

UMSEBENZI

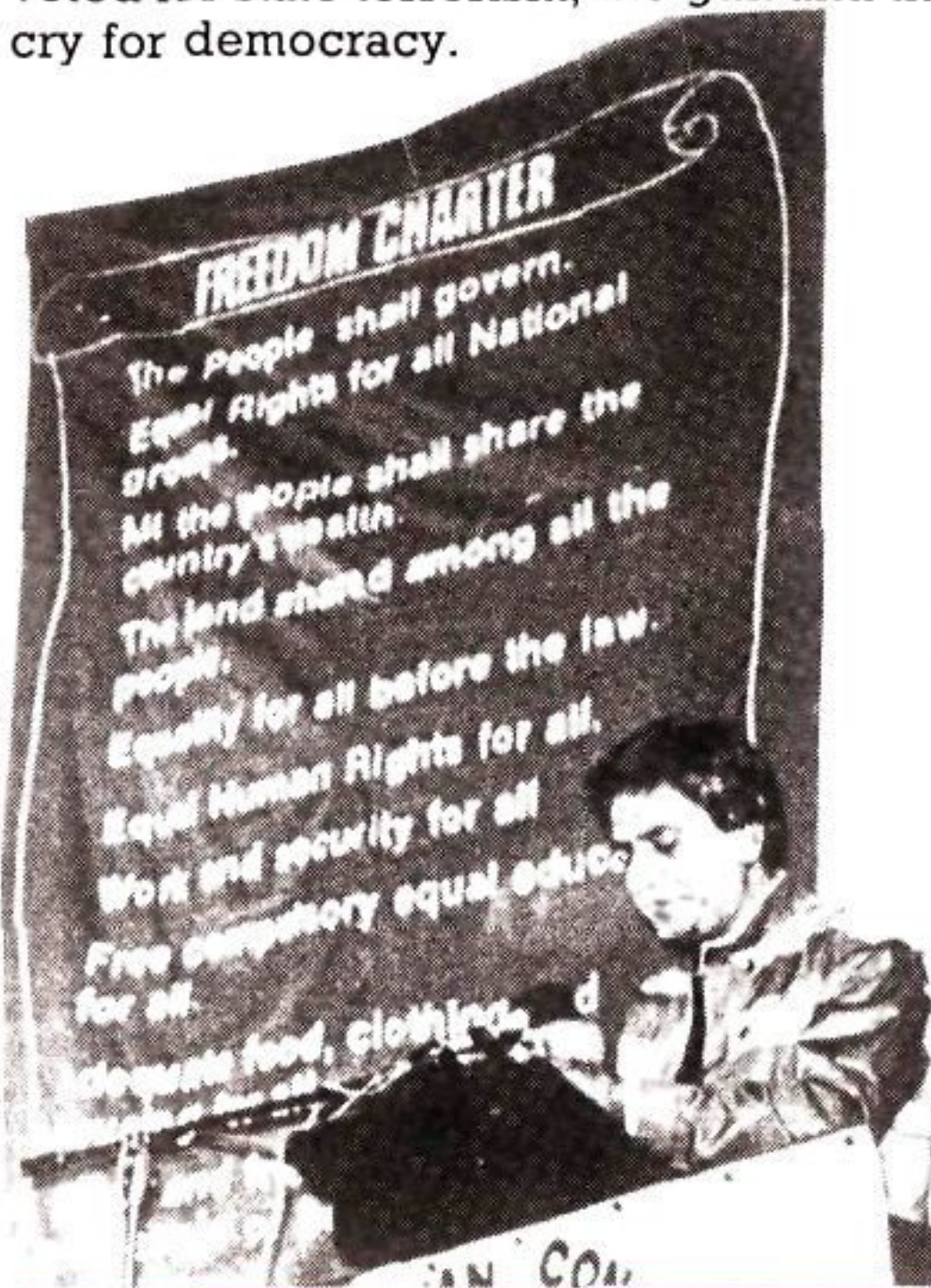


VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

AN OPEN LETTER

Dear White compatriot,

The fact that we address you in this way tells its own story. We share a country but we live in different worlds. Each of you — to whatever class you belong — enjoys economic, political, cultural and social skin privileges over every black to whatever class they belong. This has been so since the colonial conquest by your forefathers. It continues to be so today. And in the recent obscene race-ritual which you call an 'election', 80% of those of you who went to the polls once again voted for state terrorism, the gun and the Casspir as the answer to the people's cry for democracy.



As humanity moves towards the 21st century we are surely not called upon to make out a case for race equality and majority rule. **The freedoms we demand are self-evident truths in every part of the civilised world. They are not up for debate. They are not yours to give. They are ours to take. And the vast majority among you have seen to it that the only path we can take towards winning our freedom is path of mass struggle and revolutionary violence.**

We are truly sickened by the way in which your leaders wring their blood-stained hands in complaint because at last the people have stopped turning the other cheek. Long before we picked up the gun your regime closed all roads of non-violent advance to democracy. If we drop it now we would once again deliver up the people to your mercy, whose quality they have been able to measure correctly after three hundred and fifty years of 'guardianship' and unending domination. You also know as well as we do that even the faint whispers we hear about 'dialogue' and 'negotiation' would die down if the begging bowl once again replaced the gun in the hands of the people.

Continues on page two ...

Only a Beginning

But there is a chink of hope. A minority among you has begun to see the writing on the wall. You have begun to grope in the direction of a non-racist South Africa. The regime and its followers have called you traitors. But history will, in the end, prove that you were the real patriots in your community.

You have made a beginning. But it is only a beginning. You rightly see that the source of violence in our country is racial domination by force. Yet, some of you are still worried by the ANC's resolve to maintain and intensify the armed struggle. Show us another way which will not amount to a surrender and we will take it! Do you know of a precedent in history in which a liberation movement unilaterally abandoned the only weapon which has even the remotest chance of forcing the other side to the negotiating table? If the truth be told, even your own newly-found resolve to search for a real dialogue with the liberation movement has its source in our escalating armed struggle.

'Uncontrolled Violence'?

You talk about your concern at the spread of what you call 'uncontrolled violence'. Perhaps we need to share a better understanding of the meaning of uncontrolled violence. In the first place you should avoid falling into Botha's trap of painting the events since 1984 as being dominated by 'uncontrolled violence', 'necklace' killings, and so-called 'soft targets'.

It is not uncontrolled violence when people on the ground take their own initiative to transform their street into a battlefield against the army and police. It is not uncontrolled violence when measures are taken by the grassroots to remove from their midst collaborators and informers. Neither is it uncontrolled violence when the people organise contingents to meet and deal with the murderous assaults by the government's vigilantes.

These are the creative and controlled responses of a people in revolt. Must they wait for 'authorisation' before they act? If there have been excesses, they are the rare exception rather than the rule and are to be corrected rather than condemned. And when they occur they are mostly an understandable gut reaction to the regime's deliberate and controlled violence against the people. But when we attack an army headquarters situated in the middle of your white metropolis and you condemn it as a pure act of terror, you cannot blame us for thinking that you still have some way to go.

Post-Apartheid Society

You also worry about your place in a post-apartheid South Africa. You are concerned about the future of your language, culture and the kind of economic and political system which will be constructed. At a time when the transformation is closer than ever before it is of course both relevant and proper to begin to toss about ideas about the future direction of our country.

You must however remember that we, too, are concerned about the future. We also need guarantees, although perhaps for a different reason. We need a guarantee that the sacrifices of struggle will not be followed by a false liberation; a 'liberation' which leaves undisturbed the white race monopoly over 99% of our country's riches. These are the guarantees on which the majority insists. If, however, you are looking for real democracy and the abolition of racism in all its forms — whether against white or black — you will find these guarantees not only in our documents and in our speeches but, more importantly, in our practices.

In any case, let us not get too confused about priorities. The **first question** is the destruction of race rule and apartheid. The obligation to act in this direction must be unconditional. The **second question** — **your place in a post-apartheid society** — **will, we believe, depend less on entrenched clauses and Bills of Right than on what you do now to destroy racism and on how many of you really desert Botha's racist trench.** A great deal, too, will depend on whether the majority among you who are workers begin to move closer to your black class brothers and resist the lure of fascist organisations.

If you seek examples of whites — communist and non-communist — who have become an accepted and unconditional part of our one nation in the making you will find them in various sectors of our liberation alliance. This is where the real future of race harmony is being forged. This is where more and more of you should find a place.

SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN IT!



HAPPY BIRTHDAY WALTER SISULU AND OLIVER TAMBO



Our liberation organisation has produced many great leaders. Two of them have major birthdays (75 and 70) during 1987 in this the Year of Advance to People's Power. They are comrades Sisulu and Tambo.

Walter Sisulu was born on 18th May, 1912 in Engcobo and Oliver Tambo was born in the Bizana district on the 27th October, 1917. Both came from the Transkei, and both eventually migrated to Johannesburg. Their parents brought them up as Christians, but both found themselves frustrated by their white co-religionists.

At an early age, they became aware of the evil cynicism of racists and the reality of the blatant repression of the black people. Sisulu had gone to seek work in Johannesburg at the age of 17. He worked as a house-servant; in a bakery and as a miner. With his mother and sister, he pulled up his roots in the Cape and settled permanently in Johannesburg at a later stage.

Tambo, who was awarded a bursary to St Peter's College in Johannesburg, matriculated there, was awarded a grant to Fort Hare and gained his B. Sc in 1941. The following year, he joined in a student strike and was expelled before gaining his honours. But St Peter's ignored this expulsion and employed him as a Maths and Physics teacher.

It was during the war years in the Forties that Sisulu and Tambo, together with other militants like Mandela and Lembede, became inextricably linked together in their political lives.

Sisulu and Tambo were prime participants in the fight against the docile policies of the then conservative ANC leaders. They helped organise a militant ANC Youth League. With the support of communist veterans like Moses Kotane, the young militants succeeded in bringing about changes in the leadership and in getting the Programme of Action accepted at the 1949 Bloemfontein Conference.

This Programme was a direct challenge to the apartheid government of Malan, brought to power by an all-white electorate in 1948.

Sisulu and Tambo were soon elected to senior positions on a national as well as a provincial level in the ANC. When Sisulu was forced to resign as secretary general of the ANC in 1954, it was Tambo who took over from him until he, in turn, was banned from holding this position.

The decade of the Fifties was one of the most militant periods of successful campaigns in the history of the ANC. During this period Sisulu, Tambo, Mandela and others in the leadership of the ANC cemented the

extra-parliamentary opposition against apartheid by working closely with the Indian Congress, the progressive whites and militant trade unions.

But above all it was during this period that they helped forge the alliance within the liberation movement of the underground South African Communist Party and the ANC. They had realised early on in 1950 that the Anti-Communist Bill was aimed at all anti-government organisations and not only at the Communist Party itself.

Sisulu, the self-taught champion of the workers, persuaded both Tambo and Mandela to study law and to form their famous legal partnership during the Defiance Campaign in 1952.

Tambo and Mandela never failed to use the opportunities afforded by their profession to form ANC branches in every nook and cranny in the Transvaal where they were called upon to appear in court to defend their clients.

Comrade Sisulu has been in the dungeons of the apartheid regime for over twenty-three years now. He had been the most harassed and most arrested person even before this long incarceration. He had always remained cool and firm with one of the shrewdest political brains. From all accounts, he remains as firm as a rock to this day — always organising, always planning, always optimistic about the ultimate liberation of the oppressed people. He is a beacon for all his people in his stoic defiance of the racist regime. He is a true revolutionary with very rare qualities.

In 1960 comrade Tambo was ordered by the ANC to go abroad as their chief spokesman and organiser. Since then, he has, more than any other individual, put the ANC firmly on the map of struggle. His brilliant grasp of liberation politics, his astuteness and meticulous approach to organisational questions combine with a most warm and humane personality. It is these qualities which have earned him an unrivalled affection and leadership loyalty of both our militants and our people. He has always stood like a rock against those who have tried to break the alliance between the ANC and the Party, which he described as the two pillars of our liberation struggle. President Tambo is a world statesman, respected by all, both in the East and West.

We congratulate Comrades Sisulu and Tambo on the occasions of their 75th and 70th birthdays. We wish them many more years as leaders on the road to freedom and to the building of a liberated South Africa.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S LEADERS!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY GREETES COSATU

Elijah Barayi, President of Cosatu

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party sends comradely greetings to your historic Congress. We warmly hail the delegates present and, through them, the whole of organised labour in our land.

Comrades, you are meeting at a very rare moment in our history. It is a moment when the liberation of the oppressed has become a realisable goal within the foreseeable future.

At every level of struggle our working class, the creators of all our country's wealth, stands in the forefront of the mass forces which must be mobilised to deal a death blow to the race tyranny which has its roots in capitalist exploitation. And it is, above all, our doubly-exploited working class which must ensure that the road to such a victory is also the road which will ultimately lead to its emancipation from wage slavery and exploitation of man by man.

Through its organised strength our working class must ensure that liberation will not merely bring a new flag and a new anthem but that it will also begin to lay the foundations for a return to the people of our country's wealth and riches, both beneath and above the soil.

As trade unionists, as part of the community, as militants in the youth and women's movements, as members of liberation organs, as activists in mass and vanguard political organisations, it is our working class which constitutes the backbone of resistance to race rule and to an advance towards real liberation.

The trade union movement is undoubtedly the most important mass legal contingent of our working class. Its organised participation with other forces in the broader political conflict for the winning of a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa is in the best interests of the workers both as a class and as part of the black oppressed.

The formation of Cosatu and its continued consolidation as the unprecedented giant of organised labour, is all the more impressive because it has happened during a period when emergencies and state terror have been the order of the day. The power of workers' unity has once again been demonstrated. This is a lesson which must be learnt by the minority who continue to isolate themselves from Cosatu and dream of building up competing federations. One country, one federation is more than just a slogan; it is the real nightmare of our dazed ruling class.

Our Party has an unequalled and unrivalled record of trade union building in the last 65 years. Trade union titans like Johannes Nkosi, JB Marks, Ray Alexander and a host of others, gave their all to this task even when it was not so fashionable and when the obstacles in the way of building trade unions were more formidable than they are now.

In their name, in the name of our Party, and in the name of the future of democracy, socialism and peace, we wish your deliberations every success. We are confident that you will emerge from your proceedings more united and even more dedicated to the cause of your members and the working class.

Long Live Cosatu!

Long Live the struggle for a united, democratic South Africa ruled by the majority!

Long Live the Liberation Alliance!



FROM LIBERATION TO SOCIALISM!

PEOPLE'S POWER — SOME REALITIES!

During the recent official visit to Mozambique by a delegation of our Party, comrade Cabaco, a member of the Secretariat of the Frelimo Central Committee, told us about an experience which is worth relating. It is about the question of People's Power and the down to earth and wise way in which ordinary people understand it in the concrete conditions of their life.

Here is what happened. Just before Frelimo's 4th Congress comrade Cabaco (who was then a government Minister) was sent to the historic region of Mueda. Mueda is the place where on June 16th 1960 the Portuguese colonialists massacred 600 peasants at a peaceful gathering. This event greatly influenced the formation of Frelimo and the move towards armed struggle.

As part of pre-Congress mobilisation, comrade Cabaco made a speech at a mass rally of peasants on the theme of People's Power. He received a rousing response. But something happened at question time which made him realise that he still had a lot to learn about certain aspects of People's Power in Mueda. An old peasant raised his hand and made his own special contribution on this subject.

He first congratulated the speaker on his excellent and rousing contribution which had taught them quite a lot about People's Power. But, the peasant added, there are some problems in Mueda which the Minister understandably is not aware of since he lives far away in Maputo. There is a very special problem concerning the Administrator of the region. The Administrator ('a very wonderful and honest man') has to look after a region which is even bigger than some countries.

'To make People's Power work properly in Mueda, the Administrator has to see us regularly to listen to our complaints and suggestions. For this he needs a motor car, otherwise he can hardly reach most of us. But his motor car has now been broken down for a long time. Our Administrator, being a very devoted comrade tries to find a way out. So what does he do? He does the only thing that he can do and that is borrow motor cars belonging to the multinational company in the area or to the canteen owners who are the only ones rich enough to own motor cars.

Now this is where the big problem about People's Power comes in. Many of our complaints are about working conditions in the capitalist



PRESIDENT CHISSANO

project and about the way in which the canteen owners exploit us. Our Administrator listens to us carefully and we know he is on our side. But somehow these complaints are never really dealt with by him. And we understand why this is so and we sympathise with him. If he really took up our complaints properly they wouldn't be so eager to lend him their motor cars. So, comrade Minister, please tell Frelimo in Maputo that for us here in Mueda, People's Power means, in the first place, a motor car for the administrator'.

Extract from the Press Release issued jointly by the Frelimo Party and the SACP after a delegation led by general secretary Joe Slovo visited Maputo in June, 1987

During the talks the situation in Southern Africa was analysed and both delegations shared a common view on the question of the immediate need to put an end to colonialism in Namibia, destabilisation and aggression in the region, and apartheid in South Africa.

Both parties appealed to all countries, regardless of their political social system, to increase their efforts to prevent generalised war in Southern Africa, and reinforce their assistance both to Front Line States and the Liberation Movements of Namibia and South Africa, led by SWAPO and the ANC respectively.

The two delegations reiterated their commitment to the building of a free, independent and non-aligned Southern Africa. They recognised that the existence of colonialism and apartheid has to be removed in order that the people of the region can contribute to the peace, progress and prosperity of their zone, to the development of the African continent and of mankind as a whole.

END BOTHA'S STATE TERRORISM!

ELI WEINBERG

Eli Weinberg was born in 1908 in Latvia — today part of the Soviet Union. He was old enough to remember the Great October Revolution which became his greatest inspiration in the fight for the emancipation of all humanity.

At the age of 16 Eli joined a trade union and became deeply involved in the study of Marxism-Leninism. He came to South Africa in 1929 and began working on the coal mines. The brutality meted out to Africans shocked him deeply, and he joined the Communist Party in 1932. He threw himself into organising trade unions, and when the Nationalists came to power in 1948, he was restricted from carrying out this task. From 1953 he was placed under further banning orders, and was detained during the 1960 state of emergency.

In 1964, detained with the late Bram Fischer, Eli was found guilty of being a member of the SACP and sentenced to five years imprisonment. Released in 1970, he was banned for five years, restricted to his house and required to report regularly to the police. On instruction from the liberation movement, he left South Africa in 1976. From then until his death in 1981 Eli campaigned actively for trade union and international solidarity with our struggle.

Eli left his mark not only as a dedicated fighter, but also as a people's photographer. His camera captured the many facets of our struggle. He left behind him a rich and vivid pictorial legacy for the South African people.



PEN PICTURES OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

WILLIAM KHANYILE

William Khanyile's whole life was devoted to the struggle. Keenly interested in Marxism, as a young worker he was one of the dedicated cadres found selling *New Age*, participating in discussions in study circles, and actively working in all movement campaigns.

William was imprisoned on Robben Island for eight years for ANC activities; was served with a banning order on his release; arrested again in 1975 and held in solitary confinement for one year without trial; tried again, unsuccessfully, in 1977, and then brought out of the country to strengthen the work of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

Stationed in Maputo, William valued the opportunity to experience at first hand the building of a new society so close to South Africa. He died on January 30th, 1981, in a Sactu residence in Matola when racist killers from South Africa fired a rocket at point blank range through the wall of the room in which he was sleeping.

In his early forties, he was a virtual father to the youth who worked with him. He knew from his own experience and from the life of his mentor, Harry Gwala — serving life imprisonment — that the struggle required sacrifice. He was prepared for this, and concerned to do his duty. He was always anxious that the working class must lead the struggle — the reason he gave for joining the Party.



BUILD THE PARTY!



'HELL P.V. IF ONLY WE KNEW HOW THEY DO IT!!'

READ THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST — THE THEORETICAL QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY. AVAILABLE FROM INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS, 39 GOODGE ST, LONDON W1P 1FD, UK

FROM OUR READERS

Dear Umsebenzi,

The ruling class continues to sell that lie which projects the ANC as a front of the SACP. What is the truth? The truth is that both the ANC and the SACP are independent organisations with independent programmes. Naturally, because the organisations are in alliance, there has been and always will be a mutual alliance influence. The ANC-SACP alliance has withstood the acid test of history.

The ANC-SACP alliance is not an alliance of individuals, but an alliance of the patriots of our country. The masses have accepted the alliance as their own. The side by side appearance of the black, green and gold banner of the ANC and the red flag of the SACP at the mass funerals of slain patriots is a demonstration of that alliance.

The SACP, the party of Ivon Jones, Albert Nzula, Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo and young immortal lions of our struggle — Gordon Dihebu, Mduzi Guma, Nkululeko Njongwe and Zuhile Matahane — is growing steadily. The influence of the SACP as an independent political vanguard of the working class is being felt in the factories, mines, in the urban and rural areas and in the institutions of learning.

The teaching of socialism has gripped the minds of our people, especially the black working class. The Party is ever attracting to its ranks some of the finest representatives of our people. Its red banner is firmly rooted in the soil of our embattled motherland. We saw it in Cradock and in Chesterville. It was there before the countless thousands of mourners in mass funerals in Port Elizabeth; before 80 000 in Duncan Village, 20 000 in Queenstown, 60 000 in Alexandra, 60 000 in Mamelodi.

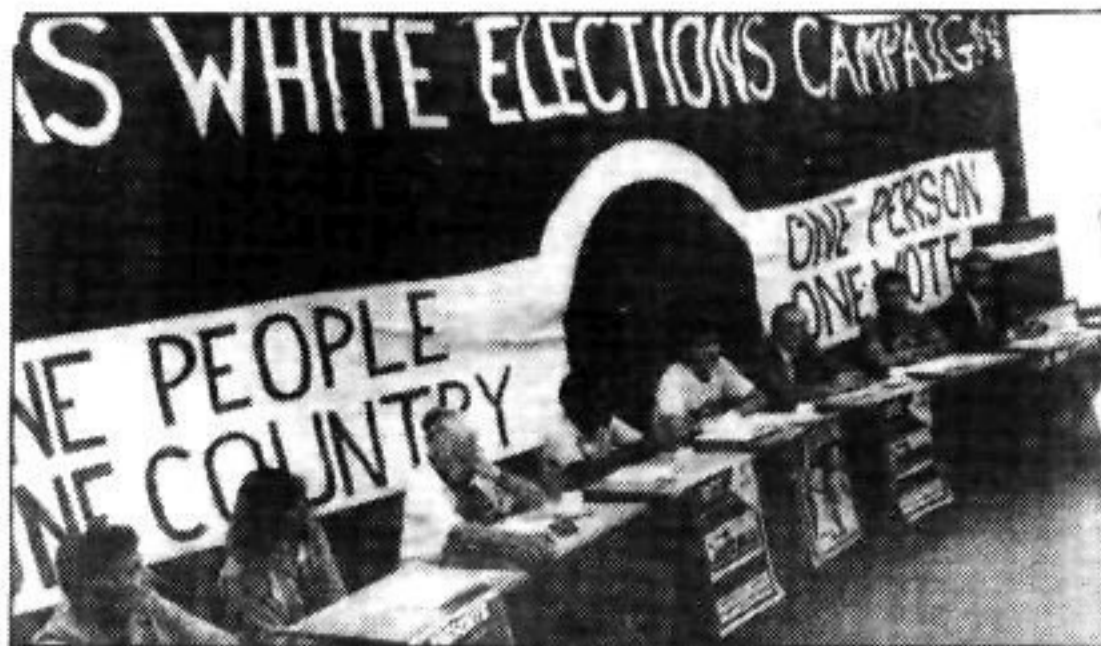
It is also a deep-seated wish of the class enemy that we reject our tested friends, especially the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. The preservation of our comradely and friendly ties with the Soviet people is not the concern of the leadership of the alliance alone, but that of our people. And events have already shown that our people have captured the politics of revolutionary internationalism. Yes — to paraphrase Marx — let our enemies writhe in panic at the sight of the red flag, the symbol of the Republic of Labour.

**Down with anti-communism and anti-Sovietism!
Viva the ANC-SACP Alliance!**

*The Jackson Tayo Party Unit,
somewhere in the Eastern Cape*

DEFEND THE ALLIANCE!

THE WHITE ELECTIONS



The whites-only elections have come and gone. Commentators differ on the interpretation of the results. Many are asking the question whether Botha's victory means the closing of the ranks and the healing of divisions which were so visible before the voting.

How permanent or temporary is the victory of the right and the ultra-right? It is quite clear that Botha's strategy was based on fear of the ANC and its armed struggle. This strategy won support for the Nationalist Party. Botha and company have convinced the white electorate that the racist government has the capacity to provide security and to ward off the threat of the ANC, the mass democratic movement and Cosatu.

Whether this election victory is going to be temporary or permanent depends on the national liberation movement led by the ANC. The national liberation movement, therefore, holds the key. We need the movement to pronounce in clear terms — and in practice — that the security Botha promises is not genuine and that the political and economic crisis can never be solved by the Botha regime. Talk alone will not convince the white population that they have been tricked. By our actions we have to push them out of the laager.

How should we then go about pushing the whites out of the laager? The first step is to strengthen the liberation alliance inside our country. The building of the movement structures, including leadership ones, must be taken up with a greater sense of urgency than before. The ANC, the vanguard of the liberation struggle, must lead the offensive by providing clear and practical guidance to the mass democratic movement. The regime must be confronted everywhere inside the country. At the same time the armed struggle must be stepped up by committing more MK

units to join and converge with the fighting units on the ground. We must also tackle with vigour the whole question of rooting MK among the people, arming the proliferating units and expanding them so that they begin to tackle the whole question of taking the war to the white areas.

The white community must not just hear of the so-called unrest by watching television or reading *The Citizen*. The entire national liberation movement faces a serious challenge. If we do not seize the time and move boldly Botha and his clique will be given the time they so badly need to stop and reverse the divisions and confusion within the white power block which the people's upsurge since 1984 has sown.

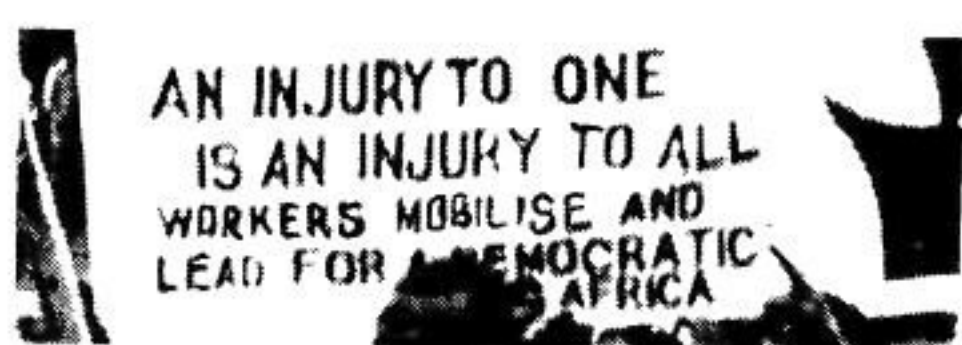
Within a day of his election success Botha made clear what he intended to do. He threatened more terror against the people and the people's organisations. At the same time he called on black leaders to negotiate on his terms. We know what his terms are: to mobilise black collaborators in order to save white supremacy. Only the quislings and touts have heeded this call. The true representatives of the people have emerged and are emerging on the ground. We must step up the programme of building organs of people's power throughout the country in order to advance with confidence and a greater feeling that victory is certain.

Our Party and Sactu have a special role to play in consolidating the trade union movement and making it an inseparable and integral part of the struggle for liberation, democracy and social justice. They have to draw the workers not only into the trade union struggle but into the national liberation struggle. It is a struggle which undoubtedly creates favourable conditions not only for the democratic victory, but also for an advance to socialism.

ISOLATE BOTHA'S COLLABORATORS!

A READER WRITES ON:

STEPS TOWARDS CLASS UNITY



The article 'White Workers at the Crossroads' in the last issue of *Umsebenzi* dealt with a question which needs unending attention by our revolutionary movement. I would therefore like to add a number of points with regard to the present position of white workers. More especially, I want to raise the question as to the best way to bring at least some of the white workers closer to our liberation politics.

The effects of South Africa's political and economic crisis are starting to bite quite deeply. Unemployment is rising, real wages are declining. White unemployment has become a street phenomenon for the first time since the 1930s.

The National Party has largely abandoned white workers. Few still find a political home there.

At political meetings of the far right (the AWB, the Conservative Party and the HNP), demagogic demands for the nationalisation of the monopolies and for jobs and guaranteed living standards for white workers are greeted with extremely vocal support — probably more than any other issue the demand to nationalise the mines and monopolies receives widespread support. (Put crudely, it is cheered even more fervently than the racial smears are cheered).

There are white workers who will not support the fascism of the AWB, the petit-bourgeois Conservative Party or the backward and uninspiring HNP.

Not all white workers are hostile to the programme of non-racial unions. Their attitude is frequently ambiguous — partly determined by racism, partly by envy or interest in the results achieved by the progressive unions. Some unions have, as a result, recruited white workers without particularly trying. Fawu has over 100 white members.

White workers are traditionally the scabs in South African labour conflicts. They have historically undermined our struggle and have opposed working class unity. *Strategy and Tactics* points out, however, that 'it does not follow that this will be so for all time ... We must miss no opportunity, either now or in the future, to try to win over those who are ready to break with the policy of racial domination'.

With the break-up of Tucsas, many white workers' unions are looking for a political home. Conditions are potentially right for a concerted strategy along the lines mentioned in *Strategy and Tactics*. Cosatu needs to win over these unions or their members and to pay special attention to the recruitment of white workers. A clear lead needs to be given.

An advance in this sphere would be of immense significance. If the possibility exists of weaning sections of the white workers away from apartheid and into our fold, we should spare no energy in exploiting it to the maximum.

White workers, probably more than any other stratum in the white community at present, are leaving (or have left) their traditional political homes. Old truths are under assault, as are their material conditions of existence. We must do our utmost to reduce the number of these workers who are attracted to fascism as a result of the political ferment they are experiencing.

It is primarily on the basis of their exploitation as a class and the assault on their standard of living that appeals to these workers can be made *initially*. The principles of non-racialism and democracy, which white workers are going to have to learn, will be absorbed more easily through a process of union struggle together with black workers. For most white workers this course becomes the first step in the direction of true class consciousness.

I am not disagreeing with the primary need stressed by the writer of the last *Umsebenzi* article that 'white workers should be brought close to the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa'. But I believe that the best way of getting through to the class-diseased minds of the white workers is through their pockets and not through principles which are likely to come across to them as abstract concepts.

VICTORY THROUGH WORKERS' UNITY!

'WORKERISM' AND THE FREEDOM CHARTER

The adoption of the Freedom Charter by Cosatu is a great victory for the forces of democracy and socialism.

Before the Second National Congress much debate took place on the question of the political programme that the democratic trade union movement should adopt. The point at issue was not whether or not black workers want socialism. The final objective of any genuine workers' movement is to bring about a society without exploitation. Therefore, the bone of contention was and is how to reach this goal, and what its content should be.

The 'workerist' grouping always tries to present itself as the only 'force' interested in socialism. As such, the impression is often created that the debate is between 'socialists' (the workerists) 'and non-socialists' or 'anti-socialists' (the progressive majority). The 'workerist' clique has always sought, at best, to turn the democratic trade union movement into a political party. Such a party would become the centre of opposition to the political vanguard of the working class — the SACP — and the mass democratic movement. At worst, they would create an opposition parallel to, and within, the trade union movement. The so-called Socialist Workers' Party is a case in point.

The individuals consider the revolutionary workers' movement their enemy. They do not recognise the historic achievements of countries such as the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Cuba which have made great strides towards a society without classes. They play on genuine or imagined 'mistakes' to undermine living socialism. Experience has shown that the effect of their campaigns is to divide the workers' movement into splinter groups. Their adventurist positions such as the demand for a socialist revolution now, in South Africa, can only lead to the weakening of the working class and its allies. In the final analysis, they easily find themselves serving the interests of the national and class enemy.

The Freedom Charter is not an alternative to socialism. It contains the aspirations of the oppressed and democratic forces of our country against oppression and exploitation. For the working class, it is the viable basis for further transformations to a socialist future. To ensure such a development, the working class should play a leading role in mass action, in armed struggle and in the structures and actions of the democratic movement as a whole. It should be taken to the factories, mines, farms and other enterprises. Through discussion and actions aimed at implementing the demands of the Charter, the mass of the workers will understand it in context, advance the democratic struggle, and ensure that it does in fact serve as a platform for an uninterrupted development to socialism.

At the same time, the workers should be educated about the true nature of exploitation and of the socialist society they will build. Their day-to-day experience on the factory floor and within society has to be moulded into a scientific view of the society and world we live in. Such an outlook has its roots in the history of our working class movement and the experience of the working people in other countries. The 'socialist terrain' should not be left to the 'workerists' and other ultra-left detractors.

This is a task that faces activists of the trade union movement and, above all, the underground political vanguard of our working class: the South African Communist Party.



LONG LIVE THE F



SHALL BE

WORK AND

SECURITY

FOR ALL

OPENING THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

Even though the Freedom Charter is not an obstacle to socialist advance it is not, in itself, a programme for socialism. It cannot be denied that other class forces could try to use the Freedom Charter in order to create a kind of welfare state dominated by capitalism. The way in which the Freedom Charter is implemented in practice does not depend on verbal hair-splitting, but rather on the strength of the organised working class in the liberation alliance which will lead the masses to People's Power.

The Freedom Charter has been endorsed by three giant industrial unions: the National Union of Mineworkers, with a membership of 369 000, which did so in February. This was followed by the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (131 000) and the Food and Allied Workers' Union (63 000).

And now the giant Federation — Cosatu — has adopted this people's document.

Workers and their organisations understand that the goals of the national democratic revolution as spelt out in the Freedom Charter will force far-reaching changes:

- ★ It will mean power will be in the hands of the masses;
- ★ It will break the back of white monopoly capital;
- ★ It will dramatically improve the living and working standards of the oppressed.

Moreover workers realize that the Charter is not an obstacle on the road to socialism. The political Party of the working class, the SACP, organises and mobilises the workers around its own programme and that of the Freedom Charter. We regard the Charter as satisfying the immediate demands of the workers in the National Democratic Revolution.

Is there a possibility that the national democratic revolution will strangle working class power? The national democratic revolution in our country is taking place in a new epoch. This is the epoch of the transition to socialism. Our ally, the African National Congress, in which the workers play the key role, says in its *Strategy and Tactics*:

'Our revolution is happening in a new kind of world, a world in which the horizons liberated from foreign oppression extend beyond mere political control and encompass the element that makes such control meaningful — economic emancipation. It is also happening in a new kind of South Africa; a South Africa in which there is a large and well developed working class.'

Our working class is already placing its imprint on the immediate struggle. As the most revolutionary, the most consolidated, the best organised class it is already at the helm in all the fronts of struggle and in all the people's organisations. It is precisely in the adoption of the Charter by the workers and their full participation in the national democratic revolution that we will ensure that our country moves to socialism.

The South African Communist Party, then, does not counterpose the socialist revolution to the national democratic revolution. We do not counterpose the Party Programme to the Freedom Charter. Lenin says: 'Whoever expects a pure social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what is revolution.'

Indeed, we hold that the Freedom Charter opens up the road to socialism. Not everyone who supports the Charter is a communist. **But every communist, every revolutionary who fights for socialism, must fight for the Freedom Charter.**

DOM CHARTER!

HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK



10. CHECKING BY CAR

There are many ways of countering enemy surveillance when using a vehicle. Be extra observant when approaching your parked car and when driving off. This is the most likely point at which tailing may start — from your home, work, friends, meeting place. Be on the lookout for strange cars, with at least two passengers (usually males). When driving off be on the lookout for cars pulling off after you or possibly following you from around a corner. Bear in mind that the enemy may have two or three vehicles in the vicinity, linked by radio. They will try to follow you in an interchanging sequence (the so-called A,B,C technique). Cars A, B and C will constantly exchange positions so as to confuse you.

Ruses:

After driving off it is a useful procedure to make a U-turn and drive away in the opposite direction, forcing any surveillance car into a hurried move. As you proceed, notice vehicles behind you — *your rear-view mirror is your best friend!*

Also pay attention to vehicles travelling ahead which may deliberately allow you to overtake them. Cars waiting ahead of you at the junctions, stop streets and by the roadside must be noted too. You will often find vehicles travelling behind you for quite a distance, particularly on a main road or link road. Avoid becoming nervous and over-reacting. Do not suddenly speed ahead in the hope of losing them.

Remember that the point of counter-surveillance is to determine whether you are being followed or not. Rather travel at normal speed and then slightly reduce speed, giving normal traffic the chance of overtaking you. If the following vehicle also reduces speed, then begin to accelerate slightly. Is that vehicle copying you? If so, turn off the main road and see if it follows. A further turn or two in a quiet suburb or rural area will establish whether you have a tail.

There are many other ruses to determine this:

- Drive completely around a traffic circle as though you have missed your turn-off;
- Turn into a dead-end street as if by mistake;

- Turn into the driveway of a house or building and out again as if in error;
 - Abruptly switch traffic lanes and unexpectedly turn left or right without indicating — but be sure there is no traffic cop about!
 - Cross at a traffic light just as it turns red, etc.
- Such ruses will force a tail into unusual actions to keep up with you — but your actions must appear normal.

Check Route

The Check Route we previously described in this series for checking surveillance by foot can obviously be applied to vehicles. Your check route must be well prepared and should include busy and quiet areas. Also include stops at places such as garages and shops where you can carry out some counter-surveillance on foot. You can carry out your routine by yourself or with assistance.

In this case comrades are posted at check points along your route and observe whether you are being tailed. It is a good idea to fit your car out with side-view mirrors for better observation, including one for your passenger. At all costs avoid looking over your shoulder (a highly suspicious action!).

Enemy Tracking Device

You should often check underneath your car in case the enemy has placed a tracking device ('bumper bleeper') there. It is a small, battery-operated, magnetically attached gadget that emits a direction signal to a tailing vehicle. This enables the vehicle to remain out of your sight. When you stop for some minutes, however, your trackers will be curious about what you are up to. This will force them to look for you. So your check routine should involve stopping in a quiet or remote area. Get out of your car and into a hidden position from where you can observe any follow-up movement. If you have assistance, stop your car at a pre-arranged spot. Your comrades should drive past and check whether a tail vehicle has halted just out of sight down the road.

Next Issue: Cutting the Tail

PROTECT THE UNDERGROUND!



HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

9. ARMED STRUGGLE BEGINS: PARTY PROGRAMME ADOPTED

MK — Umkhonto we Sizwe

At the end of 1961, backed by the ANC and the Communist Party, a new organisation made its appearance on South African soil: Umkhonto we Sizwe, Spear of the Nation. It announced its existence not only in words but also in deeds — a series of sabotage explosions all over the country.

The explosions were accompanied by a manifesto declaring that in the situation of terror existing in the country the masses could no longer rely on peaceful methods of struggle but would hit back with every means in their power.

Umkhonto we Sizwe's sabotage operations were never intended as an end in themselves, but as a stage towards the building of a *people's army of liberation* in South Africa. They served notice of the end of an era of militant, but non-violent struggles alone; the opening shots in what will undoubtedly prove a long, bitter, but certainly in the end victorious, war of liberation.

The path of armed resistance and struggle was one not lightly or easily taken by the South African people's liberation movements and their Communist Party. For many years they had striven by every means possible, with indomitable courage, patience and persistence to achieve a non-violent transition to people's power. Civil war has been forced upon our country by the racial arrogance, greed and ruthlessness of the colonialist ruling class.

The 1962 Programme

The general line and direction of Party policy was fully confirmed by the membership at the fifth national conference held illegally in Johannesburg in 1962.

The Conference performed an enormous service to the working class and oppressed people of our country by adopting the new Party Programme — *The Road to South African Freedom* — after intensive discussion of a first draft in every unit and among non-Party circles of revolutionary workers. Hundreds of amendments were submitted, considered and in many cases incorporated.

The Programme reaffirmed the Party's adherence

to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, which were briefly described and summarised (an essential need in a country where the dissemination of Marxist ideas had been prohibited for over a decade).

It proceeded to give a clear Marxist analysis of the character of South African society — a *special type of colonialism* — 'in which the oppressing white nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed people themselves and lived side by side with them'. Hence:

'As its immediate and foremost task, the South African Communist Party works for a united front of national liberation. It strives to unite all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution to destroy white domination. The main content of this revolution will be the national liberation of the African people. Carried to its fulfilment, this revolution will at the same time put an end to every sort of race discrimination and privilege. The revolution will restore the land and the wealth of the country to the people, and guarantee democracy, freedom and equality of rights, and opportunities to all. The Communist Party has no interests separate from those of the working people. The Communists are sons and daughters of the people, and share with them the over-riding necessity to put an end to the suffering and humiliation of apartheid. The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party: the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundations of a classless, communist society.'

The 1962 Programme marked a major advance in the theoretical development of the SACP, and indeed — as in its section on 'The African Revolution' — made a significant contribution to the development of Marxist thought throughout the continent.

This was continued and amplified in the Party's journal, *The African Communist*, which has helped to spread the enlightening ideas of Marxism-Leninism in Africa and among Africans and other interested thinkers in every part of the world.

LONG LIVE UMKHONTO!



PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

3. AGRICULTURE (Part One)



What kind of changes will be necessary in agriculture in the early stages of post-apartheid South Africa? The answer to this question is neither short nor simple. Here, we can only merely touch on the problem in the hope that it will stimulate more thought and discussion in the necessary search for concrete answers. Let us, in the first place, look at some relevant statistics about our countryside.

There are about 60 000 white-owned commercial units which farm within 87% of our land over which they have a legal monopoly. But even within the white farming sector there is an enormous concentration of ownership by the few; almost half of agricultural production comes from less than 4 000 of the most highly mechanised units.

The 60 000 white farming units employ a little more than a million black workers. The labour of these workers produces well over 90% of marketable agricultural goods. These workers can be correctly described as a rural proletariat. They obviously make up the most important part of the revolutionary social base in the countryside of a future People's Government.

In the rest of the countryside the class nature of the inhabitants can not be so easily described. Over 5 million African families are squeezed into the so-called homelands. The amount produced in the homelands for the market is insignificant. In some of the homelands only up to half of the families have any land at all. And even in their case the amount of land is so small that it might provide the family with an average crop of no more than two to three bags of mealies supplemented by small quantities of items such as beans and pumpkin.

In the light of these facts it has been argued that we have no real substantial peasantry. Apart from the handful of rich and middle peasants who are emerging from the patronage of the Bantustan system, the mass of our rural poor have no access to land. They either starve or are forced to rely on the shared crumbs of the extended family system. It should also be

remembered that the majority of males living in the countryside have had an urban work experience. They have rarely, if ever consistently engaged in farming activities and a great number of them look to the towns rather than to the countryside as a future way of life.

How do these realities in the countryside influence our approaches to rural policy in the immediate phase following the victory of the national democratic revolution? We know that the land robbery and the virtual destruction of the African peasantry are among the most basic and emotive national grievances. Land reform must therefore receive priority treatment in the immediate post-apartheid period. And, in a most general way, the objectives of our land policies have been set out in the Freedom Charter.

The Freedom Charter proclaims that 'restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land shall be divided among those who work it ...' The Morogoro commentary on the Freedom Charter was more explicit. It added that the land is to be 'divided among the small farmers, peasants and landless of all races who do not exploit the labour of others.' These formulations need to be thought about very carefully.

Dividing the land among 'those who work it' does not necessarily mean that we should parcel up the whole country into small peasant family holdings. Allocations to participants in rural collectives and workers in democratically-run state farms is, equally, a redivision of the land among those who work it.

Obviously there will be a need to provide land and State help to individual farmers. But the scale on which this is carried out will be determined by many factors which relate not just to agriculture but also to the economy as a whole. In Part Two we will attempt to develop the latter aspect. We will also reflect on the special role of the rural working class and the implications for an advance towards socialism of any large-scale re-creation of an African peasantry.

THE LAND BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE!



UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY ECONOMICS

5. WAGES

Everyone knows what wages are. They are the payment you receive from your boss if you are employed. But what are the different forms wages can take? How are the levels of wages fixed? And what effects do they have on the economy as a whole?

The wages a worker actually receives in cash are usually less than the employer has agreed to pay. This is because the employer is responsible for the worker's *gross wages* but takes out several deductions before handing over to the worker his or her take-home wages (or *net wages*). These deductions include taxes which the employer hands over to the government. But employers sometimes deduct other sums too, supposedly to pay expenses (such as food or transport provided) or arbitrarily as 'fines'.

The simplest form of wages is *time rates*. Under this system the worker is paid a certain amount for each day worked, for each week or month. In its basic form, the worker's wages in this system do not directly depend on how much the worker produces. But the worker will get higher rates of pay for working extra hours, above the agreed number. These higher rates are known as *overtime rates*. A different form is *piece-rate wages*. Here wages are not set as a certain number of rands per day or per week. Instead, they are set as a certain number of cents or rands for each job or piece or operation completed. Then the amount the worker gets each week appears to depend on the amount of work completed.

A very common form of wage payment is the *bonus system*. Here, the worker receives a basic time rate, but in addition receives a bonus which depends upon whether an output target is reached and beaten. The exact form of the bonus varies. In some firms the individual's bonus depends upon the output of the whole workforce; in others it depends on the output of the group or particular department that he or she works in. And in some cases it depends on the quality as well as the quantity of output.

How are wages determined? In one sense, wages are fixed by the employer. The worker

either agrees to them or has no work. But the boss is influenced by many things and it is these that really determine wage levels.

One influence is the amount of competition between different bosses. If employers find it difficult to get the type of workers they want, each one may try to pay a bit more than other firms to get workers. The opposite is also true and is a key feature of capitalism. When there is a surplus of unemployed workers (a reserve 'army of labour'), some firms can pay lower rates than other firms and still find labour, so there is a downward pressure on wages.

The *second* major influence is the workers' own struggle through trade unions. By joining trade unions workers prevent bosses from playing one worker off against another. The boss cannot say 'you will have to take a lower wage or I will find another worker who will' if the trade union is powerful enough to say 'everyone must receive the wages we negotiate'.

The *third* major influence on wages is the law. The apartheid laws, including the Group Areas Act, the continuing forms of influx control and the laws controlling migration and permitting job reservation are designed to ensure that black workers' wages are kept lower than those of white workers.

How does the level of wages affect the economy as a whole? Employers always argue that high wages damage the economy because they reduce the firm's profits. They also argue that higher wages cause inflation which means a rise in prices. A general rise in wages can have either of these effects but does not directly cause both at the same time. If higher wages cause inflation it is because firms put up their prices to cover the increase and prevent their profits suffering.

Trade union struggles for higher wages can weaken the system through reducing profits, but these struggles' economic effects alone will not end capitalism or capitalist support for apartheid.

SUPPORT THE LIVING WAGE CAMPAIGN!



MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

5. THE PROBLEM OF KNOWLEDGE

In the previous four articles of this series, we made the point that the main job of Marxist philosophy is to defend the truth of scientific theories about the world in general and about human history in particular. Last time, we discussed an all-important example of such true theories — the theory of Historical Materialism. Historical Materialism shows how social revolutions happen when the existing relations of production hold back the growth of the productive forces. This theory, communists believe, is a true theory. But what do we *mean* by a 'true' theory, and how do we *know* when a theory is true? These questions belong to a branch of philosophy called *epistemology*. This word comes from two ancient Greek words — *epistime*, which means to know, and *logos* which just means words or a word. So the term really means 'word about knowledge'.

When Marxists call a theory 'true', they mean that it is *objectively* true. By this they mean that the truth of the theory does not depend on anyone merely thinking that it is true or discovering that it works. Another way of putting this is to say that there is no such thing as a scientific theory which is *subjectively* true. This way of looking at the problem of knowledge is called Epistemological Realism, and it may sound like common sense. But it has not seemed obvious to those philosophers who have been greatly influenced by a very powerful and persuasive *epistemological doctrine known as Empiricism*.

Two great British thinkers are usually reckoned as the founders of Empiricism. They are Francis Bacon (1561-1626), who stressed the importance of observation in the natural sciences, and John Locke (1632-1704), who developed Empiricism into a complete system of thought.

Now Empiricism is one of those areas in the world of ideas which illustrates how very careful we have to be not to use the terms 'Idealism' and 'Materialism' as easy-to-use labels for positions

we disagree with. A philosophical system or method may contain a mixture of Idealist and Materialist viewpoints. This is the case with Hegelian Idealism which (as we saw in the second article of this series) was indispensable to Marx's development of Dialectical Materialism.

Empiricism is a blend of Idealism and Materialism. It is Idealist in that it treats experience as something that goes on entirely 'inside the heads' or in the minds of individuals. It is Idealist also in that it largely ignores the fact that our way of experiencing the world is bound up with the fact that we act on it in order to change it.

The minds of human beings are not passive wax sheets which simply absorb the imprint of experience. We experience reality in and through our efforts to shape it, and those efforts are, in their turn, informed by our experience. But Empiricism does have a Materialist aspect inasmuch as it recognises that our knowledge of the world depends on the material experience we have of it through our bodily senses.

Empiricism, however, cannot be a reliable guide to the truth of scientific theories in general and of Historical Materialism in particular. As Marx put it in his *Wages, Price and Profit*, everyday experience 'catches only the delusive appearance of things'. To go beyond the appearances and discover the root causes of racism, oppression and exploitation we need to do active intellectual work in forging concepts like the concepts of forces and relations of production, and in applying these concepts to our experience.

Next time we will show the relevance of all this to actual revolutionary struggle by examining Lenin's debate with the defenders of a form of Empiricism called Positivism during a crucial phase in the Bolshevik revolution.

THEORY MUST GUIDE PRACTICE!



POLITICAL ECONOMY

9. SOCIALISM WILL TRIUMPH

The apologists for capitalism say that a democratically controlled planned people's economy cannot work. People, they say, are too selfish, too concerned with their own wealth, status or power to behave in this way. We disagree.

Think, for example, of a well organised trade union; here is an example of the free coming-together of a community — albeit only from one industry — to run its own affairs, to allocate its resources, supervise its officials, regulate its income and expenditure and to direct collective action like organising campaigns, go-slows, boycotts or strikes. That example can be repeated over and over again in other voluntary organisations — residents' associations, student bodies, sports associations and church assemblies. Why not in production in the most important aspect of daily life, which is how we produce and distribute the things we need for life and happiness?

Perhaps the precise ways we run such existing bodies will not meet the needs of production. Perhaps we will need consultation on a nationwide scale, and to consider detailed and technical expert advice over long periods. But just as we have found the ways to democratic organisation without the need for orders from private owners in the fields of work or sport, so ways can be found in production; through co-operatives or mass popular assemblies, perhaps; through elected councils or committees or local parliaments, perhaps. The ways are many and various. We will have to discover them for ourselves through trial and error but only when we have grasped control of our country's resources, and returned them into the hands of the whole community.

Socialism is not just a form of government, or a description of a political party which claims for itself the right to direct the whole society. Socialism is a way of life, in which the means of production have become people's property and are used to answer the people's needs — not to produce the highest private profits. Such a new way of life will require new ways for people to

decide their needs and wishes, new ways for executive officers to carry out these decisions and new ways to mobilise the skills, enthusiasm and labour, which are called for. New ways of life require new types of men and women with new motivations and new aspirations — people who have left personal greeds and personal ambitions behind, and replaced them with the hopes and needs of a fraternal community which lives and works in a spirit of mutual help — not in a dog-eat-dog personal scramble for success at the cost of others.

Is such a society possible? Or is it a dream which can never be attained? We Communists believe that it is possible. We believe that capitalism itself has prepared the way for it by developing a working population of millions who have learnt to work together and pool their skills and their strengths in mass production industries and in large-scale farming. It has prepared the material basis for the new society in which all the needs of all men can be met if only we organise correctly to do so. Socialism is now a real alternative in the capitalist world, in our country as much as anywhere else.

But socialism does not grow out of capitalism of its own accord. It has to be prepared for, worked for, fought for, and finally created. And to prepare for it, people must learn to understand why it is necessary and what it will be like.

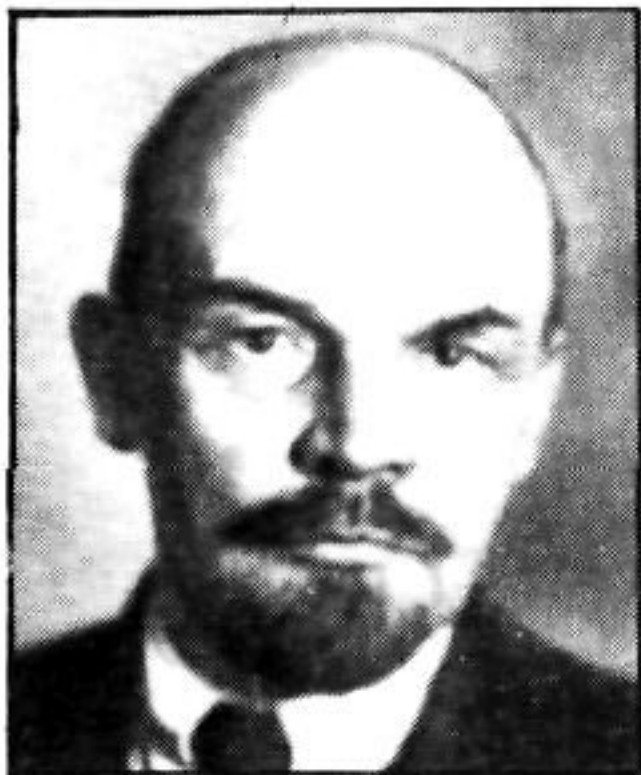
It is necessary then that people must be organised not to wait or dream of it, but to create it. But the essence is the seizure of the privately owned means of production — the land, the mines, the factories, the finance houses — and their return to the people.

It is for this special task — the task of educating and preparing for this revolutionary change in our society and of organising people to take it from capitalism to socialism — that the Communist Party has been built. **It is the existence of a strong and active Communist Party which prepares the way for our country to change to socialism, and which will guarantee — in the end — that socialism will triumph in our lifetime.**

FREEDOM IS SOCIALISM!

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND SOUTH AFRICA

Seventy years ago on 7th November, 1917, the workers and peasants of Russia seized power and established the world's first working class state. The Communist Party (Bolsheviks) under the leadership of Lenin, organised a successful armed insurrection. The masses of the working people, joined by the soldiers of the Tsar's army who refused to carry out the orders of their officers, rallied to the Party's call for a seizure of power to put an end to the exploitative dictatorship which had kept them in starvation and without freedom.



Lenin

The revolution, however, did more than that. Without the least delay the new Soviet government passed a Law on Peace. This was a call for all the countries at war to start immediate negotiations for a just peace in the world. The new Soviet government also immediately declared the national liberation of all nationalities of the former Tsarist empire, which was known everywhere as a 'prison house of nations'. The peoples of the Central Asian regions were told: 'Arrange your national life freely as you think fit. This is your right. You must know that your rights, just as the rights of all the peoples of Russia, are upheld by the entire might of the revolution and its institutions.'

Thus the Great October Socialist Revolution integrated in one historic process the achievement of workers' power (socialism), on the one hand, the people's power (national liberation), on the other. It was the beginning of a new era for

mankind. From that time onwards, the struggle of all the colonised peoples against international imperialism became an indispensable part of the worldwide struggle for social transformation. A new slogan for this epoch was advanced by Lenin: '*Workers and Oppressed Peoples of the World, Unite!*'

'The Bolsheviks Are Coming!'

News of the great events in Russia were welcomed by the pioneers of our Party with an electrifying enthusiasm. The '*International*', the journal of the International Socialist League, kept the workers of South Africa informed about the developments in the East:

'Workers of South Africa ... It is time you knew what game is afoot. It is time for you to realise that your fellow workers in Russia need your voice and help. The capitalist press hides the real state of affairs behind foul slanders. **It hides the fact that the Bolshevik Government is the only Government of the Workers, by the workers and for the workers ... The cause of the Russian workers is your cause!**'

The emerging socialist organisations in South Africa welcomed the establishment of the Soviet state from the very beginning and published as well as discussed all the statements of the Soviet leaders. In a leaflet '*The Bolsheviks Are Coming*', David Ivon Jones drew the attention of the people to the similarities in the situations of South Africa and Tsarist Russia, the massacres of the workers in both countries, and the hope for both societies in the victory of the Bolsheviks in Russia.

At that stage, not all the leaders among the oppressed people understood the meaning of the October Revolution. It is known as the October revolution because at that time Russia was still using the old calendar. For example, in 1919 the socialists distributed a leaflet in Natal calling on the African workers to join in the 'Hands Off Russia' campaign. They were put on trial for 'incitement to public violence'. A Natal ANC leader, JT Gumede, at that time still very much under the influence of the chiefs, was among those who gave evidence for the state. One of the reasons he gave for condemning the Bolsheviks was that he believed that if they came to South Africa they would kill the chiefs.

LONG LIVE THE SOVIET UNION!

The New Jerusalem

But it did not take long for African workers to develop an appreciation and understanding of the Russian revolution and this understanding began to spread among all Africans. The ICU (formed in 1919) at its annual conferences consistently adopted messages of greetings and goodwill to the Russian workers. And in 1927 the very same JT Gumede, the ANC president, paid a visit to the Soviet Union. He came back completely won over by what he saw there. He announced to his people: 'I have seen the New Jerusalem'.



J T Gumede

When the Soviet Union was born the Western politicians and their mass media were unanimous and completely confident that it could not survive, let alone develop. The big newspapers and all the 'learned' authorities were proved wrong. Only ten years after the October Revolution, JT Gumede was able to appreciate how a backward peasant country was being transformed into a huge industrial and agricultural world power. An illiterate population was being transformed into the best-educated people in the world. A country which was riddled with racism had made racialism a crime. No wonder Winston Churchill was to bemoan in later years the fact that capitalism had failed to 'strangle the Bolshevik revolution in its cradle'.

Forward With Glasnost and Perestroika!

The productive and cultural achievements of the Soviet people over the past seventy years can only be doubted by the blind or those who do not want to see. But it is also true that in the course of the tumultuous advance forward some serious mistakes were made. Some people and struc-

tures, some methods and morality, some departures from socialist democracy and legality, came to act as brakes on the society's potential advance to greater achievements.

It is against this background that the 27th Congress of the CPSU in 1985 resolved to embark upon an all-round campaign of Perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness), democratisation and criticism in the society. This is not (as our enemies suggest) a retreat from socialism, but a way of strengthening it. The initiative launched by the 27th Congress is a search, a discussion on how to move further the restructuring of Soviet society so as to speed up the pace of development and the advance of socialism. The true meaning of glasnost was spelt out by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the CPSU when he said:

'I see no drama in our polemics, in our comparing points of view. This is normal. We are learning. We sometimes lack a political culture, we do not have a cultural tradition of discussions or polemics, where one respects the view of an opponent. I may be wrong about some things. I do not pretend to know the absolute truth. We have to search for the truth together. Some people are already saying that we have had enough criticism. But I do not think that is correct. The Politburo is convinced that glasnost is the normal state of society. Even the most extreme points of view contain something valuable and rational, since the one who defends it honestly shows concern for the common cause.'



Mikhail Gorbachev

Is it not the basic premise of Marxism-Leninism that everything changes except the law of change? Even in this regard, 70 years later, the Great October Socialist Revolution is still unfurling its irresistible social potential in the land of the Soviets. Indeed, even in 1987 the Bolsheviks are coming!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

POLISARIO FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM



Polisario freedom fighters

In the far north of Africa live a people called the Saharwi. Their country is dry and difficult for farming, rather like Botswana or Namibia. Over the centuries they worked out a way of life which suited their country. They travelled about in small numbers with their herds of sheep, goats and camels. It was a hard life, but a free one. They had their own language and customs and they asked only to be left alone. Unhappily, like many other African peoples, they were conquered by invaders from Europe. Their country became the Spanish colonies of Rio de Oro and Saguia El Hamra. The Saharwis never accepted Spanish rule and struggled against it for many years. In the nineteen sixties, when the wind of liberation was blowing all over Africa and the old colonial empires were crumbling, their struggle grew sharper. On 17th June 1970, there was a popular uprising. The fascist government of Spain reacted just as the fascist government of South Africa does. It's soldiers opened fire on unarmed crowds and many were killed. The people, however, stood firm and lifted their struggle to new heights. In 1973, they formed a new liberation movement, the Polisario Front.

By this time, the days of the Spanish empire in Africa were nearly over. Not only were the Saharwi people fighting with more and more success but they were also receiving help from friendly nations in north Africa, such as Algeria, and the United Nations Organisation was calling for them to be set free. Victory seemed almost within their grasp. Now a new factor came into play. The northern neighbour of the Saharwi country is the Kingdom of Morocco. For some years, the King of Morocco had been putting forward the idea that the Saharwi country belonged to him. His motive was clear. Though poor for farming, the Saharwi country is rich for mining. The Moroccans planned to sieze the valuable minerals in that country. They had no right to do so. The

Saharwi people were totally against the Moroccan claim. So was the majority of the United Nations. So, at first, was Spain. When in 1975 Morocco threatened to invade the Saharwi country, the Spanish government declared that it would resist. Then it became clear that King Hassan of Morocco had strong allies. When his invasion began, the USA and France prevented the United Nations from taking action. Instead of resisting, Spain opened talks with Morocco. The talks soon reached agreement. In return for a continuing share of the country's mineral wealth, Spain agreed to hand the territory over to Morocco. The agreement was well and truly carried out — even the files of the Spanish secret police, containing the names of Polisario supporters, were handed over to the Moroccan secret police.

So a claim with not a shadow of right behind it became a reality because the great imperialist powers backed it. As a constable for his American masters, King Hassan took possession of the wealth which belonged to the Saharwi people. His large army, well supplied with American and French guns, succeeded in occupying a large part of the Saharwi country.

But the people did not give up. They have been fighting ever since. Many of them withdrew into the remote eastern part of their country. The Polisario army stopped the Moroccan advance and that eastern part remains free. There, the Saharwi people have set up the government of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, now recognised by 63 countries, including the Soviet Union and its socialist allies. Unable to make progress, the Moroccan army has had to dig in behind a 'wall' hundreds of miles long. Even that does not protect them against the vigorous attacks of the Polisario fighters.

Polisario supports the South African peoples fight for freedom. It deserves our support in return.

**LONG LIVE THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!**