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THE WAY FORWARD FROM SOWETO!

**The Political Report of the Central Committee of the
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INTRODUCTION

The historic events of the past few years have transformed Southern Africa into a major storm centre of the global battle against imperialism and racism. In every part of our sub-continent people's forces stand poised to make fresh advances in the struggle for national and social emancipation. And the issues involved in the conflict are of prime importance not only for Southern Africa and the continent as a whole, but also for the wider contest between world reaction and world progress.

In Angola and Mozambique the people's victories are being consolidated by a continuing struggle against internal and external reaction, and by measures which aim to lay the basis for a socialist society free of all forms of exploitation of man by man.

In Zimbabwe imperialist-backed manoeuvres to avert people's power have suffered a setback and new conditions which make possible a more united and sustained armed assault on the illegal Smith régime are emerging.

In Namibia the attempt to transform the country into another of South Africa's Bantustans through bogus constitutional conferences has been answered by the stepping-up of armed initiatives against the racist occupying power.

In South Africa itself in the recent period, new and more favourable conditions of struggle have emerged, reflected in the heightened spirit of revolutionary defiance shown in the Soweto and post-Soweto period, laying the basis for further advances by the liberation forces.

The unfolding of the stirring revolutionary processes in the various sectors of our sub-continent cannot be explained fully by isolating considerations of one area from another. It is clear, for example, that the dramatic victories of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique have had a profound inspirational effect on the fighting spirit of South Africa's oppressed people, and have also created more positive external conditions for our own liberation movement. It is, on the other hand, equally clear that the continuing external threat to the gains of the Angolan and Mozambican revolutions will be effectively reduced by an increased tempo in our own liberation struggle for the eventual destruction of the racist régime. In this sense the freedom drive in Southern Africa remains indivisible. **Any relaxation of the momentum in any of the areas of conflict thus benefits only the common enemy.**

Recent history confirms the vital connection between the drive for liberation in any particular region, and the world-wide coalition of anti-imperialist forces, and, more particularly, with the socialist world community. There is an in-

separable link between revolutionary nationalism and Proletarian internationalism. A full appreciation of the revolutionary processes in our sub-continent and in our country, has therefore, as one of its starting points, an understanding of the nature of the world-wide struggle against imperialism and for peace and socialism.

INTERNATIONAL

1977 is the year of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The birth of the first working class state, its growth and development, are undoubtedly the most significant factors in the shaping of modern history of all mankind. The sixty years since the Soviet proletariat led by the CPSU took power have been years of unprecedented advance in the world-wide struggle against fascism, imperialism and racism, for peace, national liberation and socialism. There is no country where socialism is today being constructed, no country which has broken the grip of direct imperialist control, and no movement which is now fighting for national independence and social advance, which does not owe its achievements partly to the direct and indirect influence of this powerful citadel of the socialist world community.

The growing strength of that community, and its moral and practical commitments to the peoples' struggles everywhere have changed the balance of forces. The capacity of the imperialists to call the tune in the colonial and formerly colonial world is weakened and no longer supreme. Vietnam and Angola stand as the proof of the unconquerable force of a heroic national struggle when backed by that proletarian internationalism.

The imperialist West, of which South Africa is a vital constituent, is plagued by financial and economic crisis deeper than any since the early 1930s. The burden of this crisis is thrown mainly on the working people through rising unemployment and galloping inflation. In contrast, the socialist community, achieving ever greater success in socialist construction, records a consistent improvement in the quality of life of its peoples.

The contrast between these two world systems has not been lost on the millions whose countries have loosened the grip of imperialist control in the past few decades. Faced with a choice of a path for development, those countries seek, however uncertainly, for socialist solutions to their problems of economic, political and cultural backwardness which are the legacies of centuries of foreign domination.

The policy of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist sectors of the world was pioneered by the great Lenin. The consistent steps taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for the implementation of the Peace Programme of the 25th Congress of the CPSU reached a significant peak in the Helsinki Final Accord. It is the urgent task of all progressive forces to continue to mobilise world public opinion for the deepening of the current process of detente, to make it irreversible and extend it to military detente in order to consolidate peace and international security.

In the struggle to achieve lasting peace, more vigorous actions are needed on an international scale to end the arms race and bring about general and complete disarmament. Indeed, it is precisely during this period of the growing process of

international detente that the peoples' struggles for national liberation and social progress—armed and unarmed—have made significant advances against reaction and imperialism.

In Europe the fascist juntas of Portugal and Greece have been overthrown and there has been a historical breakthrough in Spain for the Communist and progressive forces in the struggle against fascism and for democracy. There has been a new growth of strength in the working class and democratic movements in countries like Italy and France. In other capitalist countries, too, there has been a steady growth in the strength of the working class and democratic forces. And in Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau there have been inspiring demonstrations that imperialism's capacity to achieve its aims through its traditional means of open aggression and war are strictly limited. Nevertheless, imperialism still retains great reserves of strength, and powerful forces within it still work unceasingly for a return to policies of international confrontation by force or the threat of force.

In the Middle East US imperialism continues to maintain tension by rendering all-round military and other assistance to the Israeli Zionist aggressive forces. It creates obstacles towards the achievement of a peace settlement which would ensure the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories and guarantee the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. In Chile, despite growing people's resistance the Pinochet fascist junta remains in power, as a result of continued imperialist support.

Once again the policy of the Maoist clique in China has proved to serve the interests of reaction and imperialism. In complete and shameless violation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Maoists continue their rabid anti-Sovietism and to openly ally themselves with Vorster racism in South Africa and imperialism, as in Chile, Angola and more recently in the intervention in Zaire.

In order to undermine the alliance of the world-wide democratic, national and working class movements with the socialist countries, reaction seeks to spread confusion through the theories of "objectivity" and "neutralism" which are calculated to equate socialist mutual defence alliances with those treaties created by imperialism for aggressive purposes. Our Party believes that any such theories which ignore the class basis of the world alignment of forces serves only to advance the interests of imperialism, and to slow down democratic or socialist progress everywhere. In the same way, we believe that the carefully orchestrated current campaign against socialism in general, and the Soviet Union especially, serves only the interests of imperialism. In this campaign, too, the questions of "human rights" and "dissidents" are presented without any regard to the class basis of the issue or the societies, and are aimed at seducing people from the anti-imperialist camp into the service of imperialism against the peoples' advance.

We believe, too, that it is vital to give effective expression to the world-wide unity of the Communist and Workers' Movement through the holding of an international conference which will elaborate the common tasks in the common struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism. There is no conflict whatsoever between participation in organised international proletarian solidarity actions and the effective carrying out of our tasks in the South African revolu-

tion. Indeed, experience has taught us that far from being a source of conflict, our close and fraternal association with the world socialist forces, and especially the Soviet Union, has broadened rather than narrowed our ability to take effective and independent action in our own situation.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

The fact that imperialism is no longer able to impose its will by traditional methods does not mean that it has abandoned its drive to dominate, control and exploit the world's labour and economic resources. But it does mean that, in many areas, it is being forced to find new ways to achieve this purpose. Southern Africa is one such area; and the past year has revealed with great clarity reaction's search for new methods to slow down, or put a halt to, the revolutionary process.

In our sub-continent the whole geography of struggle has been altered by the establishment of peoples' power in Angola and Mozambique. In Angola's Second War of Liberation Vorster's racist troops, backed by foreign mercenaries and local puppets, were defeated. This was an event of profound importance not only for the Angolan people led by MPLA, but also for the wider struggles against imperialism and racism in Africa. The defeat is a watershed in the history of Africa, because for the first time, massive imperialist intervention was frustrated by the heroic struggle of the popular masses with the aid of direct support forces from the socialist world. Imperialism's gendarme in Southern Africa, Vorster, thus received clear notice that his plans for aggression against neighbouring states may not be carried out with impunity. And his boasts of invincibility of the racist forces received a rude blow at the hands of our Angolan brother-liberation movement, inspiring our oppressed with new confidence in our own ability to triumph.

The events in Southern Africa have yet another significance: they have thrown into sharp contrast the differences between real people's power and neocolonial "solutions", between real liberation of the masses and "liberation" of an elitist minority dependent on imperialist patronage. In short, the events focused attention everywhere on the choice between a revolutionary nationalism which leads to social emancipation, and a nationalism which serves a small class of exploiters and puts the nation in pawn to international capital. This choice is highlighted by recent decisions taken by the successful revolutionary forces of both Angola and Mozambique to create vanguard parties based on the working people, which will prepare the conditions for building socialist societies.

Both MPLA and FRELIMO have always recognised that the struggle for the aims of the national revolution does not end with the hoisting of a new national flag and the appointment of a local administration of a different colour. They regard these steps as providing the base from which they can continue the struggle for full economic independence, and from which to prevent the fruits of their sacrifice being stolen by an indigenous exploiting class claiming to act in the name of the "people" and the "nation". MPLA and FRELIMO recognise two universal historical truths: that the motive force of history is class struggle; and that the working people need a vanguard party based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism to ensure that state power in the post-liberation era becomes

an instrument for eventually achieving full emancipation within a framework of socialism.

In many other parts of our continent international capitalism has managed to re-enter through the back door and has imposed new forms of domination and control. The inconsistent attitude of some of these states towards imperialist manoeuvres, and towards compromise with racist and minority régimes in the unliberated areas, is not the result of ideological confusion; it reflects pressure from emerging groups and classes which have tied themselves economically to imperialism in their aspirations to build "home-grown" capitalism. Such classes stand in fear of truly revolutionary nationalism which aims to eradicate not just the form but also the substance of colonial and neocolonial exploitation, and thus the economic base which makes such exploitation possible.

In Zimbabwe, the divisions within the liberation forces have always been encouraged and exploited by reactionary circles. As a result, ZAPU, the ANC's closest ally, has been faced with many serious difficulties in its efforts to advance the people's cause. The attitudes of the individual frontline states towards the competing liberation groups have been of prime importance and have influenced the general pace of the Zimbabwean conflict. The recent close collaboration between these states has made a positive contribution to the Zimbabwean question. We should, however, remember that the frontline alliance is between countries at different levels of economic independence. Within each of these countries the specific correlation of class forces has a bearing on the degree of commitment to radical transformation in Southern Africa as a whole. This helps to explain some of the weaknesses and ambiguities in the approach of certain of the frontline states to the struggle against Smith. Recent developments suggest that, within the alliance, those who reject unprincipled compromise with the racist régime have gained the ascendancy.

But this will not end imperialism's efforts to use its positions of influence in Central and Southern Africa and other parts of the continent to impede progress towards real people's power in Zimbabwe. With the effective breakdown of the Geneva talks, the first phase of the Kissinger initiative has ended in failure. There is now greater cause for optimism that the struggle against the illegal Smith régime will be continued with renewed vigour as a result of the emergence of the Patriotic Front, recognised by the OAU.

In Namibia Vorster and his allies have had very little success in their attempts to set up rival "national movements", to divide and weaken the people's forces. SWAPO stands unchallenged as the leader in the struggle of the Namibian people for immediate independence, its position recognised by the OAU and the United Nations. Its liberation forces have stepped up armed action against the racist occupying power, refusing to be diverted from this task by the Turnhalle attempts to transform Namibia into another South African Bantustan.

In general, it is clear that the events of the recent period, including an unprecedented upsurge of political militancy in our own country, have brought about new and more favourable conditions for advancing the struggle against colonialism and racism in the whole of our sub-continent.

Sensing the menace to itself from the growing revolutionary pressures in all of Southern Africa, imperialism continued its manoeuvres to achieve settlements

which would effectively perpetuate foreign and minority domination under new guises. The latest attempts centre around the Carter-Owen initiatives to pressurise the frontline states and the liberation movements to accept such solutions. These initiatives come in the wake of the Southern African tour by Presidents Podgorny and Castro. Their triumphant reception by the government and the peoples of Southern Africa has created a new sense of panic in the corridors of racist and imperialist power.

Vorster and his imperialist allies use a variety of weapons to win over indigenous groups for policies whose main aim is to prevent revolutionary advance. They pose as supporters of "majority rule" and as opponents of "racism". They channel financial and material aid—often through revolutionary-sounding funds and foundations—to selected "liberation" groups. They work subtly to divert young militants away from liberation movements, and attempt to capture them ideologically by generous offers of study places in western institutions.

In general, these urgent activities are evidence of the heightened crisis of imperialism and minority domination in the whole of Southern Africa. There is clear recognition that the all-round ferment in the area makes it impossible for reaction to continue ruling in the old way for much longer. In response to this reality, imperialism is forced to take initiatives with which they hope to trap the revolutionary forces, but which at the same time also generate renewed militant responses from the people.

The task of destroying the remains of minority and foreign domination in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia rests with the people of these countries led by their liberation movements. **It is they, and they alone, who bear the ultimate responsibility for deciding the objectives of their struggles, the strategy needed to reach those objectives and the acceptability or otherwise of any proposed settlements.** The contribution of states in Africa whose solidarity can help enormously to speed the liberation drive will be all the more effective if the initiatives they take are, in the first place, guided by the considered advice and judgment of the movements who bear such responsibility.

SOUTH AFRICA

The key to the future of the whole of Southern Africa and, indeed, the whole of our continent, is the liberation of South Africa itself. It is this question which dominates the thinking and actions of Vorster, and of world reaction which stands at his side. Their tactics in the sub-continent are undoubtedly guided by the desire to "save" South Africa for the west; and today they work more urgently than ever to block any revolutionary advance in this main citadel of imperialism on the African continent. They do so, however, against the background of improved prospects of internal struggle brought about by changes in the Southern African situation and by the stirring events of the past year inside our own country.

The minority régime in South Africa faces a crisis of considerable magnitude, which found dramatic expression in the upsurge which hit the world headlines in June 1976. The Soweto and connected events clearly demonstrate the new mood of revolutionary militancy which grips the mass of our people. Our youth

have shown unambiguously their readiness to sacrifice and, if need be, to die in the struggle against minority régime. Our strong and experienced working class responded magnificently to calls for political general strikes which involved about a quarter of a million workers since June 1976 and inflicted great damage on the economy. In the Cape the coloured youth and workers joined hands with the African brothers at a time when the régime is trying desperately to drive a wedge between them.

A most significant feature of this upsurge is the persistence with which the youth in particular maintained their revolutionary buoyancy in the face of the régime's response to the Soweto revolt, which was perhaps more vicious than any in our modern history of struggle. The mass killings on the streets, the torture and murder in the jails, and the administrative actions against all forms of opposition, have been more intensive than in the post-Sharpeville and post-Rivonia periods. Yet the terror has not, on this occasion, created a mood of defeatism or submission; on the contrary, all the signs show that the spirit of defiance and the search for ways of hitting the enemy continue.

The Road to Soweto

The events in what has become known as the Soweto revolt are not isolated happenings; they have their roots in the crisis which has been building up at every level of the socio-economic structure. South Africa has suffered not only from the general crisis of the imperialist west, of which it is part, but also from the special contradictions inherent in the apartheid framework.

Inflation is rampant, but it hits the overwhelming black majority with an especially vicious effect. Unemployment is rising, but its scale among the oppressed majority is vast, with estimates of two million black unemployed by the end of this year. Developments in Southern Africa put at risk South Africa's supply of foreign contract labour for its mines. Industry suffers from a shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour, which arises directly from the historically-based restrictions on black entry into most levels of skilled operations. Vorster's aggressive aims in Southern Africa and the mobilisation of greater force against the liberation movement continue to bleed away economic resources into military expenditure, this year increased to over one thousand six hundred million rand. Periodic rises in the adverse balance of trade, falls in the financial reserves, and a dangerous slowing down in the rate of economic growth, are all symptoms of serious economic instability. And, as admitted by the régime, the political crisis since June has, in turn, reacted back on the economic situation to further increase the régime's difficulties.

From the early 1970s the black working class responded to deteriorating economic conditions and to the growing gap between white and black incomes by strike action in every part of the country, involving hundreds of thousands of workers. Long before Soweto, the youth engaged in sporadic acts of defiance in the schools and in the universities. And in the country areas many acts of resistance were recorded against the régime's population resettlement policy, which empowers it to remove settled African communities from one part of the country to another.

The intensity of the Soweto events reflect the development over the years of

these basic people's reactions to the growing crisis of apartheid. At the political level, unbroken efforts by our Party and the whole liberation movement, headed by the ANC, maintained that spirit of resistance, and helped lay the foundation for the growth of the heightened revolutionary mood which is in evidence. And, amongst large numbers of the new militants thrown up by the activities, there is a growing awareness of the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism and a search for the correct politics of social revolution.

Soweto Assessed

What happened in the streets of South Africa from June 1976, including industrial supporting actions by large sections of the workers, is relatively well known. **There is no doubt that, taken as a whole, the Soweto events have opened a new chapter in the history of the revolutionary struggle.**

As always, during popular upsurges, the people themselves "provide an astonishing amount of new material for an appraisal of the slogans of revolutionary parties" (Lenin, *Selected Works*, p. 457).

The inventiveness and ingenuity of the youth in particular showed boundless revolutionary imagination. Throughout the period, tactics were varied and new forms of maintaining the pressure were found. At the beginning, the children of Soweto simply faced police bullets and flushed away the tear-gas with water, or bravely hurled back the cannisters. Later, more sophisticated actions were evolved.

The youth soon learnt the folly of facing Vorster's terrorists in the open streets in large numbers and they switched to operating in small groups under the cover of darkness. Many police vehicles and "Hippoes" were ambushed and destroyed. Barricades were erected to slow down the enemy and to provide cover in time of attack. Home-made incendiary devices were quickly in evidence. The people also turned their attention to the government collaborators amongst them and to the police informers. The organised destruction of property which symbolised the racist system of oppression was carried out by well-planned actions of small organised units.

There was an early recognition by the youth that to succeed they needed to mobilise the support of their parents and the mass of the workers, and this culminated in the three stirring solidarity strikes by the working class in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The young demonstrators learnt to use the tactic of subterfuge to take the struggle out of the black township and to show the people's anger right in the heart of cities like Cape Town. There, the whole population had a taste of the savagery and brutality of the racist armed forces. This tactic was quickly taken up by the youth of Soweto who, despite the ubiquitous BOSS network, secretly assembled at strategic points and marched on John Vorster Square, taking the police by surprise.

There were periods during the upsurge during which the racist law-enforcement agencies were partly paralysed, making pass raids and rent collection impossible, and making it dangerous for Bantu administration officials, isolated groups of policemen, etc., to walk the streets or to have any contact with the people.

Soweto closed the debate about the legitimacy of resorting to the armed

struggle. It made it abundantly clear to the world and the racist régime that our people have reached a stage where they are no longer prepared to behave like sheep led to the slaughter-house; they are no longer prepared to let other people decide their fate as if they were inanimate objects.

Like the Angolan intervention, the Soweto revolt exposed the vulnerability of the South African ruling clique. Whilst Angola destroyed the myth of the South African military invincibility, Soweto demolished the myth that the government's security forces are able to destroy the people's revolutionary spirit.

An indelible mark has been made on the revolutionary and political consciousness of our people by the Soweto events. They raised the level of the people's preparedness and willingness to sacrifice to a higher level, enhancing enormously the striking power of the liberation movement.

Soweto—Some Important Questions

But it is necessary to assess carefully the significance of these events, and to deal with certain questions which are relevant to the future conduct of our struggle.

Who organised and led the upsurge? Was it only a youth revolt or did it involve wider class forces? What was the role of the ideology of black consciousness? Why did the organised liberation movement not arm the people, and so transform the street confrontations into effective insurrection? Were the conditions ripe for a successful nationwide revolutionary assault, needing only the element of more effective revolutionary leadership? These are the questions being discussed both inside and outside our movement, by some who seek to learn from the experience of the events, and by others who wish to use them only to smear and belittle the liberation movement.

Yet it is our duty to face and answer these questions without any defensiveness against reactionary snipers, black or white. We must be on our guard, too, against emotional and immature approaches which confuse analysis with propaganda and which avoid a frank discussion of some of the objective and subjective limitations of these events, for fear that such a discussion will diminish the scale of the people's heroism and sacrifice and underestimate their potential for future revolutionary advance. On the contrary, we believe that an awareness of these limitations will equip us all the better to channel and increase the intensity of the new revolutionary energies which have undoubtedly emerged.

We have already said that the conditions which triggered off the Soweto events had their roots in a growing socio-economic crisis. But it is necessary to be clear on the magnitude of this crisis and to be more precise on the extent of the people's responses to it. It is important, then, to note the following inter-related factors:

(a) Despite the difficulties experienced by the enemy's law enforcement agencies in a few of the townships, the enemy and the organs of the state power were not in such a state of collapse or disruption that the capacity of the ruling class to act cohesively and to contain militant actions had been broken. The action of a revolutionary movement, however well organised, are not sufficient **on their own** to create a classical revolutionary situation. This, as Lenin has said, comes about through the maturing of special

objective and subjective factors.

(b) The actions themselves, although widely spread, were neither altogether nation-wide in character nor did they involve the mass of the rural people. In two of the major urban centres, those around Johannesburg and Cape Town, the workers responded in large numbers, but primarily as an act of solidarity, without raising any independent demands on the issue of state power. The relatively weak response from the countryside reflects a very low level of rural liberation organisation. In the towns, too, the limited response in many areas (Natal, Eastern Cape and the OFS were relatively quiet) suggests an urgent need to improve levels of political and economic organisation, and of mobilisation, especially at the point of production.

(c) The people remain unarmed, and this fact obviously reduces the possibility of transforming the demonstration into an effective assault on state power.

(d) The political general strike has a prime place in our revolutionary tactics. It is, however, fallacious to believe that, in the absence of general insurrectionary conditions, the working class can be expected to "starve" the ruling class into political submission by protracted withdrawal of labour. We remain convinced that in the appropriate conditions, generalised industrial action will be one of the most decisive factors in the struggle for people's power.

The question remains: why after sixteen years in which we have prepared for armed struggle was the armed wing of the liberation movement unable to arm the people, or to ensure that the popular demonstrations would be combined with effective armed activity against the régime's army and police force?

The movement of which we are part has never been shy to examine critically its weaknesses, mistakes or failure. In previous analyses of the history of our attempts to begin armed struggle, we focused attention on these weaknesses, some of which continued into the recent period and undoubtedly limited our movement's ability to rise more effectively to the occasion. But mistakes apart, it is clear that the most serious obstacle to this aspect of our policy has been the extremely difficult and unfavourable internal and external conditions in which we have been forced to operate.

We have already stressed that radical changes in Southern Africa have substantially altered the geography of our struggle. This factor, together with the qualitatively new mood of defiance and resistance within our country, has undoubtedly created radically new and more favourable conditions for armed activity. But such activity cannot arise simply through overnight response to a changed political situation. Perhaps this problem can be more clearly understood if we recall that it was only its own experience in the Soweto and post-Soweto events themselves which taught the new generation of fighting youth the need to become part of an organised national liberation force, the need to create well-organised underground networks, and the need to learn the skills required if the enemy is to be dealt with effectively. To translate all this into new levels of revolutionary practice needs new effort and preparation by our liberation movement. In this sense the Soweto events have become an important launching pad for raising the struggle to a new level; **the events could not, in themselves, have**

been transformed into a successful all-round armed uprising even if adequate stocks of weapons had been available. We must not play with the idea of an armed uprising by treating it as a question only of logistics and organisation. Nor could the slogan "Arm the people", which has such a revolutionary ring, have had real meaning in the absence of prior preparation of organised liberation-military structures within the country. The absence of these structures **in sufficient strength** when Soweto erupted is not the result of ineffective planning; it is more closely connected with the adverse conditions in which such planning had to take place in the pre-Soweto decade.

Peoples' armed conflict is a protracted process. Even though conditions now exist for the struggle to be extended enormously, we must not be tempted by the passion and excitement of the moment to spread a dangerous and damaging illusion that it will be short and swift. The enemy, backed by imperialism, still possesses considerable strength and resources. There is no doubt, however, that the new situation has brought closer than ever before the possibility of an effective beginning to the armed struggle. And there is already public evidence that units of Umkhonto we Sizwe have begun to act against the enemy.

Soweto and our Liberation Movement

What was the link between the Soweto upsurge and our liberation movement, and its long traditions of sacrifice and resistance? On the one hand, the régime has repeatedly claimed that the demonstrations were manipulated by "agitators" connected with the ANC and our Party. On the other hand, some critics of our movement totally deny the influence of its organised underground and its ideology on the events.

The demonstration of June 16 was called by SASM, a national school-student organisation which had been campaigning for some years on the issue of Bantu education. But it is clear that what started as a protest by school students against the government's educational policies soon extended to broader sections of the people and advanced wider demands. Although it remained essentially a youth revolt, it would be wrong to see it in purely generational terms, as if youth constitute an independent social force separate from the basic line-up of national and class forces. Such an approach is neither factually correct nor does it help to understand the role of the students in the coming struggle for people's power. Already, some are insisting that this new force of "student power" will lead the people to victory. This same kind of theoretical confusion was spread after the 1968 French events when it was claimed that students now stand in the vanguard of the revolution and that a contradiction exists between the "revolutionism" of the students and the "conservatism" and "moderation" of the older generations including the working class.

The overwhelming majority of those who organised and took part in the demonstrations came from working class homes and they were encouraged in their actions by their parents. Many of the teachers played an important supporting role. Amongst those who participated in the street confrontations from the very beginning were substantial numbers of non-students including thousands of unemployed working youth. Figures provided by the Johannesburg state pathologist on those killed by the police between June 18 and August 18 in the

Johannesburg-West Rand area showed that approximately 50 per cent were over 20 years of age, and 20 per cent were over 30 years of age. A major high point of the action were the three protest strikes in the six weeks between August and the middle of September. When the full saga of Soweto can be recorded without concern for security, it will be shown that soon after the initial demonstration, the whole Soweto community became involved in the ferment.

SASM itself was at all times an independent organisation. Although SASO influenced its formation, it was not run by SASO, the BPC or our liberation front, even though the ideological influences of all three organisations were present amongst its leaders. We have already noted that what started as a successful protest against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction soon expressed some of the broader aims of the national democratic revolution. The placards and slogans began to reflect the basic questions of race oppression and peoples' power. The ANC's slogan of **Amandla!** became an important password to distinguish friend from foe in the streets of struggle. From the early stages there is evidence that some of SASM's leaders turned to known activists of the ANC for advice and co-ordination. Since then, many more have joined the ranks of the liberation movement and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. During this period the ANC, through its propaganda apparatus and in other ways, helped mobilise supporting actions including a call in support of the strikes.

This brief outline is not advanced in order to suggest that the ANC organised or led the upsurge. Indeed, as it developed, the revolt showed the marks of all popular upsurges which usually combine organised actions with others which are spontaneous and semi-spontaneous. Nor is it intended to claim that our Underground had achieved such a peak of strength that it was able to provide the necessary leadership at all the points of eruption. But it is clear that, both historically and in the more immediate sense, the ANC-led resistance movement was an important cornerstone of the upsurge. Its leadership in the immediate future will be the key factor in consolidating and advancing the revolutionary energies which have emerged. Certainly, Vorster and his allies have no illusions on this score. And this explains the heightened campaign of terror against the ANC Underground and the increased attempts to isolate it externally.

The Role of Black Consciousness

We have, in a previous document, emphasised that the term "black consciousness" does not, in itself, express a coherent programme or a strategy, of struggle, still less a systematic ideology. Those who claim to be its adherents do not belong to a common organisation and they express a wide range of conflicting definitions of its content. Its very vagueness, organisationally and ideologically, makes it difficult to give complete answers about its impact on the Soweto upsurge.

But vague as it is, black consciousness undoubtedly acted as an inspiration to some patriots who understood it as a general assertion of national identity, pride and confidence, as a healthy response to the insulting arrogance of the white supremacists, and as a contribution to the psychological liberation of the African people. Understood in this way, it expresses an approach which was pioneered by the African National Congress and our Party and developed in the course of revolutionary practice. The mobilisation of the national energies of the black

oppressed remains an indispensable weapon in the hands of the liberation movement. In this sense black consciousness is a vital constituent of the ideology of our liberation struggle. **It certainly acted as a "conscientising" agent and contributed to the revitalised surge of national feeling, especially amongst the youth.**

But as a substitute for scientific social analysis, and as an alternative to the ideology of our liberation front, it becomes a harmful demagogic cliché. (Who is a patriot, Matanzimia or Bram Fischer?) Those who apply the concept in this way see the forces ranged against one another in our struggle only in colour compartments and they ignore the special character of the economic and class basis of South African facism. They fail to provide any guidelines for a real strategy of social change, on the fundamental nature of the forces (including black forces) from whom the enemy hopes to win collaboration, and the character of those classes and groups which can be neutralised or mobilised in favour of the liberation struggle. Used in place of genuine revolutionary doctrine, black consciousness is a misleading ideology and weakens the cause which it purports to serve—the cause of national liberation. Recent events in Southern Africa—in Angola and elsewhere—have shown once again that merely paying lip-service to black nationalism is not the same as advancing the national cause and it is often a camouflage for those whose actions serve the enemy. The Savimbis and the Robertos trumpeted very loudly about their "black nationalism" in their efforts to discredit the MPLA's principled adherence to non-racialism.

An ideology which proclaims colour as its sole foundation can more easily obscure the real issues because of its highly charged emotional content. For this reason black consciousness cannot appropriately express the vigorous revolutionary nationalism of our liberation movement.

Black Collaboration

The internal situation continues to be a political powder-keg. The sustained resistance and the peoples' militant mood are aggravating the political and economic difficulties of the ruling class which is searching for ways of diverting the revolutionary pressures. The primary weapons against the people and our liberation movement remain brute force and administrative terror. But there is also an attempt to take measures and to use language which give the appearance of a retreat from aspects of race discrimination whilst leaving undisturbed, and even reinforcing, the main framework of race and economic exploitation.

In this way, the ruling class hopes to reduce external pressures and, in the language of counter-insurgency, to win the battle for the hearts and minds of the people. But the enemy's strategy is not confined to sweet talk and petty reforms—both of which have so far made little impression. It hopes also to win the collaboration of groups amongst the oppressed whose economic and social status give them an interest in preventing a genuine revolutionary change.

A key element in this strategy is the creation in the Bantustan neocolonies of an administrative élite and a class of petty capitalists entirely dependent on the racist state and its exploitative designs. In so-called white South Africa, whilst the massacres in the streets continue, a number of "liberal" concessions have been made to win the support of the black middle class. Some restrictions on the business operations of Indian and coloured traders have been eased. The govern-

ment has promised more facilities for African traders in the black townships. An Indian bank and an African bank have been established, both in partnership with existing banking institutions. Certain of the limitations on black home ownership have been lifted.

The various black Chambers of Commerce have established close links with their white counterparts. At the political level institutions have been created—the Coloured Representative Council, the South African Indian Council, and lately, the Inter-Cabinet Council—which aim to involve upper-crust blacks in apartheid administration. The purpose of these measures was clearly spelt out by the Transvaal Chamber of Industries in a memorandum to the Prime Minister on August 27, 1976:

“The urban black middle class must be won over to the side of the whites in order to contain, on a long-term basis, the irresponsible economic and political activities of the blacks who are influenced against their real interests from within and without our borders.”

These views were echoed in a speech by a leading African trader at a recent business conference. He appealed for the lifting of existing business restrictions against blacks and stated that if the government did so:

“The black community will see the emergence of a middle class which will serve as a bulwark against any political uprising in our country” (*SAIRR*, 1976).

It is from within the black middle class that the ruling class seeks support for the “responsible” alternative to the radical policies of our liberation movement. Apart from economic concessions, it has also sharpened its ideological campaigns to detach this middle class from the mainstream of our national movement in the hope that its influence and status will be used to win over other black classes for reformist rather than revolutionary policies.

The attack on the social aims of our liberation front has become more intense and is designed to spread the distortion that the small black middle class has more to lose than to gain from genuine peoples’ power in a united South Africa.

On its own, the crude anti-ANC, anti-Communist, anti-Soviet propaganda of the Vorster régime can find little response. Its record of racist brutality is so clear that even the most right-wing black quislings find it embarrassing to be caught in the act of open collaboration with it. But the strategy of our ruling class is advanced not only by the actions of its state apparatus, but also by some who pose as liberators and as champions of black freedom. They use all the nationalist catchphrases such as “black power”, “one man one vote”, “majority rule”, etc., but advocate policies which objectively serve the enemy. The ruling class has been joined by these elements in a campaign to weaken the influence of the ANC and the liberation front which it heads, and to prevent an effective assault on racist power. The meeting point between enemy strategy and the activities of these elements is illustrated by the following examples:

Recently the US State Department announced that it was preparing scholar-

ships places in US educational institutions for the hundreds of young militants who escaped from South Africa to find new ways of continuing the struggle. Shortly afterwards, Tsietsi Mashinini, one of the young Soweto militants, toured the United States and made a similar appeal for educational places, claiming that such training was necessary to make Africans fit for majority rule. He then went to Botswana to recruit young exiles for US academic institutions and appealed to them not to join the ANC's armed wing for military training (*World*, 21.1.197). Drake Koka, the general secretary of the Black Allied Workers' Union, in an interview with *Free Labour* (January-February 1977), the organ of the ICFTU, when asked, "what is your attitude to Young's statement that the US will launch a programme for training South African blacks to fit them for majority rule", replied that it was an "excellent project" because "responsible leadership" was needed in South Africa. Koka claims inspiration from the ideology of black consciousness.

Buthulezi uses the same language of white liberalism which searches for change without peoples' power and which rationalises its fear of genuine liberation by claiming that the masses are not yet ready to run the country. He warned publicly that:

"The very same powers which will destroy apartheid will create a situation of ungovernability in post-apartheid South Africa"

and

"We will not do anything in the name of liberation which will result in the defeat of apartheid but at the same time reduce South Africa to an ungovernable conglomerate of conflicting interests. It is too high a price to pay for liberation" (*Sunday Tribune*, January 23, 1977).

At the height of the Soweto disturbances in August 1976, the leaders or representatives of all the Homeland governments, except the Transkei, met to discuss the situation. After the meeting the convenor, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, issue a joint statement to the press: "Whilst understanding the impatience of the youth," it was stated, "the Homeland leaders could not condone the wanton destruction of property" (*SAIRR Survey*, 1976, p. 26).

In October 1976 a meeting was held in Soweto attended by Bantustan chiefs Buthulezi, Ntsanwisi and Pathudi with "fifty leading African politicians, civic leaders, trade unionists, professional men and women, student leaders and representatives of the Black Conscious Movement". The meeting elected a steering committee under the chairmanship of Dr. S. M. Nyembezi with aims which included the establishment of a "disciplined black community and to work for the emergence of a true black leadership" (*SAIRR Survey*, 1976).

The racists undoubtedly welcome this kind of language. After all, they have been warning incessantly about the "irresponsible" black leadership, about the chaos into which South Africa will sink if the ANC and its allies gain power, and about how unready the blacks are for majority rule.

On the question of our armed strategy for struggle this "responsible" black

leadership also plays into the enemy's hands. In our situation the argument against armed struggle is an argument either for no change at all, or for the kind of change which will guarantee continued domination by the ruling class in a new form. Harry Oppenheimer showed that he clearly understands this argument when he warned the London Stock Exchange (May 15, 1976) that the basic question is the survival of "private enterprise" and that:

"It is quite wrong to suppose, as is often suggested, that all that is at issue here is whether the same solution is to be reached by peaceful means or by bloodshed. The important point to bear in mind is that any peaceful solution would be an entirely different solution from any solution that is imposed by force."

It is this "entirely different solution" which is being worked for in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa by the Carters, the Owens, the Smiths and the Vorsters. And, in our case, reaction's efforts are reinforced by those within the black communities who either misguidedly or deliberately work against our liberation front's policy of combining mass political action with armed struggle.

The Black Middle Class—Its Role in our Struggle

Despite the fact that most of these compromising gestures have come from members of the black middle class, we believe that the majority of this class can be won over for the aims of our liberation. Indeed, those of its members who continue to support and join our struggle cannot, for obvious reasons, openly identify with it, nor are their views publicised by a press controlled by the oppressors. During the Soweto events numerous traders, teachers and other professional groups sided with the people.

But in any case, the more fundamental question is whether the objective economic and social position of the black middle class as a whole will lead the majority of its members to become permanent allies of the ruling class. Posed in another way, the question is whether the aims of our national movement continue to represent the aspirations of all main classes within the ranks of the oppressed—workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie. To this question we give a positive answer.

The main content of the present phase of our struggle continues to be national democratic revolution to destroy internal colonialism. We believe that the achievement of this aim is in the interest not only of the black workers and peasants, but also of the black petty bourgeoisie. But, like the petty bourgeoisie everywhere, it tends to vacillate between the ruling and exploited classes, depending partly upon the strength of the main antagonists of the struggle. The heightening by our liberation movement, of confrontation with the ruling state, will thus also help win over sections of the middle class.

We should bear in mind, too, that the middle and upper classes amongst the black groups (those already in existence and those in the process of formation) are not of exactly the same mould. For example, it is necessary to examine separately those in the Bantustans and those outside, and even within each group, to distinguish the strata which are more closely dependent on white patronage.

There is already evidence that in the Bantustans the black upper crust is becoming an institutionalised instrument of the people's exploitation by the ruling class, and is progressively driven into the enemy camp. In the rest of South Africa the black petty bourgeoisie consists mainly of small businessmen, professional groups, those occupying minor administrative posts and low-level business executive positions, and so on. Each of these groups is, in different ways, torn between the complex of contradictory economic and political pressures, resulting in inconsistent responses to the régime. But they will, more often than not, find themselves at loggerheads with the ruling class whom they can serve only in an auxiliary capacity. Even when their economic position has improved, colour still determines the outside limit of their economic growth. In their daily life they will still come up against all the humiliations which every black experiences. Unlike the petty bourgeoisie elsewhere there is a total racist bar against their entry into the higher political and economic preserves of the privileged minority.

The consolidation of a broad liberation unity—cutting across simple class lines—does not imply that we ignore the different levels of commitment and degrees of consistency of the various class forces within the alliance. **It is clear that the dominant force in this alliance must be the working class and it is their supremacy in the new state form which will emerge after victory, which will prevent our revolution from grinding to a halt at the point of a formal political take-over.**

The Working Class and our Party

In the coming struggle for power the working class has a special role to play. The economic struggles of the past few years and the recent successful political strikes have provided it with new confidence in its organised strength. This strength must be used to press home the demand for the right to strike, the right to free trade union organisation, and, above all, to advance the aims of the national liberation struggle.

In alliance with the working class and poor peasants in the countryside, the black proletariat is the most uncompromising enemy of race and class oppression and the most powerful force for national liberation. The working class gains nothing but misery from the Bantustans which are used as an excuse to deprive it of all rights and to hound it in the cities built by its labour. It has nothing to gain from the kind of liberation which gives a few blacks the opportunity to share in the people's exploitation. For the black working class, the biggest and most exploited section of the oppressed majority, there is only one way out—the complete defeat of racist supremacy and the creation of a peoples' government which will put South Africa on the road to socialism. There is little meaning in a liberation which does not destroy the economic power of the ruling class and the state apparatus which protects it. To ensure this kind of liberation requires a strongly organised working class with a special role in the alliance of political forces against the minority dictatorship.

The black working class must be on its guard against attempts by the white trade union movement to control the growth of black workers' organisations in industry. There can be no collaboration with those who side with the ruling class to ensure the maximum exploitation of the black workers. We believe in the true

unity of all workers—African, Indian, coloured and white. But there must be real equality and majority control. It is only when the white workers stop collaborating with our class enemy and act as part of a united working class that they will be welcomed as brothers.

The only trade union centre which has stood for genuine democracy and non-racialism in the trade union movement is the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Despite SACTU's formal legality, its principled adherence to the policies of the ANC-led liberation front has made it a target of intense persecution which has seriously interfered with its efforts to develop its organisational strength. It is necessary to search for ways of overcoming these obstacles. The tasks of building SACTU, strengthening genuine trade unions and creating effective factory organisation needs special study. It is, for example, necessary to examine more closely the use that can be made of the factory and liaison committee system, depending on actual conditions in the specific industry and factory. The building of legal trade unions in fascist conditions calls for a flexible application of general policy. This aspect of our policy is dealt with in greater detail in a separate document.

Our Party and the Liberation Alliance

The struggle of the black workers cannot be separated from the wider struggle against racist oppression. The indivisible link which exists between class and national oppression in our country explains the need for a strong Communist Party and a well-organised trade union movement as part of the liberation alliance headed by the African National Congress. As already emphasised, this alliance is not only in the interests of the working class but also of all patriots; any attempts to weaken it will damage the prospects for revolutionary change in South Africa. Our Party has no immediate political aims separate from the aims of the national liberation movement headed by the ANC.

We stand united by the immediate and foremost task—the destruction of racist domination and the achievement of the aims of the National Democratic revolution whose main content is the liberation of the African majority and other oppressed black groups. We share, too, the belief that there can be no true liberation in South Africa without the destruction of the political and economic power of our ruling class and without people's control of the basic means of production.

Experience has proved, over and over again, that in our revolution collaboration between our two organisations has raised the level of the struggle and has been a mutually reinforcing influence. The two fundamental streams of revolutionary consciousness—national and class—have made an important impact upon one another and have enriched the indigenous application of the universal truths of revolutionary ideology.

Our claim that we are a vanguard party of the working class is in no way diminished by our close association with the national liberation front headed by the African National Congress. A Communist Party does not earn the honoured title of vanguard merely by proclaiming it. For example, a working class Party does not exercise its vanguard role in relation to trade unions by capturing them or transforming them into wings of the Party, but rather by proving that the

Party and its individual members are the most ideologically clear and the most devoted and loyal participants in the workers' cause. The same principle applies to a situation such as ours in which the main immediate instrument for the achievement of the aims of our national democratic revolution is a mass movement capable of galvanising all classes in an assault on racist power. The African National Congress *is* such an instrument and our loyal participation in the liberation front which it heads is in the best interests of the class whose vanguard we claim to be. This collaboration is not, as Vorster and some of his black collaborators allege, a ploy to "capture" the other bodies which are part of the alliance. We have always fought, and shall continue to fight, for the complete independence and organisational integrity of the mass movements. Those of our members who have earned positions as mass leaders of the national movement have proved over and over again their devotion to, and respect for, the decisions of the democratically elected collectives of which they have been part.

In the same way we continue to assert the absolute right of our Party to exist as an independent organisation and to continue to exercise its public role as the advance vanguard of the working class. In the period under review our Party Underground has been strengthened and has continued to provide a flow of propaganda and agitational material both in support of the immediate aims of the liberation front and to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Amongst these activities have been the regular circulation of an illegal edition of the **African Communist** and a special internal cyclostyled theoretical journal **Inkululeko-Freedom**. We have also circulated basic Marxist classics (some translated into African languages) and, following on the decisions of our last Central Committee meeting, a special message to The Workers of South Africa from our Party was widely distributed. It is obviously not possible in this document to elaborate fully the organisational tasks facing our Party in the internal situation and the measures required in order to carry them out. These have been reviewed and appropriate decisions have been taken.

THE WAY AHEAD

Despite the régime's mobilisation of greater and greater force, the mass killings and the increasing use of terror and torture, the people remain unbowed. Indeed, they stand ready, as never before, to respond to a lead which will raise the struggle above the level of street confrontation which, on its own, cannot lead to victory. Such a lead can only come from our liberation front, headed by the ANC, which is accepted by friend and foe alike as the most serious threat and challenge to racist oppression and exploitation. We have earned this honoured role because of a long history of dedication to the revolutionary cause. Even during the difficult days when little seemed possible we continued to stand up to the enemy and to keep the flame of resistance alive. The heroism and sacrifice of our militants, especially during the recent struggle-filled decades, has added a new dimension to the long saga of the South African freedom struggle.

It is our movement which ushered in the new era of organised armed resistance and created its chief instrument, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Despite vicious hounding, our revolutionary cadres have maintained and even strengthened our underground which has once again begun engaging the enemy

in direct actions and has stepped up its political mobilisation of the people.

It is no accident that the Vorsters and the Krugers select the ANC and our Party as the chief targets for attack. They have taken note of the fact that since Soweto, of all the movements who claim an underground presence, it is only ours which was able to strike at the enemy at all and to play an important part in mobilising political support for the youth upsurge. They know, too, that the majority of our youth in search of an underground capable of leading them both militarily and politically, are finding it in our liberation movement.

Above all, our movement is feared because we are committed to an ideology which aims to destroy not only every part of the framework of national oppression but also the foundations of economic inequality and exploitation on which that framework has been built.

At the beginning of the 1960s the people taught us that it was necessary to break with the strategy of the previous decade and to begin preparing conditions for combining political resistance with armed actions. The recent upsurge has emphasised that, given effective organisation and leadership, the revolutionary energies of the people have a limitless potential. Through their own experience in the recent struggles the people have begun to understand, more clearly than ever before, both the necessity and possibility of a revolutionary way forward in which victory will eventually be theirs through a combination of mass political resistance and organised armed struggle.

Failure on the part of our liberation movement to respond effectively during the coming period will put at risk the present high mood of militancy and lead to a demoralisation which will make it easier for the imperialist alliance to implement its plans for Southern Africa and for Vorster to successfully divert the formidable pressures which have built up inside our country.

Our liberation front clearly faces a historic challenge, and our Party, as part of this front, is called upon—as never before—to mobilise all its strength to help meet it.

Our Tasks

1. A general analysis of the new potential which exists to advance the struggle is only a starting point. Especially in a fluid situation, such as we have at the moment, a specific response may be appropriate for one day and may already be too late for the next. **It follows that the strengthening of the whole movement's underground presence—especially at leadership levels—is one of the vital keys to success.** Slogans such as “Raise the struggle to a higher level”, “Vary the tactics of resistance and assault”, etc., can only be translated into revolutionary practice by those who are in the very heart of the ferment. For example, the specific question of whether, when, for how long and on what slogans to call a general political strike, is a question of the moment and calls for an experienced leadership with a day-to-day presence among the people. The exact forms of legal and illegal organisation and the elaboration of new and changing techniques for hitting the enemy depend often on specific local and regional conditions which can usually only be understood by those on the spot.

2. Soweto confirmed that the black working class is the most decisive revolutionary force. This class once again revealed its collective strength and under-

lined the close relationship between national and class struggle in our conditions. Our Party, as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, has a special duty to arouse further its revolutionary consciousness and to sharpen its awareness of its historic mission as the dominant force in the struggle for national liberation and the building of a socialist society. **We are thus called upon to support and initiate new efforts to organise the working class both economically and politically, especially at the point of production, and to spread the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism. We must spare no effort in the work of strengthening our Party underground, safeguarding our Party's independence and maintaining its important role as part of the liberation alliance.**

3. The crucial role of the revolutionary student and working youth was also highlighted during the recent events. The experience of these struggles has begun to teach them that the key to people's power is revolutionary organisation guided by a scientific theory of revolution. They are turning in increasing numbers to our liberation alliance and to its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. More and more of them are moving closer to the ideas of scientific socialism and towards a more mature grasp of the close relationship between national and class struggle in our conditions. **It is our duty to build upon this rising consciousness amongst the youth and to spread an even deeper understanding of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. It is the duty of our liberation movement as a whole to give the mass movements which have arisen amongst the youth, and which played such a key role in sparking off the mass upsurge, a clear revolutionary political and organisational content.**

4. We have noted that there were very few organised responses in the rural areas during the Soweto ferment. We cannot properly speak of a national upsurge which does not also involve the bulk of our people who work on the white farms or are herded into the so-called homelands. **An urgent task which therefore faces our liberation movement is the mobilisation and organisation of the mass of our people in the countryside.** This task is all the more urgent in view of the frantic activities of the racist régime to advance its Bantustan programme and to break the unity of the African people by the establishment of these puppet tribal administrations with the help of black collaborators.

5. **We must work, too, for the maximum unity in action of the coloured and Indian people with their African brothers.** Events in Cape Town dramatically demonstrated the readiness of the African and coloured youth to move in unison in battles against racist force. This same solidarity was displayed by the coloured workers. But elsewhere, the coloured and Indian youth and working class were not sufficiently mobilised in supporting actions. The wave of strikes which began in Natal in 1972 showed an impressive degree of unity between all the oppressed black groups—a unity which has to be mobilised further if the enemy is to feel the full strength of the oppressed masses.

6. Whilst we do not regard women as constituting a distinct social force, we recognise the continuing need to mobilise them not only as equal participants in the liberation struggle as a whole, but also as a group which carries a triple burden of oppression and exploitation as workers, as black workers and as black women workers. Our history has proved over and over again that our women do not stand in second place when it comes to revolutionary dedication, heroism

and sacrifice. **It is vital, therefore, to strengthen revolutionary women's organisation and to ensure full participation by the oppressed women at all levels of the liberation movement's political and military structures.**

7. The white group as a whole, including the white working class, continues to stand in broad support of the régime's racist policies. But the political and economic crisis which faces the ruling class is also emphasising some of the secondary divisions within it. It is our duty always to exploit such contradictions in order to weaken the cohesion of the enemy. It is our duty, too, to encourage those within the white community who begin to see that their only salvation lies through an unconditional commitment to the aims of our liberation movement. The brave actions of those white students in Johannesburg who, together with their black colleagues, demonstrated in a Soweto solidarity march, and the small group of progressive whites which is prepared to support and even to join the freedom struggle, represent the long-term interests of all the people, including the white community. **We believe that the truly radical whites should be encouraged in their actions and that more energy should be devoted to bringing about a realisation amongst the whites that Vorster is leading them—Hitler-like—towards destruction.**

8. During the course of the historic months of resistance, all pacifist illusions and talk of non-violent change—so assiduously fostered by imperialist interests, the liberals, the Bantustan stooges and other collaborators among our people—have been totally shattered by the reality of the régime's bloody repression. It is now clearer than ever to our people that the only answer to the brute violence of our ruling class is the organised might of the masses, directed and led by the national liberation movement, in which armed struggle must play a key role. **It is, therefore, one of the supreme tasks of our revolutionary alliance to ensure that the armed struggle establishes firm roots in every part of our country.**

9. Because of the insecurity of the black middle classes which, like their counterparts throughout the world, have a natural tendency to vacillate between the exploiters and the exploited, the racist régime is attempting to win their collaboration in order to divert the revolutionary pressures. **We firmly believe, however, that the bulk of the black middle classes can be mobilised to the side of the people, and it is the duty of our movement to do so.**

10. The feeling of revulsion against South Africa's institutionalised system of racism has grown considerably in the last few decades. The world-wide solidarity campaigns have not only helped to increase the isolation of the racist régime but have also provided important material and moral support for our struggling people. We express our warm appreciation to the various anti-apartheid groups and movements who continue to devote themselves to this important task. As a party we also regard it as one of our primary duties to mobilise our brother parties in the international communist movement to continue to lend all possible support to the mobilisation of their peoples in effective solidarity action.

11. A large group of some of the most important leaders of our whole liberation movement—including many members of our Central Committee—have now been languishing in Robben Island and Vorster's other prisons for close on 15 years. The freeing of these great heroes in our struggle remains one of our

primary duties. It is therefore vital that we intensify both national and international campaigns demanding the release of all political prisoners.

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We embark on all these tasks in the knowledge that the road from Soweto to Pretoria is still an arduous one, demanding great dedication, heroism and sacrifice. But we are confident that our whole liberation movement can rise to the historic challenge which the new situation preserves, and lead our revolutionary masses towards a united People's South Africa in which all forms of racism will be utterly destroyed and which will create a society free of all forms of exploitation of man by man.

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF SOWETO!

LONG LIVE OUR GREAT SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY!

LONG LIVE THE GREAT AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS!

LONG LIVE LIBERATION UNITY!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!