in the Freedom Charter. At this meeting the ANC accepted a policy embracing Primary Health Care. The policy of Primary Health Care, as adopted at the Alma- Typical apartheid hospital conditions. 29

Giving first aid to a tear gas victim at the May Day rally in Soweto. 1986. Ata Conference in 1978, is an approach to health care which is universally acceptable, is made easily accessible to all, and can be provided at costs affordable in any country. We intend to apply such a policy in South Africa. (At present, the Pretoria regime makes claims to be providing Primary Health Care, but under the restrictions of apartheid this health care is nothing more than a second-class health service for Blacks.) The Secretariat of the Department of Health - newly appointed, and broadened - now had the additional function of considering the implications of such a programme for the interrelationships between the health care workers and the people, as well as the interaction and roles of the different health care workers amongst themselves. Vanguard Health Movements In South Africa Meanwhile, in South Africa, the South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) and the voluntary Medical Association of South Africa (MASA), were taking a reactionary attitude. The National Medical and Dental Association (NAM-DA) was therefore formed with a non-racial policy aimed at providing a preventative health care service to all peoples in South Africa and with a declared awareness that there can be no equitable health service in an apartheid state. Simultaneously, the Association of Health Workers (AHW) was established to organise health workers and at the same time play a role in the political struggle against apartheid. In addition to these vanguard anti-apartheid movements in the health field, there are other progressive organisations developing in response to the acute needs within South Africa, such as the Detainees' Support Committees, as well as several journals. Not to be forgotten are the many individual health workers, who, at considerable risk, have continued to provide health care to the many injured and in hiding as a result of state aggression. In his opening address to the Third Health Council, on behalf of the NEC of the ANC, Comrade Nhlahla put the question of whether we were capable of leading the health workers of South Africa, who have done such a magnificent job under very difficult circumstances. The ANC was concerned that the Department of Health needed to provide leadership and be in a position to respond to events in the country. It must synchronise with internal structures, both at the political and service level, and develop an ongoing policy of helping to sustain and support recent and new developments within the country. It must be ready to be abreast of the current health needs of its own personnel and the refugees from apartheid, on a much more rational and comprehensive pattern than hitherto. Of paramount importance is the projection of the health policies as envisaged in the Freedom Charter both internationally and at home. This, then, is the background to the Third Health Council of the Department of Health of the ANC. Preparation and Organisation Before the Third Health Council, a preparatory committee was established, consisting of the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of the Health Secretariat, one representative of the regional health teams in Angola, Zambia and Tanzania, and one additional member. Delegates were 30

elected from all the regional health centres and various individual health workers were invited from different parts of the world. Observers from the NEC and Department of Information were constantly in attendance. Documents were prepared by the preparatory committee and submitted to the regional health teams in Africa some months before the meeting. Further recommendations from the region were then returned to the committee, and all such papers were made available to each participant. To ensure the proper functioning of the Council meeting, a steering committee was established on the first morning. A hard-working and efficient secretarial infrastructure was mobilised on site which allowed the presentation of summaries and final reports in a very short time. All papers submitted were extensively discussed paragraph by paragraph, and a consensus report was drawn up by designated rapporteurs and resubmitted for acceptance by the plenary session. The cornerstone of the meeting was the Commissions, which were given the task of deliberating upon and formulating policies in four separate but overlapping areas - the structure of the Health Council, the training and deployment of personnel, health policy and its implementation and health mobilisation. This article will be confined to discussions and resolutions arising from the first two of these.

Structure of the Department The commission on the structure of the Department, although mindful of different roles and responsibilities for individual regional health teams, was acutely aware of the need to provide the best possible care and attention for all cadres within the region. The Health Council is the policy-formulating body which consists of the Secretariat and regional representatives. It meets every five years, or in extraordinary session. The Department of Health consists of the Secretariat and the Regional Health Teams. The Health Secretariat consists of the Secretary for Health, the Administrative Secretary, the Information and Publicity Officer, the Personnel Officer, the Community Health Programme Officer and the Supplies and Drugs Officer. The roles of all these officers were carefully defined, and particular emphasis was laid on their responsibilities. General guidelines for the Secretariat included the concept of collective decisions and accountability. Baragwanath Hospital nurses fighting for an end to racial discrimination, for better pay and working conditions. 31

Regional Health Teams consist of all health workers in each region, which elect a Regional Health Committee consisting of the Head, the Secretary and two to five committee members. The prime considerations of the teams are to cater for the needs of the ANC members, to be responsible for the deployment and utilisation of both personnel and materials, and to sustain political and educational needs of the health workers. To effect this, the Regional Health Committees are instructed to meet four times a year with their health teams and submit quarterly reports to the Department of Health. Special functions of the health team abroad include arranging training places and funding for health workers at teaching centres; supporting and encouraging local and international solidarity groups; preparing research, information and educational materials and helping to organise specialist health care for ANC workers. Special attention will be given to co-ordinating activities with other regional and national structures of the movement.

Health Workers - Political Cadres The commission for training and deployment recalled the words of the President of the ANC: "The distinctive feature of the revolutionary cadre is a high level of discipline, dedication and courage in carrying out the tasks assigned by the movement ... " Accordingly, one of the recommendations was that any cadre recruited must be dedicated and disciplined and must possess the necessary requirements for entry into health and medical institutions. As Primary Health Care has been adopted as our policy, health workers must be trained to deliver health services to all our committees. This necessitates working closely with the Education Department to overcome the system of bantu education and thus enable more comrades to receive formal training. On-the-job training must not be an alternative to comprehensive training courses. Thus a closer interaction between the National Scholarship Committee, the Manpower Development Committee and the Health Secretariat must be established. Political instruction and discussion classes should be built into the curriculum of every training course. Health workers receiving training elsewhere should be versed in ANC health policy and programmes, and in the history and politics of health care in South Africa and health care systems in other revolutionary countries such as Nicaragua, Cuba and Mozambique. During and after training, students must be mobilised and campaign against apartheid health services in their area of study. They should foster and maintain contact with solidarity groups and international organisations. Graduates must work under the auspices of the movement for at least two years to gain professional experience before they can be considered for further specialisation. All certificates of completing students must be sent to headquarters, although the emphasis is directed towards the political motivation and commitment of the individual. In the matter of deployment, while individual preferences should be taken into consideration, the requirements of the movement and the demands of the struggle necessitate that the Health Secretariat and other relevant bodies determine where cadres should be deployed. At the same time conditions of work must provide an environment that is conducive to both the work and the leisure of the cadre. The commission felt that there was a need for improved mutual co-operation between the secretariat and its regions. At the individual level, mutual respect between senior and junior members of all committees, and a high level of accountability, were essential to proper functioning. Elections The Health Secretariat was elected by secret ballot. Each delegate present was allowed and encouraged to vote for ten individuals; all representatives at the council were eligible and had to be available for election. Eleven comrades were elected, and from among them, seven of the portfolios mentioned above will be filled. So many full-time functionaries will have to really 'produce the goods' to the Health Council, the Regional Health Teams, the ANC members and the liberation struggle inside South Africa. The Department of Health has also undertaken the regular publication of Impilo, which will reflect and represent our policies and guidelines. 32