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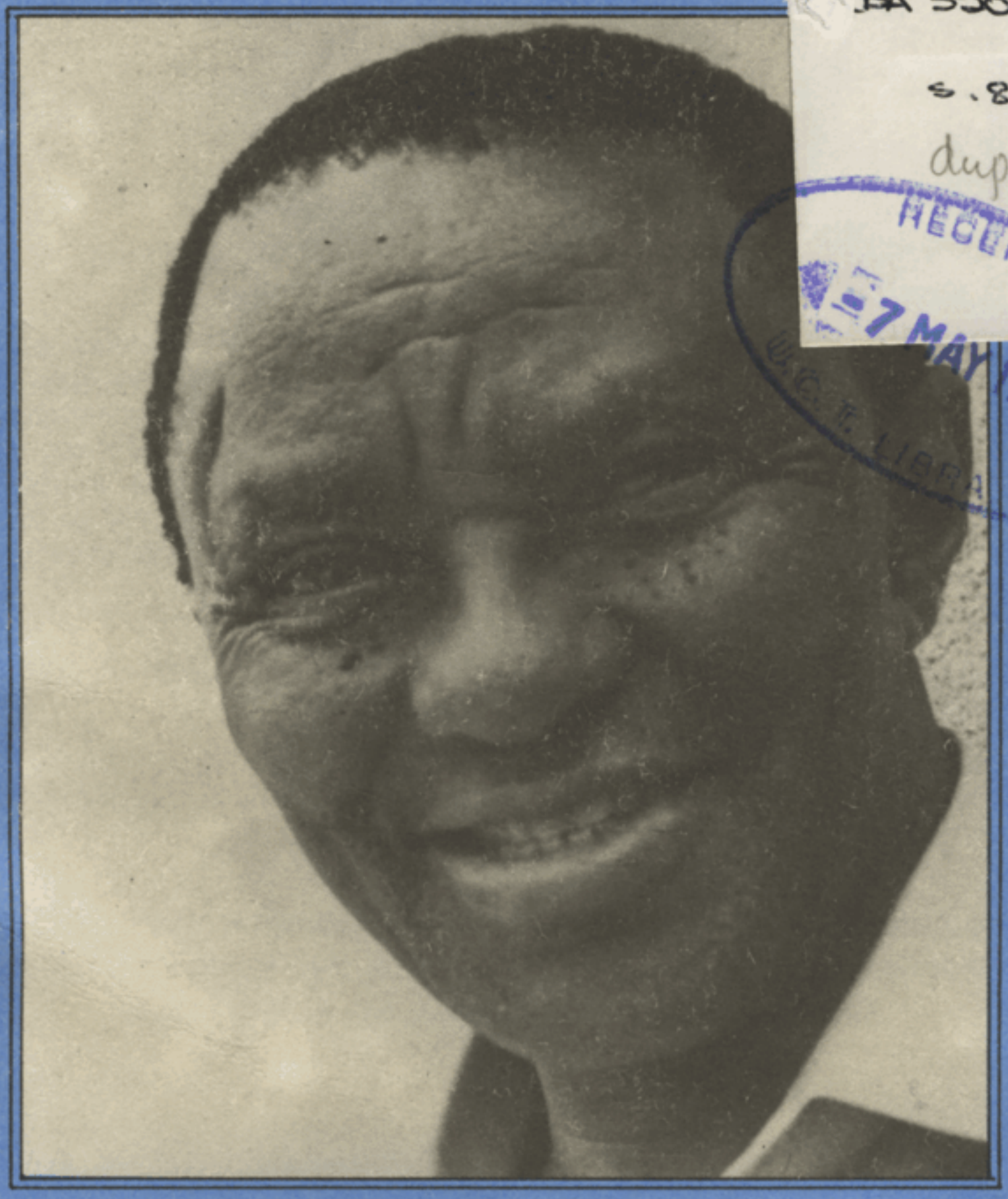

DAN TLOOME
ELECTED SACP CHAIRMAN

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THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

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No 109 Second Quarter 1987

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Correction: Page 1 of our last issue contained the inscription "No 108 Fourth Quarter 1986". This should, of course, have read "No 108 First Quarter 1987".

INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE ON ALL FRONTS

Political Statement of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party

The situation in our country is characterised by a sharpening confrontation between the revolutionary forces on one hand and the fascist regime on the other. In the period since we issued our last major statement, it is clear that the heightened political and military offensive served further to shift the balance of forces in favour of the democratic revolution. This has forced the apartheid regime to resort to extreme reaction, confirming the tendency we have observed before, that this regime can no longer rule in the old way.

The revolutionary movement has achieved progress because it succeeded further to mobilise the masses of the people into struggle in both the urban and the rural areas. Important mass struggles have been waged throughout the country including in such localities as Alexandra Township, the Eastern Transvaal, the Lebowa and KwaNdebele bantustans and other areas. Of great importance also have been the mass campaigns for a people's education as well as the continuing and widespread rent strike which involves millions of working people.

Our working masses also struck powerful blows for liberation when they joined together, on a nation-wide basis, in two general strikes on May Day and June 16th. These actions reasserted the leading role of the working class in the national democratic revolution, demonstrated the strength of the alliance of class and national forces that are fighting for the victory of this revolution and showed their ability to act together nationally.

All these mass actions, both local and national, drew greater numbers of the people into struggle, especially in the rural areas, and thus further broadened the mass base of the democratic revolution. These expanded forces for revolutionary change create new possibilities for an intensified and sustained political offensive at both local and national levels.

This tendency is further reinforced by the fact the mass struggles we have referred to were also characterised by an open political challenge of the authority of the capitalist, white minority state. The general strikes, the struggles for an alternative education, against KwaNdebele bantustan, high rents and the apartheid system of local government, and others, deliberately focussed their attention on political questions and, fundamentally, the issue of the destruction of the apartheid structure of government. This spread of a revolutionary democratic consciousness emphasises the need for a programme of action to engage these millions of people in organised and purposeful struggle.

The tendency of the growth of socialist ideas, especially among the workers and the youth, has also continued and has become a permanent feature in the developing political and ideological maturity of the revolutionary masses of our country. These socialist-minded forces have been in the thick of the struggles we have spoken of. They have been contributing practically to our advance towards liberation and socialism.

The increase in the general level of consciousness and mobilisation of the masses has also been accompanied by the growth, the strengthening and the extension of the influence of the national democratic organisations. Indeed the struggles that rocked the apartheid regime became possible thanks to the

efforts of these mass organisations. Their success demonstrated that we have the organisational capacity to respond to the increased resolve of the people to act, in fact to draw them into united national and local action as well as further to expand the organised strength of the democratic movement.

In this connection one of the most significant developments is the establishment and multiplication of organs of people's power arising directly out of the struggle to make the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. The emergence of street and area committees, people's courts, self-defence units and workers' councils represents the birth of new organisational forms which root the revolutionary movement among the people and create additional elements which make ever more effective the conduct of the revolutionary struggle on all fronts.

The Trade Unions

Of importance also has been the development and the further strengthening of the democratic trade union movement and its centre, The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The final collapse of that representative of the white labour aristocracy, TUCSA, which had managed to attract some black workers, represents a notable step forward in the process of building the democratic trade union movement. The principles on which COSATU was founded have continued to spread among the workers. This creates the basis not only for organising the unorganised but also for those unions outside COSATU to join this democratic congress of the working class of our country.

It is however also clear that the process of the mobilisation of the workers into a united trade union movement has not been and will not be straightforward. Various groups are determined to ensure the division of this movement and to strengthen right-wing forces in general. The attempt by Buthelezi, head of the apartheid KwaZulu bantustan, to impose his own yellow and tribally-based union on the workers furthers these reactionary aims. Also of concern is the effort to establish an alternative trade union centre in the so-called CUSA/AZACTU federation.

The United States AFL-CIO and the Brussels-based ICFTU do not accept that COSATU should be supported as the one democratic trade union federation of the workers of our country. They have therefore continued to support various groups within the working-class movement in an effort to build up a pro-imperialist faction that would act as a collaborationist force within the national democratic movement as a whole. If revolutionaries maintain their guard, these schemes are doomed to failure,

because they do not take into account the level of consciousness attained by the workers and the lessons that the workers have drawn from such earlier experience as the attempt by the ICFTU to establish the so-called FOFATUSA, during the fifties.

Armed Struggle

The people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, also made a crucial contribution to the continuing shift in the balance of forces. The period under review experienced a steady expansion of the military activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the increased involvement of the masses in combat and combat preparations, reflecting their understanding of the call to progress towards people's war. An effective link between MK and the emerging combat forces and their integration into our People's Army, is a vital task.

As in the area of mass political struggle, experience shows that the national liberation movement has at its disposal enormous reserves of committed revolutionaries who are both taking and are ready to take up arms. Aware of this reality, the enemy has resorted to a campaign of vilification against Umkhonto we Sizwe. The idea of people's war has, however, taken root. Lying enemy propaganda will not succeed to stop the masses engaging in combat, within the ranks and under the command of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The prestige of our liberation alliance, headed by the ANC, has grown to unprecedented levels both inside the country and internationally. The ANC stands in an uncontested position as the leader of the democratic forces that represent the future just social order which both our people and the rest of the world wish to see established in South Africa. The enemy's political and ideological counter-offensive against the ANC has failed precisely because the policies, the strategy and tactics of the ANC, our liberation alliance and the broad democratic movement reflect the deepest aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people of our country.

In this situation, it was inevitable that the fascist power would as it has, suffer a succession of political defeats, both inside and outside the country.

As a result, the process of the increasing isolation of the apartheid regime has been one of the main features of the current situation. Clearly, the further broadening of the front against apartheid tyranny, at home and abroad, is another important element in the period ahead of us.

Our Anniversary

The 65th Anniversary of our Party provided an occasion for us to present our views about the past, the present and the future both to our people and to the

international community. We were able to elaborate on our perspectives of advances towards the victories of the national democratic and the socialist revolutions. This anniversary also gave us an opportunity to reaffirm the place of our Party in the national liberation movement, its independence, its nature as the political party of the working class, and its open and honest acceptance of the ANC as the leader of the national democratic revolution.

The activities that took place around our anniversary contributed in no small measure to the strengthening of the struggle against the anti-communist counter-offensive of the apartheid regime and its allies. Indeed, the recent period has seen a further intensification of this reactionary campaign which is, as before, designed to split the national liberation movement and transform it into a neo-colonialist, pro-imperialist political group, no longer serving the interests of the people.

The broad democratic movement and the masses of our people have continued decisively to rebuff the enemy's efforts to turn them into an appendage of the reactionary anti-communist forces. On the contrary, thanks to their selfless contribution in the political and military struggle for the destruction of the apartheid system, the communists of our country have won for themselves and their Party, the SACP, the respect of the masses of our people. This has put our Party in an even better position to make its own contribution to the victory of the people's cause.

Intensified Repression

The situation facing the racist regime has therefore been one of a sharp growth in the size and the combativeness of the revolutionary forces of our country, a rapidly changing balance of strength at home and a radical weakening of the regime's international positions. The enemy has responded to this situation first by trying to project itself as a force for so-called reform and later by resorting to a consistent and all-round campaign of repression against the democratic forces.

Attempting to use political means to defeat the revolutionary struggle, the apartheid regime carried out such so-called reforms as changes in the laws governing passes and influx control, spoke of a negotiating machinery which it called a National Statutory Council and even "lifted" the partial state of emergency. But as none of these measures succeeded to deflect the people from the struggle, the enemy once more decided to crush the liberation struggle once and for all.

Thus we have seen the imposition of a brutal and permanent state of emergency whose provisions the racists have continued to extend. The

decision to use maximum force against the people has resulted in such measures as the increased use of puppet forces like the "vigilantes", the establishment and activisation of the so-called Joint Management Centres, the occupation of many townships by the army and the police, mass arrests, including those of children, and the establishment of special indoctrination camps for the youth.

Similarly, the campaign of aggression against the independent states of our region has continued and increased. As a result, the patriotic Lesotho government of Leabua Jonathan has been overthrown. The first President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Machel, has been assassinated as were two former cabinet ministers of the deposed government of Lesotho. Kidnapping and assassination of South African revolutionaries outside the country have become the order of the day. Open support for bandit groups has also continued and been reinforced by the sponsorship of the UNITA counter-revolutionaries by the Reagan Administration.

Extreme reaction at home and aggression externally — this is the response of the apartheid regime to the mounting struggle inside our country and its growing isolation internationally. Side by side with this and as an expression of this policy, the militarisation of the government structures has become a permanent and open feature of the fascist apartheid state. The capitalist state stands more naked than ever before as an instrument of repression for the defence of bourgeois power and property.

Bourgeois Reaction

And yet important sections among the bourgeoisie have come to realise that it is impossible for the apartheid regime to defeat and suppress the national liberation movement. Instead they can see that the intensified conflict between democracy and repression is leading to the further strengthening of the revolutionary movement and the growth of anti-capitalist ideas among the people.

Increasingly, the big capitalists find themselves forced to consider whether the best way for them to save the capitalist system may not be the early emergence of a bourgeois democratic society. They visualise a society in which capitalist production relations would be left intact while the contradictions created by white minority rule would cease to exist. They believe that, in this situation, it would be possible to stop the growth of the revolutionary socialist forces and, at worst, be faced with a social-democratic solution. This would also meet the interests of international monopoly

capital which does not want to see our country detach itself from the world imperialist system.

Despite these concerns, the big bourgeoisie in our country is constrained in its actions by two factors. One of these is that capital is afraid of the masses of the people and cannot trust them not to go beyond the limits of bourgeois-democratic change. The second factor is that capital itself has derived benefits from the system of racism and has been quite happy to see develop a strong party of reaction committed to the defence and advancement of its interests.

In other words the big bourgeoisie seeks transformations of South African society which go beyond the reform limit of the present regime but which aim to pre-empt the objectives of the revolutionary forces. The kind of bourgeois democratic change they support is hedged around by qualifications designed to stifle majority rule in practice. Despite a great deal of rhetoric on questions of democracy their ultimate solutions are always qualified by references to group rights (and to a continuous search for a role for the bantustans as ethnic entities) which, in the South African context, implies various forms of protection of the accumulated privileges of the white group.

Seizure of Power

It is clear that the main thrust of our present strategy must continue to concentrate on creating conditions for a revolutionary seizure of power. At the same time, we take into account the need for ever widening varieties of opposition to the regime, some of which might not share the revolutionary objectives of our liberation alliance. Objectively considered, a political readjustment in the ruling power bloc which favours the more liberal sector of the big bourgeoisie will undoubtedly create better objective conditions for the continuing struggle by the revolutionary forces to achieve the aims of the national democratic revolution.

The contradictions which have emerged between sections of the big bourgeoisie and the ruling group have also had an impact on the rest of the white population, however limited. And indeed contradictions between the rest of the white population, the petty bourgeoisie and the working class and this ruling group have also emerged, leading to growing divisions among the whites, including the Afrikaners. The emergence of such groupings as the HNP, the Conservative Party and the AWB is a reflection of these contradictions. So also is the drift among significant numbers of whites towards democratic positions.

These developments constitute an important part of the political crisis of the apartheid system. The racist regime can neither stop the advance of the liberation forces nor solve the contradictions that are tearing its social base asunder. Rather, whatever step this regime takes only serves to strengthen both these tendencies. The political crisis of the apartheid regime is both permanent and worsening. In the end, it will surface more openly than up to now, within its instruments of repression, the army and the police. Already apartheid Defence Minister Malan has refuse to disclose the numbers of those who are evading military conscription.

Economic Problems

Simultaneously with this political crisis, the economic crisis of the apartheid system has also continued to deepen. Major sectors of industry have been operating at less than 50% of their capacity. The rate of inflation increases continuously and has risen above 20%. Real income has been declining. To stop the flight of capital, the apartheid regime has been forced to maintain two exchange rates for the Rand. Despite this, the capital outflow has continued while a good number of foreign monopolies have sold their subsidiaries, thanks to the strength of the sanctions campaign, the intensity of our struggle and the general lowering of business confidence.

Today, international business consultants classify South Africa as a high risk country for both loans and investments. All this spells misery, unemployment and starvation for the masses of our people.

And yet the general crisis in which it is immersed demands of the Pretoria regime that it must continuously increase its expenditure on its machinery of repression and thus exacerbate the economic problems afflicting the country. Furthermore, however hard the apartheid regime and its capitalist allies try to evade sanctions, these will certainly help to weaken the economy and make it more difficult for the racists to hide the fact of its inevitable decline.

On The Offensive

All the developments we have discussed confirm that the period we are in demands of our broad liberation movement that we should remain on the offensive and raise that offensive to even higher levels. Our Party stands four-square behind the ANC's January 8th call for an intensification of the struggle on all fronts. 1987 can indeed be turned into an historic milestone on the road of Advance to People's Power.

The situation demands, more than ever before, the forging of the broadest democratic unity of all anti-racist forces.

We are called upon to devote even greater efforts to the building of the liberation and Party underground.

We must play our part in helping to escalate armed blows against an enemy which seems to understand only the language of violence.

We must continue to ensure that forms of organisation continually respond to the conditions of intensified repression. More especially it is vital to concentrate on organisation at the grass roots levels, which, as the recent period has demonstrated, can frustrate the brutal offensive against the mass national organisations.

Above all, we must help add further organisational muscle to the giant power of our militant working class. The recent period has once again underlined the historic truth that the very future of our revolution depends overwhelmingly on the unity, political level and mass organised strength of our working people. In the period ahead, communists, as representatives of the historic aspirations of our working class, must spare no energies in mobilising our working class as a united revolutionary force and in spreading the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Long Live the Year of Advance to People's Power!

Long Live the Liberation Alliance!

Long Live the broadest democratic unity among all anti-racist forces.

Long Live the South African Communist Party!

EDITORIAL NOTES

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY ELECTS NEW OFFICIALS

Following the death last year of comrade Moses Mabhida, the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party has announced the election of comrade Joe Slovo as general secretary and comrade Dan Tloome as chairman.

DANIEL TLOOME

Known to all his comrades as Uncle Dan, Daniel Tloome was born in Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, on the 17th of February, 1919. He was the fourth son of the Rev. John Tloome, a clergyman in the Congregational Church. After attending both primary and high school in Bloemfontein, he attended the Modderport Anglican Teachers' Training Institute where he was trained as a teacher. On completing his course, he took up a teaching post at Vierfontein, OFS.

Towards the close of the 1920s the family was transferred to Johannesburg where the Rev. Tloome took up a ministerial call on transfer. Dan Tloome joined the family later.

In Johannesburg Dan gave up teaching and enrolled part-time to study accountancy and journalism whilst engaged full-time in the trade union field. He started off as an organiser in the Milling Workers' Union, of which he was later elected secretary.

With the outbreak of the second world war, African workers flocked into industry and a new wave of militancy swept through the trade union movement. In November 1941 a meeting of trade union delegates from all over the Transvaal was held in Johannesburg under the chairmanship of Moses Kotane and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions was set up. The main aim of the CNETU was to organise the unorganised workers, who were being horribly exploited in the mushrooming war industries and who were largely ignored by the white-dominated Trades and Labour Council despite the fact that the TLC was supposed to cater for all workers in South Africa irrespective of race or colour.

The first officials of the CNETU were Gana Makabeni (President), Dan Tloome (Vice-President), David Gosani (secretary) and James Phillips (trustee). The first efforts of the CNETU were directed towards the African workers. The Mineworkers' Union had been set up in the same year (1941) and was gaining wide support in the compounds, J.B. Marks becoming its chairman in 1943. The main task of the trade union movement, Dan Tloome declared at that time, was to "bring home to all lovers of mankind, progressive-minded citizens, and all those intent on the industrial development of the country, the immediate need and urgency for the removal of the industrial colour bar". The time was long overdue, he said, for the Government to offer statutory recognition to African trade unions and enable them to take part in free collective bargaining.

Thanks to the activity of Dan Tloome and his comrades, by 1945 the CNETU could speak in the name of 158,000 members organised in 119 trade unions — roughly 40% of the 390,000 workers in commerce and manufacturing industry at that time.

Although concentrating on the organisation of the African workers, the CNETU nevertheless aimed eventually at the creation of a single trade union centre which would genuinely represent all South African workers, irrespective of race, creed or colour — an ambition which was finally realised with the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in 1955.

The Liberation Movement

Dan Tloome's activities in the trade union movement inevitably brought him into close contact with the national liberation movement and he enrolled as a member of the African National Congress. He was active in the African National Congress Youth League which was set up in 1944 with a manifesto demanding the right of every African "to be a free citizen in the South African democracy: the right to an unhampered pursuit of his national destiny and the freedom to make his legitimate contribution to human advancement".

In its manifesto issued in March 1944 the Youth League voiced its criticism of the traditionalist leadership of the ANC:

> "The African National Congress is the symbol and embodiment of the African's will to present a united national front against all forms of oppression but this has not enabled the movement to advance the national cause in a manner demanded by prevailing conditions . . .
>
> "The critics of Congress attribute the inability of Congress in the last twenty years to advance the national cause in a manner commensurate with the demands of the times, to weaknesses in its organisation and constitution; to its erratic policy of yielding to oppression, regarding itself as a body of gentlemen with clean hands and to failing to see the problems of the African through the proper perspective".

Summoning "all youth from the Reef, the Transvaal and neighbouring regions" to a mass youth conference to be held at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg on September 10, 1944, the Provisional Executive Committee of the Youth League declared:

> "The hour of youth has struck! As the forces of National Liberation gather momentum, the call to youth to close ranks in order to consolidate the National Unity front becomes more urgent and imperative . . . A dramatic turning point in the history of mankind, signalled by the global war now being waged, presents a clarion call to the youth of the sub-continent. . . . to galvanise and vitalise the National Struggle".

Dan Tloome was listed as one of the speakers; his theme "Youth and Trade Unionism". Another speaker was O.R. Tambo, on "Our Congress Youth League". Other speakers were Dr A.B. Xuma, R.V. Selope Thema, J.M. Nhlapo, C.S. Ramohanoe, the Rev. A Mahabane and Miss Ncakeni, whose theme was "The part of women in our struggle".

The Youth League brought together an outstanding collection of militantts who were determined to transform the ANC into a fighting revolutionary organisation, amongst them Anton Lembede, A.P. Mda, Robert Sobukwe, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Jordan Ngubane, David Bopape, B. Masekela, Wilson Zami Conco, Victor Mbobo, Arthur Letele, Godfrey Pitje, Duma Nokwe, M.B. Yengwa, James Njongwe and others. Not

all of them stayed the course, many have died, but the best of them are in the leadership of the ANC today.

The Youth Leaguers, together with other progressive elements in the ANC including Communists like Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks and others who were not in the ranks of the League, succeeded in transforming the ANC in the space of a few years. Their triumph was registered at the 1949 conference of the ANC, which installed Dr Moroka in the Presidency in place of Dr Xuma, Walter Sisulu as secretary in place of the Rev. Calata, and adopted the famous "Programme of Action" which committed the ANC to a policy of "immediate and active boycott, strike, civil disobedience, non-co-operation and such other means as may bring about the accomplishment and realisation of our aspirations."

Living in Orlando East, a strongly working class area, Dan Tloome was prominent not only in trade union affairs but also in civic matters. He was elected chairman of the Orlando branch of the ANC in 1945 and later full-time secretary/bookkeeper of the national ANC. At the 1949 ANC conference he was one of the new militants elected to the national executive committee, together with Moses Kotane, the Communist Party's general secretary.

The Communist Party

Comrade Tloome's interest in the Communist Party had first been aroused in 1936, when Ethiopia was invaded by the Italian fascists. All Africa sided with the victims and longed for the defeat of the invaders. The Communist Party's denunciation of the invasion and its analysis of the aims of the European fascists made a particular impact on the South African oppressed. This was followed in subsequent years by the Party's brilliant exposure of the appeasement policies of the British and French governments which preceded the betrayal of Czechoslovakia under the Munich Agreement with Hitler.

The outbreak of World War 2 led to the unfolding of a new situation throughout the world. Dan Tloome was particularly impressed by a statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a few days after South Africa's entry into the war:

> "The war is a struggle between rival imperialisms for raw materials, markets, capitalist domination and the power to exploit colonial peoples in Africa and Asia . . . Hitler, in the interests of the German capitalists, is carrying on a war for the domination of Europe and in the end for the control of the whole world.
>
> "British and French imperialisms are defending their property against Nazi imperialism. The capitalists of Britain and France are waging a war in their own interests and not to improve the positions of the workers in Britain and France . . . But the people of Britain and France are fighting in this war because they wish to destroy capitalism in its most brutal and aggressive form — Fascism . . . The workers of the

world cannot be indifferent to the question whether Nazism succeeds or fails in its struggle for world power. There will be no end to war and oppression until workers rule in all countries. But in the interests of humanity it is essential that Nazism be destroyed".

As the war developed, and especially after the invasion of the Soviet Union, the opportunity was created for joint mass action by members of the ANC and the Communist Party on a host of national and international issues. Tloome began to sort out in his mind the role of the trade unions and the Party as the vanguard of the working class. Convinced that the fate of the South African working class, as well as of working people throughout the world, could be safe in the hands of an independent Communist Party guided by the principles of Marxism Leninism, and that the Communist Party of South Africa was such a Party, Dan Tloome applied for membership of the Party. His candidature was sponsored by J.B. Marks.

Dan Tloome then entered on the most active and productive period of his political life. In the course of his work he was elected first to the Johannesburg District Committee of the Party and later to the Central Committee.

Comrade Tloome has throughout his career been an activist in close touch with the masses. Together with J.B. Marks, he played a big part in building up the Mineworkers' Union and in organising the great strike of 1946 in which nearly 100,000 workers went on strike in support of a demand for a wage of 10s. a day. In the words of a union statement:

"The pay and conditions of employment of Africans on the mines can only be described as a notorious national scandal . . . While the wages of every other group of workers in the country have advanced, the African miner receives the same £3 monthly paid by the mines in 1900, despite the very greatly reduced buying power of the pound, the enormous profits accumulated out of this great industry, the long hours of work, and the physically exhausting character of work performed dangerous to life and health".

Dan Tloome was one of the main organisers of the army of "agitators" who went from mine to mine, from compound to compound rallying the miners for the most titanic struggle in their history — a struggle crushed by bullets and batons at the time, but remembered with pride by the new generation of activists running the NUM today.

Defiance Campaign

Comrade Tloome has been involved in every action of the ANC during the past 40 years and more. He played a prominent part in the organisation of the historic Defiance Campaign of 1952, when 8,000 resisters went to jail for breaking specified apartheid laws. Together with other ANC and Indian

Congress leaders he was tried and convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act for his part in leading the campaign. The accused were given a suspended sentence of nine months imprisonment, the judge commenting that they were guilty of "statutory communism", which had "nothing to do with communism as it is commonly known".

In 1947 Dan Tloome was elected, together with J.B. Marks and Gana Makabeni, to represent South African workers at the Dakar conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Despite some monkey business with passports on the part of the regime, the South African delegation was able to reach Dakar and its report was received with acclamation by the delegates. In 1953 a South African delegation was again elected to attend a WFTU conference in Vienna — Dan Tloome, James Phillips and Arnold Selby — but had to send a telegram apologising for their absence on the grounds that they had been placed under bans by the South African Minister of Justice.

Comrade Tloome, like so many other trade union leaders at the time, was not only barred from attending gatherings but also ordered to resign from every organisation he belonged to — Congress, trade unions, and even the South African Peace Council, at whose founding conference in 1953 he had been elected Vice-President. He was also forbidden to leave the Johannesburg magisterial district. Despite these bans, comrade Tloome remained involved in the liberation movement. He became editor, printer and publisher of the journal *Liberation* which provided a platform for Congressmen and Communists alike, and included amongst its contributors Ruth First, Duma Nokwe, Nelson Mandela, Michael Harmel, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and many others.

In the 4th issue of *Liberation,* 1953, Dan Tloome wrote an article exposing the work of the Moral Rearmament movement which was making insidious approaches to trade unionists in South Africa, black as well as white, inviting them to conferences in Europe and elsewhere with all expenses paid and luxury accommodation.

> " 'Moral Rearmament' is not, as it pretends to be, a quasi-religious body restricted to preaching high-sounding moral platitudes," wrote Dan Tloome. "It is an enormously wealthy international conspiracy devoted to undermining movements of the workers and oppressed people for emancipation in all countries. Its 'message' of collaboration between workers and employers, between oppressors and the oppressed turns out to be a formula for getting the oppressed to submit to their fate, without struggle. By allowing a few leaders to sit down socially with their masters, they hope to emasculate the trade unions and national liberation movements.
>
> "They will not succeed in these objectives."

The great majority of workers, said Dan Tloome, would want to know where the Moral Rearmament movement got its finances from, and why it had no answers to any of the problems of poverty, misery, unemployment and war, but restricted itself to "acting as a weapon in American Capitalism's 'cold war' against so-called 'communism' ".

Then, as now, the African people were fighting against rail fare and rent increases imposed on them by government and local authorities on whch they had no representation. In *Liberation* No. 9, 1954, Dan Tloome wrote:

> "Of all the outstanding issues which have provoked intense protest and resentment among the African people, the question of increase in rentals stands out as the most callous and direct assault upon the ever-worsening economic position of the lowest income group of the community — the Africans . . .
>
> "The vast majority of Africans have to live from crisis to crisis in their struggle for existence. Bearing these facts in mind, coupled with the recent increase in rail fares, it is undoubtedly obvious that the overwhelming majority of the African urban families cannot pay a penny more without great sacrifices of the minimum requirements for subsistence, health and decency and disastrous dislocation of family life".

Today the battlefront against rent increases in the townships is one on which the African people have been striking heavy blows against the enemy. The foundation for today's advances was laid during the previous years of struggles conducted by men like Dan Tloome and his comrades in the 1940s and 1950s.

Two Types of Leader

In a 1955 article Dan Tloome wrote of the need to link work in the trade unions with the liberation movement.

> "There are two types of African trade union leaders. On the one hand, there is the union leader who confines himself to trying to obtain the economic demands of his members; on the other hand, there is the trade unionist who sees in the worker a person who is both exploited and oppressed, and realises that in order to improve the position of the workers it is necessary to struggle for both political and economic ends. The latter are active members of the liberatory movement and share their valuable experiences with the political leaders."

But if comrade Tloome was critical of trade unionists who were mere bureaucrats with no time for the liberation movement, he was equally critical of ANC leaders who had no time for the trade unions. This was a factor leading to the comparative failure of the three-day strike called by the Congress movement in protest against the whites only parliamentary election in April 1958. Although tens of thousands of workers in all centres had responded to the call and stayed at home on April 4, the level of protest had not reached that of

previous campaigns. One of the reasons, said comrade Tloome, was that not enough work had been done on the shop-floor.

> "For mass industrial work to succeed it is important that trade union and factory organisation should exist. When the £1-a-Day campaign was launched by the Congress movement, one of its main aims was to recruit 20,000 new members for trade unions. But this task was never seriously tackled. ANC branches still do not fully understand the importance of trade unions and factory committees as vitally necessary for the freedom struggle".

From 1953 onwards, Dan Tloome was prevented by bans from playing an open part in political affairs. He could not speak on public platforms, he could not leave Johannesburg. Yet he continued to pull his weight at the centre of activity, and his views were always sought by his comrades on all matters under discussion in the liberation movement. Placed under house arrest in 1963, he was sent out of the country by the Communist Party to promote the work of the movement abroad. He has been a member of the Central Committee of the SACP and of the executive committees of the ANC and SACTU for many years and has represented one or other of these organisations at many international conferences. During the 1970s he was appointed Deputy Secretary General of the ANC. *The New Nation* wrote of comrade Tloome last year that his influence on the trade union movement has survived all repression and "even today's generation of worker leaders gain strength from his powerful leadership".

JOE SLOVO

Joe Slovo was born in Lithuania — now part of the USSR — in 1926 and came to South Africa with his parents when he was nine years old. He entered politics as a youth of 16 when, as shop steward of the National Union of Distributive Workers, he led a strike of workers at a chemical wholesaler's establishment where he was employed as an assistant.

Realising that political action was needed to bring about the changes demanded by the workers, he joined the Communist Party. During the second World War he served in the South African army in the fight against the Hitlerite menace and was in action with the 6th Armoured Division in Italy. After the war he enrolled at the University of the Witwatersrand to study law, qualifying with distinction in 1950. During his student years he was active in the Young Communist League and later the Communist Party, where he came to know Ruth First, later well known as journalist, writer and academic, whom he

married in 1949. They had three children. (Ruth First was assassinated by parcel bomb in Maputo in 1982.)

Joe Slovo was a member of the Johannesburg District Committee of the Communist Party when it was outlawed by the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950. Together with other comrades, he immediately got down to the task of reconstituting the party in conditions of illegality and was a foundation member of the South African Communist Party which, in 1953, took over the tasks and banners of the former Communist Party of South Africa, serving on its Central Committee from that time to the present.

Parallel to his activities in the SACP, Joe Slovo served as a barrister of the Supreme Court and took a prominent part in many political cases, including the notorious treason trial of 1956-61 in which he was one of the 156 accused and also a member of the defence team. He was one of the 20,000 detained without trial during the state of emergency which followed the Sharpeville massacre in 1960.

When the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress turned to the policy of armed struggle, Joe Slovo was amongst those from the two organisations who founded Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation) in 1961. In 1963 Joe Slovo was sent abroad by the SACP to continue his work for the development of the armed struggle and has been living and working outside South Africa since that time, mostly headquartered in Maputo and Lusaka. He has remained in Umkhonto's leading echelons up to the present time and for many years served as Chief of Staff. He has been perhaps its leading theoretician on matters of military-political strategy and tactics. He is the author of *South Africa — No Middle Road* published in 1976.

In 1984 he was elected chairman of the SACP in succession to Dr Yusuf Dadoo, who died in 1983. In 1985 he was elected to the national executive of the African National Congress at its historic congress in Kabwe, Zambia. On his 60th birthday he was awarded the Soviet Order of the Friendship of the People.

(An extensive profile of comrade Slovo, written by Toussaint, was published in *The African Communist* No. 106, Third Quarter, 1986.)

BOTHA'S ELECTION FARCE

The apartheid regime's decision to call a whites only election on May 6 comes at a time when the white electorate and the white parliamentary parties are in a state of greater disarray than at any time since Union in 1910. Superficially the

Nationalist Party would appear to be in a strong position with its huge parliamentary majority and its massive emergency powers. But its position is by no means secure. To its right the Conservative Party and HNP are attempting to consolidate the forces of "wit baasskap", while to its left the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party have already entered into an election alliance. As the party of the "centre" the Nationalist Party is threatened with defections to both left and right as the political pressures grow under the impact of internal resistance and international sanctions. Botha's present majority can be wiped out by a comparatively small shift in the balance of forces. It happened to Smuts between the 1943 and 1948 elections. It can happen again.

Many have asked the question why President Botha decided to call an election before it was necessary in terms of the constitution. The answer is: what else could he have done? With the country in a state of crisis, the economy undermined, the townships ungovernable, he had to be seen to be doing something to bring the emergency to an end. But what? His "reform" programme, far from pacifying the people, had led instead to an intensification of resistance because it perpetuated white supremacy and continued to deprive the majority of the population of all democratic rights. Attempting to put down revolt by brute force, he has been compelled by the rising tide of popular rebellion to advance ever further on the road to outright dictatorship. More than 20,000 political activists have been arrested and detained without trial; new restrictive measures are introduced almost weekly with every government gazette; now the police have the power to prevent anyone saying anything about anything on pain of huge fines and imprisonment.

In his recent addresses to the nation, P.W. Botha has claimed to be defending "democratic principles" against the total onslaught of his enemies who, he alleges, aim to establish a "tyrannical dictatorship" in South Africa. What democratic principles is he talking about? Freedom of speech? Not even for whites any longer, as the media themselves complain. Freedom of assembly? Not under the emergency laws for anybody, least of all in the townships. Freedom from want, with 4 to 6 million unemployed and no social services? Freedom from fear, with death squads roaming the streets under the protection of the police and military? Even the freedom of worship is denied, with police monitoring of services and detention of priests. As far as the majority of South Africans are concerned, South Africa is already a tyrannical dictatorship, and they regard the "total onslaught" which Botha fears as a source of liberation.

In his speech at the opening of Parliament in which he announced the May 6 election Botha uttered not one word about further "reforms", and it is clear he is

relying on further repression as his passport to electoral popularity. But assuming he wins the election, the fact still remains that he can do nothing to bring peace to the country. He has made it clear that as far as the Nationalist Party is concerned, political, social, residential and educational segregation must be retained indefinitely. Even the draft constitution produced by the Natal indaba, which provides the whites with an effective veto on any unwanted legislation affecting their "religious, language, cultural or other rights", is unacceptable to him. What, then, can be expected from any Nationalist government returned to power by the election except a continuation of the status quo? And its maintenance by force?

Twenty years ago, in 1967, the white population of South Africa comprised 19 per cent of the total population. By mid-1985 that percentage had dropped to 15.6 per cent, while in the same period the African percentage of the total population had risen from 68.1 per cent to 72 per cent. Yet all political power is vested in the whites, while the Africans are still denied the franchise. Year by year this anomaly will persist and become ever more outrageous as the gap between white and African, not only in numbers but also in living standards, widens.

President Botha continually asserts that he is ready to enter into negotiations with any South African group that abandons violence. What right has he to make this condition when it is the South African government that is the source of all violence in South Africa? Who is responsible for violence if not the government whose authority rests, not on the will of the people, but on force? It is no use Botha pretending to be democratic because he holds an election for only 15.6 per cent of the population. Botha has no right to speak of peace and democracy when his own regime practises neither.

An Irrelevancy

Botha's election is an irrelevance to us. It is not only that he offers us nothing. None of the parliamentary parties offers anything but a continuation of the status quo. By allying itself with the NRP the Progressive Federal Party has made an enormous lurch to the right and falsified its own promise of reform. As for the right-wing parties, can they jail or kill more people than the present regime?

The people must protest against Botha's "whites only" election by every means possible. The fact that there are curbs on practically every form of legal activity should not be advanced as an excuse for inaction. Now more than ever it is time to hit the regime where it hurts. The country has been rendered ungovernable, but the regime still occupies the seats of power because it has the

guns and troops to enforce its decisions. It is no use waiting for concessions or negotiations from Botha. The prospect that now confronts the people is of the need to raise the level of struggle to the point where they can impose their own solution. It will not be Botha or the likes of Botha that will give us a South Africa fashioned on the lines of the Freedom Charter. We, the people, must win power through the accumulation and exercise of our own strength, through unremitting struggle, without cease, until we have achieved our objective.

THE KWAZULU-NATAL ALTERNATIVE IS A DEAD-END

The draft constitution which has been produced by the so-called KwaZulu-Natal Indaba is an extraordinary and complicated hotchpotch.

It provides for a two-chamber legislature for Natal, a first chamber of 100 members elected by proportional representation on the basis of universal suffrage exercised in the various constituencies, and a second chamber of 50 members, also elected by proportional representation, but on the following basis:

- the African background group (10 members);
- the Afrikaans background group (10 members);
- the Asian background group (10 members);
- the English background group (10 members);
- the South African group (10 members).

Save for the South African group, a voter in a second-chamber election must belong to the group whose candidate he intends voting for. Thus African voters can vote only for the African background group, Afrikaners for the Afrikaans background group, and so on. Precisely where the Natal Coloureds would fit in is not made clear. They could of course vote for the South African group, presumably intended for those voters who refuse to be racially typecast. But the assumption behind the constitution is that most voters would want to vote for their own racial group. In the event that the majority of Natal voters wanted to vote for the South African group, they would only get the ten seats laid down by the constitution.

Provision is made for amending the constitution but it would not be easy. A two-thirds majority would be required in both chambers of the legislature to pass a bill aimed at amending the constitution, but any bill affecting the "language, religious and/or specific cultural rights of a group as enshrined in

the constitution needs the support of the majority of that group in the second chamber". Thus five white members of the second chamber could prevent any proposed amendment to the constitution, even though all the other members of the second chamber and all the members of the first chamber supported it.

If the required majorities cannot be obtained in the second chamber, says the constitution, the government may submit the constitutional amendments to the electorate to be decided upon by referendum. A majority vote of 4 of the 5 groups in the second chamber would have to be recorded in favour of the amendment: provided that if the amendment affected "the specific language, religious and/or cultural rights of a group", it would have to win the support of a majority of voters in that group in the referendum.

Thus, far from eliminating racial categories, the constitution entrenches and protects them. This is seen again in the provisions relating to the provincial executive, which shall consist of the Prime Minister and 10 or more other ministers. The Prime Minister will be the leader of the party which secures an overall majority in the first chamber (i.e. more than 50 per cent of the votes cast in an election). If no party gets an overall majority the Prime Minister will be elected by the first chamber. (Buthelezi obviously thinks he has got a good chance of becoming Natal Prime Minister with this clause,but he may be disappointed when he finds out that the majority of Natal voters reject him!)

Half of the Natal executive will be appointed by the Prime Minister if his party secured an overall majority in the election, the other half being elected by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of all other parties represented in both chambers of Parliament. If the Prime Minister's party failed to secure an overall majority in the election, all executive members will be elected by the two chambers. The executive must contain at least one member from each of the five national groups in the second chamber.

Legislation will be initiated by the executive, which will submit a proposed bill for discussion and adoption by a standing committee of the two chambers. After adoption by the standing committee, a bill will be sent to the first chamber for adoption, and thereafter to the second chamber. To become law a bill must be passed by both chambers.

In the case of legislation "which affects the religious, language, cultural or other rights of the members of a background group or the South African group", a bill will also require the support of a majority of the members of that group in the second chamber.

Thus whites fearful that their rights will be abolished by the black majority which will come to power under this constitution are assured of an effective veto power. They can veto bills that they don't like, and they can also exercise a veto

in any referendum. But equally, as some of their spokesmen have pointed out, the constitution will make it impossible for the whites to exercise any legislative initiative which is unacceptable to the black majority.

The powers of the KwaNatal government would include revenue collection, education, health services, local government and some judicial and police functions, but key functions such as defence and foreign affairs would remain in the hands of the central government.

Bill of Rights

The constitution contains a Bill of Rights which on the surface sounds very democratic but has some doubtful provisions. While providing for equal rights for all, the Bill of Rights may be restricted by a law of the provincial legislature "for reasons which are necessary in a free and democratic society in the interests of public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health and morals, for the protection of the rights, freedoms and reputation of others, for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary and for the social, moral and economic well-being of all the inhabitants of the province."

The Bill of Rights explains that everyone's exercise of rights and freedoms must be subject to such limitations as are necessary to ensure "due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others" and adds the sinister clause:

"Groups which by reason of their aims and the behaviour of their adherents seek to impair or abolish the free democratic order or to endanger the security of the province are prohibited".

One can well imagine that, armed with such an unrestricted power, an Inkatha-dominated administration would have no hesitation in outlawing the ANC, Communist Party, UDF and community organisations of all descriptions. In fact, the list of banned organisations would probably be no different from that already imposed by the Botha regime.

The so-called KwaZulu Natal Indaba brought together leading figures in the present Natal and KwaZulu administration. The Nationalist Party was represented by observers, but there were full participants from the FAK, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer and the Rapportryers. The FAK and Handelsinstituut delegates were the only ones who refused to sign the final declaration adopting the constitution, while the Sakekamer abstained. Since then the Nationalist Government and all other representatives of Nationalist Afrikanerdom, of the left as well as the right, have indicated they cannot accept the draft constitution. The Progressive

Federal Party and the NRP (formerly United Party) have, however, formed an alliance for the May 6 whites-only election on the basis of their acceptance of the draft constitution.

All sections of the liberation movement rejected the invitation to take part in the KwaZulu Indaba. In an interview after the constitution was adopted, Tom Sebina, ANC press officer in Lusaka, said:

> "The proposals of the Indaba are unacceptable — they are the offspring of regionally and ethnically based interests and are also intended to enhance Buthelezi's ego and personal ambitions. They are contradictory to the whole concept of a united and democratic South Africa".

Murphy Morobe, acting national publicity secretary of the UDF, said:

> "We refused at the outset to go into the Indaba and this stand has been vindicated by the proposals they have put forward. Proposals such as proportional representation according to race are completely against the grain of what the UDF stands for — a non-racial, democratic, united South Africa".

Mewa Ramgobin, executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, echoing these objections to the constitution, added a significant point:

> "While the Nats have now rejected the proposals, they are in fact, to my way of thinking, biding their time. They will, I believe, sooner or later accept the Indaba as part of their overall plan in implementing the Regional Services Councils".

The danger of the Indaba proposals should not be underestimated. The draft constitution has already been welcomed as an advance by official circles in the United States and Britain. It is more than likely that it will be held out as "the peaceful road to majority rule", in contrast to the road of armed struggle followed by the ANC and its allies. It will certainly be widely accepted in bourgeois circles as an attractive alternative to the present shambles created by the apartheid regime.

Our verdict is that the draft constitution will do nothing to end race rule in South Africa. On the contrary, racial categories, racial interests and racial antagonisms will be consolidated as the various groups fight to protect their interests in legislature and executive. The constitution will do nothing to end the evils of exploitation and oppression since the white supremacists will be entrenched in their bastions of privilege, able by veto power to prevent any effective means of eliminating discrimination and inequality. In addition the constitution is so complicated as to be practically unworkable.

We plead for genuine simplicity based on the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter — not mock equality but real equality, not only in Natal but the whole of South Africa.

Above all, our freedom fighters must refuse to allow themselves to be diverted from the path of struggle. The draft constitution of the Natal Indaba

is still merely pie in the sky, an illusion to distract attention from the battlefield and enable the ruling class to cling on to power. There is no point in working out artificial solutions until the back of the apartheid regime has been broken and the people are in a position to seize power. Then, when all parties have realised the strength of our cause, the time will come to sit down at the negotiating table and draw up a plan for the South Africa of our dreams.

Jack Simons in conversation with ANC President Oliver Tambo at the 1985 ANC consultative conference in Kabwe, Zambia.

80 YEARS YOUNG

Everybody in the liberation movement knows or knows about comrade Jack Simons, one-time professor at the universities of Cape Town and Zambia,

now living with his wife Ray in Lusaka. Co-author of *Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950* and author of many other works, as well as innumerable pamphlets and papers, deliverer of innumerable lectures not only in the classroom but also in the camps, drafter of statements, conductor of study classes, consultant and adviser to all and sundry who sought his opinion — he hardly had the time to turn 80 on February 1st.

The following message was sent to him on his birthday by SACP chairman Dan Tloome and general secretary Joe Slovo:

"Warmest greetings and felicitations on the occasion of your 80th birthday on February 1 from all your comrades. On behalf of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, we wish to express to you our deepest appreciation for the life-long service you have rendered to the Party and the cause of liberation in South Africa. You have been guide, teacher, friend and comrade to generations of freedom fighters. Your profound understanding of Marxism-Leninism, your thorough knowledge of the history and cultural traditions of all our peoples, your integrity and respect for fact and truth, your capacity for political analysis, and above all your untiring and disciplined commitment and dedication to the cause of freedom, peace and social progress have been an example and an inspiration to us all.

"In wishing you many happy returns of the day, we thank you for your past contribution and look forward to many many years of future co-operation with you in the crusade to build a new socialist South Africa and a socialist world in which equality of rights and opportunities will be guaranteed to all and the evils of exploitation, national oppression, poverty and war will be outlawed for ever."

And so say all of us!

Is the Communist Party programme still valid?

By Peter Mackintosh

The South African Communist Party is today under attack from both right and left sides of the political spectrum. The right-wing attack is typified by the 1982 United States Senate report headed "Soviet, East German and Cuban Involvement in Fomenting Terrorism in South Africa", by the South African regime's 1986 pamphlet "Talking to the ANC" and by the 1986 pamphlet "ANC — A Soviet Task Force?" published by the British Institute for the Study of Terrorism. All allege that the ANC is controlled by the SACP which in turn is controlled by Moscow, which uses terrorism as an instrument of undermining democratic western regimes and values.

The left-wing attack is as infantile — it asserts that the South African Communist Party has abandoned the struggle for socialism and is tailing behind the bourgeois nationalist movement. It attacks the so-called "two-stage" policy of the Communist Party and calls on the South African working class to proclaim that its objective is socialism and not "merely" national liberation which would leave power in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Both attacks have a similar consequence. In the case of the right wing it is deliberate — to sow division in the ranks of the liberation movement, to smash the ANC-SACP-SACTU alliance, to rescue apartheid and preserve the capitalist system from destruction. The ultra-left attack on the SACP and

consequently on the liberation alliance inevitably plays into the hands of reaction and strengthens the position of the apartheid regime without in any way advancing the cause of socialism.

A study of "The Road to South African Freedom", the programme of the South African Communist Party adopted at the 5th national congress of the Party held underground in South Africa in 1962, reveals that the analysis made by the Party in 1962 is still valid in 1987. Many things have changed in Africa and the world in the intervening years. The socialist countries have consolidated their power and influence; many countries in the so-called third world have gained their independence, including Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho; South Africa itself has changed. Nevertheless, the main political, social and economic contradictions in the capitalist world, both at home and abroad, remain largely unaltered, presenting us with essentially the same challenges today as in 1962. The centre-piece of our analysis — that South Africa's "colonialism of a special type" can only be ended through a revolutionary change in the social system, "a national democratic revolution which will overthrow the colonialist state of White supremacy and establish an independent state of National Democracy" — still stands up to scrutiny. The experiences of the past 25 years have demonstrated its effectiveness as a guide to action.

What distinguishes the Party programme is the historical perspective on which it is based. This is not the hasty product of a few nights of sweated labour, but the distillation of decades of struggle and study. The Party does not regard the apartheid system as an Afrikaner aberration which only manifested itself after 1948. The programme declares:

> "This system of race domination and oppression has its origins far back in South African history. However, it has developed into its present, extreme form with the development of capitalism and especially of the great diamond and gold-mining monopolies . . . The colonial status of the African people facilitates the maximum exploitation of their labour".

The programme analyses the nature of this special form of colonialism in which the White minority holds the monopoly of political rights and economic opportunities. Some might argue that with the inauguration of the tri-cameral parliament in 1984, it is no longer true to say that whites alone can vote for and be elected to Parliament; but the passage through parliament last year of security legislation which was rejected by the Coloured and Indian chambers indicates that the white minority still holds the monopoly of political power. As for economic opportunities, the whites still have sole access to 87 per cent of the land, while white capitalists own and control the

mines, factories and banks and most of the country's commerce. The regime through its education and cultural policies inculcates the doctrine of race superiority, which is used to promote the policy of divide and rule. The black majority are deprived of access to the land, jobs and training, despite all reforms designed to develop and incorporate a tiny elite. There is still monstrous inequality and discrimination based on race.

Struggle of Two Systems

How has this barbarous system of oppression come about? The programme sets South Africa in its international context.

"We live in an epoch of struggle between two opposing social systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions, of the breakdown of imperialism and the abolition of the colonial system".

The capitalist system is giving way to socialism. Imperialism is under siege. The forces of socialism and national liberation have transformed the world in this century, beginning with the Russian Revolution of 1917. The masses of people in Africa and other former colonial territories are beginning to understand that capitalism cannot give them true equality, independence and democracy.

"Led by the small, but growing, working class, in close alliance with the masses of rural people, they are striving to achieve non-capitalist forms of development, leading towards socialism".

Let us not argue over the meaning of "non-capitalist forms of development". The path to socialism will differ from country to country, but the basic laws of Marxism-Leninism apply to all countries. The Programme stresses:

"Headed by the Marxist-Leninist Party and in alliance with most of the peasants and other working people, the working class must destroy the state of dictatorship of the capitalists, and replace it with the dictatorship of the working class".

Counter-revolution must be suppressed. Private ownership of the main means of production must be abolished and public ownership established in its place. Agriculture must be transformed on a socialist basis.

"The national economy must be planned, to raise the people's living standards and build socialism and communism."

There is no ambiguity here. Anyone who tries to argue that the SACP programme does not have the objective of socialism, is deliberately distorting the facts.

A New Type of Colonialism

The programme's analysis of the South African social system makes clear the relationship between the struggle for socialism and the struggle for national liberation.

"South Africa is not a colony but an independent state. Yet millions of our people enjoy neither independence nor freedom".

The conceding of independence to South Africa by Britain in 1910 was not a victory over the forces of colonialism and imperialism. Power was transferred, not into the hands of the masses of people of South Africa, but into the hands of the white minority alone. The new set-up, far from ending imperialism, was designed to perpetuate it.

> "A new type of colonialism was developed, in which the oppressing White nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed people themselves and lived side by side with them. On one level, that of 'White South Africa' there are all the features of an advanced capitalist state in its final stage of imperialism . . . But on another level, that of 'Non-White South Africa', there are all the features of a colony. The indigenous population is subjected to extreme national oppression, poverty and exploitation, lack of all democratic rights and political domination . . . Typical, too, of imperialist rule, is the reliance by the state upon brute force and terror, and upon the most backward tribal elements and institutions which are deliberately and artificially preserved. Non-White South Africa is the colony of White South Africa.
>
> "It is this combination of the worst features both of imperialism and of colonialism, within a single national frontier, which determines the special nature of the South African system".

There follows an analysis of South African monopoly capitalism which is still accurate, though some of the detail is altered. Real power in South Africa is still in the hands of the monopolists who own and control the mines, the banks and finance houses, and most of the farms and major industries. Though these monopolists may have their differences with the apartheid regime, and some of them may be pressing for "reforms", they still regard the State as their protector and accept that the special type of colonialism serves their interests. Though organised commerce and industry, Afrikaans and English, may now declare their objection to the pass laws and the Group Areas Act, it is significant that none of these bodies supports a policy of one person one vote in a united, free and democratic South Africa.

Capitalism Breeds Monopoly

The apartheid regime and all organs of big business oppose communism ostensibly on the grounds that it leads to the suppression of human liberty and that capitalism and the free enterprise system create the conditions for the greatest efficiency of production and the widest satisfaction of the needs

and aspirations of the individual. Yet, as Lenin pointed out in *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism,* written in 1916, so-called "free" competition under capitalism inevitably gives way to monopoly.

"Cartels come to an agreement on the terms of sale, dates of payment, etc. They divide the markets among themselves. They fix the quantity of goods to be produced. They fix prices. They divide the profits among the various enterprises, etc."

A glance at the South African economy will confirm that this is the way capitalism has developed. The concentration of monopoly and the power of the coupon clippers, as Lenin called the finance capitalists, are commented on in the SACP programme, which pointed out that the gold and diamond mines were owned by seven mining-financial corporations and controlled by a handful of powerful financiers. "These seven corporations are closely linked with British and American imperialist interests . . . they dominate large sections of manufacturing industries. They are linked with the main banks . . . They own vast tracts of arable land and mining rights in almost every part of the country. In agriculture too monopoly dominates . . . In mining, industry, commerce and farming, monopolists dominate the country's economy. They are also closely linked with *State monopoly* capital ventures, such as Iscor (Iron and Steet), Escom (Electricity) and Sasol (Petrol). These monopolies are the real power in South Africa. The special type of colonialism in South Africa serves, in the first place, their interests".

Since 1962 the monopoly process has been carried even further, and by 1986 no less than 80 per cent of all the assets quoted on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange were controlled by only four companies — the Anglo-American Corporation, Sanlam, SA Mutual and Rembrandt. Towards the end of 1986 the process of concentration continued with the acquisition of Barclays by Anglo-American, and the same process may have taken place with the sale of assets by other foreign companies which have decided to get out of South Africa. In 1900 foreign capital constituted the bulk of investment in South African mining and industry. But as a result of the development of indigenous South African capitalism, the stake of foreign capital in South Africa today amounts to only about 20 per cent. Foreign capital's interest in South Africa was due to the fact that the internal colonialism practised here guaranteed a return of between 20 and 30 per cent in the post-war period — at times double what could be obtained in other countries around the world. Thanks to the "unrest" of recent years, this return has been greatly diminished. In the case of United States investment in South Africa, for example, a return of 30 per cent in 1980 had been reduced to 7 per cent by

1984, and has probably declined still further in the last two years. Other foreign capital was undoubtedly equally affected.

Capitalism Breeds Nationalism

The roots of the national question are to be found in the development of the capitalist system, whether or not the capital involved is domestic or foreign. In his *Imperialism* Lenin made a comment which is very relevant to the situation in South Africa. Imperialism, he pointed out, introduces everywhere "the striving for domination, not for freedom. Whatever the political system the result of these tendencies is everywhere reaction and an extreme intensification of antagonisms in this field. Particularly intensified becomes the yoke of national oppression and the striving for annexations, i.e., the violation of national independence (for annexation is nothing but the violation of the right of nations to self-determination)".

It was with the development of capitalism, following the discovery of gold and diamonds, that the white colonialists completed their annexation of South Africa, dispossessing the indigenous inhabitants, introducing the Land Act, intensifying the scope of the pass laws etc., turning the black masses, the overwhelming majority of the population, into a source of endless cheap labour. And because under this colonialism of a special type, the oppressing nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed, it adumbrated theories of national superiority and racism more vicious than anywhere else in the world. The dispossessed peoples were denied their civic and language rights, driven into ghettoes, treated with the utmost barbarism and savagery.

This national oppression leads in turn to the awakening of national consciousness and resistance on the part of the people who are dispossessed; and oppressed. Lenin quotes the German Social Democrat Hilferding who in his book *Finance Capital* (published in Russian in 1912) stated:

> "In the newly opened-up countries the capital imported into them intensifies antagonisms and exites against the intruders the constantly growing resistance of the peoples who are awakening to national consciousness; this resistance can easily develop into dangerous measures against foreign capital. The old social relations become completely revolutionised. The age-old agrarian isolation of 'nations without history' is destroyed and they are drawn into the capitalist whirlpool. Capitalism itself gradually provides the subjugated with the means and resources for their emancipation and they set out to achieve the goal which once seemed highest to the European nations: the creation of a united national state as a means to economic and cultural freedom. This movement for national independence threatens European capital in its most valuable and most promising fields of

exploitation, and European capital can maintain its domination only by continually increasing its military forces".

Lenin wrote *Imperialism* during the first world war, which was demonstrably an outright imperialist war to establish the division of the world amongst the imperialist powers. Capitalism inevitably engendered conflict and violence, which were extreme forms of the competition waged by capitalists against one another for the domination of the market. Lenin asked pertinently:

"Once the relation of forces is changed, what other solution of the contradictions can be found *under capitalism* than that of force?"

The British and French empires were built and maintained by force, and force was the mechanism by which an attempt was made in two world wars to bring about a redistribution of the world's territories and human and material resources. Hitler used force to crush the working class challenge to capitalism in Germany; Mussolini in Italy and Hirohito in Japan joined with him in the the Axis crusade for conquest. Yet the basic contradictions in society remain. In the United States, superficially the wealthiest country in the world, more than 30 million people live below the breadline. In Britain and the US, the gap between rich and poor grows wider by the year. In the world at large the class divisions of capitalist society are reflected in the gap between the have nations and the have-nots, a gap growing wider by the year as the imperialist nations refuse to take any of the steps demanded by the debtor nations to establish a new international economic order. In South Africa the apartheid regime responds to demands for social change by the imposition of states of emergency and mass detentions, torture, kidnaps and killings as well as aggression against the border states.

Under capitalism the national problem is created by force. The oppressed peoples are dispossessed by force. In South Africa the restriction of the franchise represents the exercise of force by the white minority against the black majority. How, except by the use or threat of force, is national oppression to be ended?

Nationalism and Bourgeois Democracy

Traditionally Marxists had regarded national movements as linked with the development of capitalism, reflecting the need of an aspirant bourgeoisie for freedom from feudal or colonial restraint in order to achieve domination of the market.

In his 1914 thesis on *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination,* Lenin wrote:

"For the complete victory of commodity production, the bourgeoisie must capture the home market, and there must be politically united territories whose populations speak a single language, with all obstacles to the development of that language and to its consolidation in literature removed. Therein is the economic foundation of national movements".

This was the reason for the development of nation-states, under which the requirements of capitalism could best be satisfied. Thus national movements would inevitably be under the leadership of the aspirant bourgeoisie. Lenin called on the working class to support the various demands for democracy advanced by the bourgeoisie, because they were as much interested in freedom and equality as anybody else, in the right to speak their language, etc. At the same time, the various demands of democracy, including the right to self-determination, were only a small part of the revolutionary socialist movement which recognised that only the elimination of class exploitation, the replacement of capitalism by socialism on a world scale, would bring a final end to national and class oppression.

The experience of war and revolution changed the Communist perception of national movements. The 21 points laying down conditions of admission to the Communist International adopted at the second congress of the Comintern in 1920, and appended to the constitution of the Communist Party of South Africa in 1921, stressed that every affiliated Communist Party must support, not only in words, but practically, "all movements of liberation in the colonies" and cultivate among the workers of its own country "a truly fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities".

In his report to the congress, Lenin pointed out that about 70 per cent of the world's population belonged to the oppressed nations and constituted great revolutionary potential in the struggle against imperialism. The congress decided to substitute the term "national revolutionary" for the term "bourgeois-democratic" previously used in reference to the national movements. One year later, at the 3rd congress of the Comintern in July, 1921, Lenin contested the view which had prevailed in the Second International that the national movement was of secondary importance:

> "But this is not so. It has undergone great change since the beginning of the twentieth century. Millions and hundreds of millions, in fact the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe, are now coming forward as independent, active and revolutionary factors. It is perfectly clear that in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will perhaps play a much more revolutionary part than we expect."

The South African Experience

The South African Communists who broke away from the Labour Party in 1915 to form the International Socialist League had two objectives in mind: 1. to register their protest against imperialist war; and 2. to pursue the struggle for socialism on the basis of proletarian internationalism. An editorial in the fourth issue of *The International*, the weekly paper of the ISL, stated on October 1, 1915:

> "An internationalism that does not concede the fullest rights which the native working class is capable of claiming will be a sham. . . If the League deal resolutely in consonance with socialist principles with the native question, it will succeed in shaking South African capitalism to its foundations. . . Not till we free the native can we hope to free the white".

The ISL and after 1921 the Communist Party made contact with all existing black organisations, including the ANC, and founded the Industrial Workers of Africa trade union long before the ICU was thought about. Party members carried out intensive propaganda work amongst all sections of the black population and attempted to draw them into the ranks of the Party, which from the outset had no colour bar. The attitude of the ISL was summed up in a statement published in *The International* on December 7, 1917, headed: "International Socialism and the Native — No Labour Movement Without The Black Proletariat":

> "The abolition of the Native indenture, passport and compound system and the lifting of the Native worker to the political and industrial status of the White is an essential step towards the emancipation of the working class in South Africa. Society is divided into two classes: the working class, doing all the labour; and the idle class, living on the fruits of labour. Strictly speaking, therefore, there is no 'Native Problem'. There is only a working class problem."

The Communist Party view was that national liberation and the ending of all forms of national oppression and race discrimination could only be achieved through the class struggle and the achievement of socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party. It pointed out that there was no black bourgeoisie, least of all an African bourgeoisie, capable of spearheading a national democratic revolution. Because of the apartheid laws, the Africans were "all helotised together", and the class banner was inspiring more revolutionary enthusiasm than the racial banner. Certainly, by the end of the 1920s, the Communist Party had more to show by way of organised and militant cohorts than the ANC. But absent from the thinking of the Communists in the early days was any thought of the independent contribution that could be made by black national organisations to their own liberation or the creation of a socialist South Africa. The aim of the Party was

not black liberation as such but the emancipation of the working class, in the ranks of whom the blacks were at first thought to be a minority. There was no understanding of the way in which the economic and social structure of South Africa was being transformed by the destruction of the tribal way of life and the drawing into the ranks of wage labourers of millions upon millions of black men and women who could no longer live off the land. Nor was there any conception that the black millions in their liberation organisations could become allies of the Communists in the fight for revolutionary change and a new social order.

The impetus for change came from two main sources. One was the experience of the South African Communists themselves, the second was the experience of the International Communist movement.

It was Lenin, the arch-opponent of opportunism in politics, who conceded in *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution (1905)*:

"We all counterpose bourgeois revolution and socialist revolution; we all insist on the absolute necessity of strictly distinguishing between them; however, can it be denied that in the course of history individual particular elements of the two revolutions become interwoven?

> "Marxism teaches the proletariat not to keep aloof from the bourgeois revolution, not to refuse to take part in it, not to allow the leadership of the revolution to be assumed by the bourgeoisie but, on the contrary, to take a most energetic part in it, to fight resolutely for consistent proletarian democracy, to fight to carry the revolution to its completion. We cannot jump out of the bourgeois democratic boundaries of the Russian revolution, but we can enormously extend those boundaries, and within those boundaries we can and must fight for the interests of the proletariat, for its immediate needs and for the prerequisites for training its forces for the complete victory that is to come".

Lenin was speaking of the relationship between the bourgeois and socialist revolutions, but the argument holds good for the relationship between the socialist revolution and the national democratic revolution. In his "Communism in South Africa", the report presented in 1921 to the executive of the Comintern on behalf of the International Socialist League, the South African Communist David Ivon Jones commented:

"The national and class interests of the natives cannot be distinguished the one from the other. Here is a revolutionary nationalist movement in the fullest meaning of Lenin's term".

The "Black Republic"

Not all members of the Communist Party in the early 1920s were convinced of the revolutionary potential of the black masses. Many thought that socialism

would come from the struggle of the white workers, the only effectively organised section of the South African proletariat at that time, with three decades of struggle against the bosses and the government behind them. But the incorporation of the white workers after the election of the Nationalist-Labour government in 1924, together with the increasing Africanisation of the Party, altered the Communist perspective. When the so-called "black republic" resolution was adopted by the Communist International in 1928, a large section of the Communist Party of South Africa was ready to accept it, and indeed, through negotiation with Comintern leaders before the 6th Comintern congress was held, had made their own contribution to its formulation. (See *Moses Kotane, South African Revolutionary* by Brian Bunting, chapter 2.)

The 6th Comintern congress resolution on the South African question called for the establishment of "an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white". A subsequent resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International gave the reasoning behind the slogan:

> "South African is a black country, the majority of the population is black and so is the majority of the workers and peasants. . . Hence the national question in South Africa. . . lies at the foundation of the revolution in South Africa."

The failure of the Communist Party to appreciate the significance of the national movement would lead to the separation of the Party from the African population. While the ECCI appreciated the extent to which the membership of the Party had been increased amongst the Africans, it was necessary that the leadership, too, must be Africanised. The land question was vital.

> "It is the task of the Communist Party to influence the embryonic and crystallising national movements among the natives in order to develop these movements into national agrarian revolutionary movements aganst the white bourgeoisie and British imperialists. . . The Party should pay particular attention to the embryonic national organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress. The Party, while retaining full independence, should participate in these organisations, should seek to broaden and extend their activity. Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists".

The 1929 congress of the Communist Party of South Africa was attended by 30 delegates from all over the country representing a membership of 3,000. Greetings were sent to the congress by the ANC. The new party programme

based on the 1928 Comintern resolution was debated for a full day before being adopted. The key section of the programme relating to the nature of the revolutionary struggle in South Africa stated that the

"double burden of exploitation carried by the native masses calls for a democratic revolution which will mean the smashing of all feudal relationships and the securing of full citizenship rights. To all natives, whether farm labourers, factory workers, chiefs or peasants, the revolution means the abolition of all discrimination against blacks as such, with independence and the opportunity to develop as a national or racial unit. Such a revolution does not by itself mean the final liberation of the broad masses of South Africa. The stage remains to be traversed to the final abolition of exploitation and domination of class by class, of man by man, the final stage of the Social Revolution for the establishment of Socialism under which all men shall be socially, economically and politically free to share alike in the fruits of their joint labour, with equal opportunity and equal access to all the comforts of life.

"This can only be accomplished under the leadership of the United Workers and Peasants of town and country".

Most Revolutionary Force

The programme stressed that the African people, as the most exploited and oppressed section of the population, as well as the overwhelming majority, constituted potentially the most revolutionary force in the country. Support for the movements of national liberation was aimed, not at driving the white man into the sea, but at removing all the political and social disabilities which make up the enslavement of the African people, restoring to them the lands and liberties taken from them by foreign conquerors, settlers and financiers, and vindicating their right, as the immense majority and in the truest sense the people of Africa, to equality, emancipation, independence and self-determination, and hence to predominant political power in their own country, with equal rights for all minorities.

The programme posed then the same question that is posed today by the critics of the Communist Party — "Is this a departure from the strict class outlook?", and answered emphatically:

> "By no means. . . South African imperialism helotises the whole of the native people as a race as providing a national labour breeding and recruiting ground. . . Unity postulates equality. If we are to achieve real labour unity we must first remove the greatest obstacle to it, viz, the unequal, subjected, enslaved status of the native workers and people. Hence race emancipation and class emancipation tend to coincide. Hence too the conception and realisation of native rule merges into

that of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, non-imperialist, non-capitalist, non-racialist, classless and in effect Socialist".

The perspective then, as now, is that the so-called "two stages" of the South African are not necessarily or inevitably separated by barriers of time or space. The struggle for national liberation is inextricably linked with the struggle for class emancipation. The achievement of the national democratic revolution can only promote the cause of socialism because, as Lenin pointed out, the achievement of socialism is impossible without democracy.

"The proletariat cannot be victorious except through democracy, i.e., by giving full effect to democracy and by linking with each step of its struggle democratic demands formulated in the most resolute terms. It is absurd to *contrapose* the socialist revolution and the revolutionary struggle against capitalism to a single problem of democracy, in this case, the national question. We must *combine* the revolutionary struggle against capitalism with a revolutionary programme and tactics on *all* democratic demands: a republic, a militia, the popular election of officials, equal rights for women, the self-determination of nations etc. . . The social revolution is not a single battle, but a period covering a series of battles over all sorts of problems of economic and democratic reform, which are consummated only by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It is for the sake of this final aim that we must formulate *every one* of our democratic demands in a consistently revolutionary way". (*The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, 1915.).

Two-way Process

Following the adoption of the "black republic" slogan the Communist Party went through a traumatic period in which its members tried to come to terms with its implications. During 1930 the Communist Party received from the Executive Committee of the Comintern a lengthy document entitled "How to Build a Revolutionary Mass Party in South Africa" which contained an attack on alleged "reformist" elements in the leadership of the Party who opportunistically accepted the black republic thesis in words but rejected it in practice. In the course of the document, which was printed in instalments in the Party paper *Umsebenzi*, the ECCI set out some valuable guidelines relating to the relationship between the national and class struggles. The document stated, inter alia:

"Failure to understand the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist tasks of the South African proletariat is reflected in the fact that both the leaders and the members of the Party, who have not yet cast off the remnants of white chauvinism, do not

understand the nationalist tasks of the revolution, and try to reduce the whole struggle of the South African proletariat to a purely proletarian class struggle, while the Native members, who are still influenced by petty-bourgeois peasant nationalism, on the contrary, do not understand the tasks of the proletarian class struggle, and try to reduce the struggle to a nationalist-revolutionary movement. . .

"This lack of understanding leads, in practice, to a position where both sections of the Party, in different ways, commit the same mistake with regard to the growing national revolutionary tasks of the proletariat and in this way deny the hegemony of the proletariat in the movement. The Natives, by restricting the tasks of the proletariat solely to nationalist revolutionary tasks, in practice would cause the proletariat to become absorbed in the broad petty-bourgeois movement, and in this way destroy its hegemony in this movement".

This last sentence reflects the point of view of those present-day critics of the SACP who allege that the Party is tailing behind the national movement and has abandoned the struggle for socialism. The Party has long been aware of this criticism, and this danger, and has attempted to conduct its affairs in line with the developing Marxist-Leninist principles which have been outlined in this article. In the words of Moses Kotane's famous letter from Cradock in February, 1934, as the Party became more Africanised, it paid less attention to European affairs and more to South Africa, it studied the conditions in this country and concretised the demands of the toiling masses from first-hand information, it spoke the language of the Native masses and knew their demands. Without losing its international allegiance, it "Bolshevised" itself, becoming South African not only theoretically but in reality. It proved itself as a Party working in the interests and for the toiling masses.

Furthermore, it is not possible today to refer to the ANC, in the words of the ECCI document, as a "broad petty bourgeois movement". Broad, yes, but petty-bourgeois in its character and orientation, definitely no. The ANC is today a "fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation" of precisely the type referred to in the 1929 resolution of the Comintern Executive Committee quoted above. And it was Communists, amongst others, who helped to bring about this transformation. In the 1930s it was Party members like J.B. Marks and Moses Kotane who played a leading role in rescuing the ANC from the doldrums and, in the 1940s and 1950s, together with members of the ANC Youth League and other militants helped raise the level of struggle to the high point the ANC has displayed in the last two decades. Yet Party members never allowed themselves to be swallowed by the ANC. Marks and Kotane, while occupying key positions on the ANC executive, at the same time filled the two main official positions in the Communist Party, that of chairman and general secretary respectively. Their comrades in both organisations testified to their complete loyalty to the two organisations;

indeed, they were not alone. Every Party member who was eligible played his/her part in his/her national organisation and helped cement the alliance between the ANC, SACP and SACTU which is the centre-piece of the liberation movement today.

Nationalism and Class Struggle

A Central Committee report on "Nationalism and Class Struggle" presented to the national congress of the Communist Party in January 1950 — the last congress before the Party was outlawed by the Nationalist Government — confirmed that the Party had not altered its perspective since the "black republic" resolution was adopted in 1928. The resolution stressed that in the wake of the Nationalist Party's election victory South Africa was entering a period of bitter national conflict. On all sides national and racial differences were being emphasised, and the realities of the class divisions were being obscured. With every advance made by the black population of South Africa, the ruling class was attempting to raise the barriers still more — that, in reality, was the process reflected in the substitution of Malan's apartheid for Smuts' segregation. In a passage strikingly foreshadowing the slogan adopted at the 5th congress of the SACP in 1962, the 1950 CC report declared:

"The distinguishing feature of South Africa is that it combines the characteristics of both an imperialist state and a colony within a single, indivisible, geographical, political and economic entity. . . Communists have always regarded the colonial system as a special form of national oppression."

The resolution stated that the orientation of the national movements on the basis of the workers and peasants was to be brought about by relating the struggle against racial discrimination to the struggle against capitalism, by showing that the colour bar is primarily a technique of exploitation for private profit, by ensuring the dominant role of the class conscious workers in the national organisations.

> "The national organisations, to be effective, must be transformed into a revolutionary party of workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, linked together in a firm organisation, subject to strict discipline, and guided by a definite programme of struggle against all forms of racial discrimination in alliance with the class conscious European workers and intellectuals. Such a party would be distinguished from the Communist Party in that its objective is national liberation, that is, the abolition of race discrimination, but it would co-operate with the Communist Party. In this party the class conscious workers and peasants of the national group concerned would constitute the main leadership"

It is a matter of record how far the ANC has in fact developed into a revolutionary party of the kind indicated in the 1950 report. The lines of

struggle indicated in the CC report were to become the guidelines for the entire South African liberation movement in the following decades. A process of cross-pollination occurred between the Communist Party and the national movement. On the one hand the Communist Party achieved and incorporated in its programme a truer understanding of the nature and importance of the national movement than it had ever had before. On the other hand, the national movement was moved towards an appreciation of the class forces which underlay the national conflict in South Africa and to perceive the relationship between the national struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and the international movement against imperialism and war. The nationalism of the ANC and the other Congresses developed an international aspect; the Communist Party was indigenised on the lines of Moses Kotane's 1934 Cradock letter.

The ANC document "Strategy and Tactics" adopted at the Morogoro conference in 1969 reflects the enormous advance made in the thinking of ANC members in the period since the Nationalist Government came to power in 1948. The four main findings of the conference were:

1. The main content of the present stage of the South African revolution is the national liberation of the largest and most oppressed group — the African people.

2. Our national struggle takes place in a world which is no longer monopolised by imperialism — the socialist countries and the newly liberated countries have altered the balance of forces.

3. The horizons of struggle extend beyond formal political control and encompass economic emancipation. It is inconceivable for liberation to have meaning without a return of the wealth of the land to the people as a whole.

4. A key role in liberation will be played by the working class.

At a joint meeting of representatives of the ANC and SACP which took place at the same time, the ANC representative referred to the Party and the ANC as "the two leading pillars of our struggle", while the SACP spokesman said:

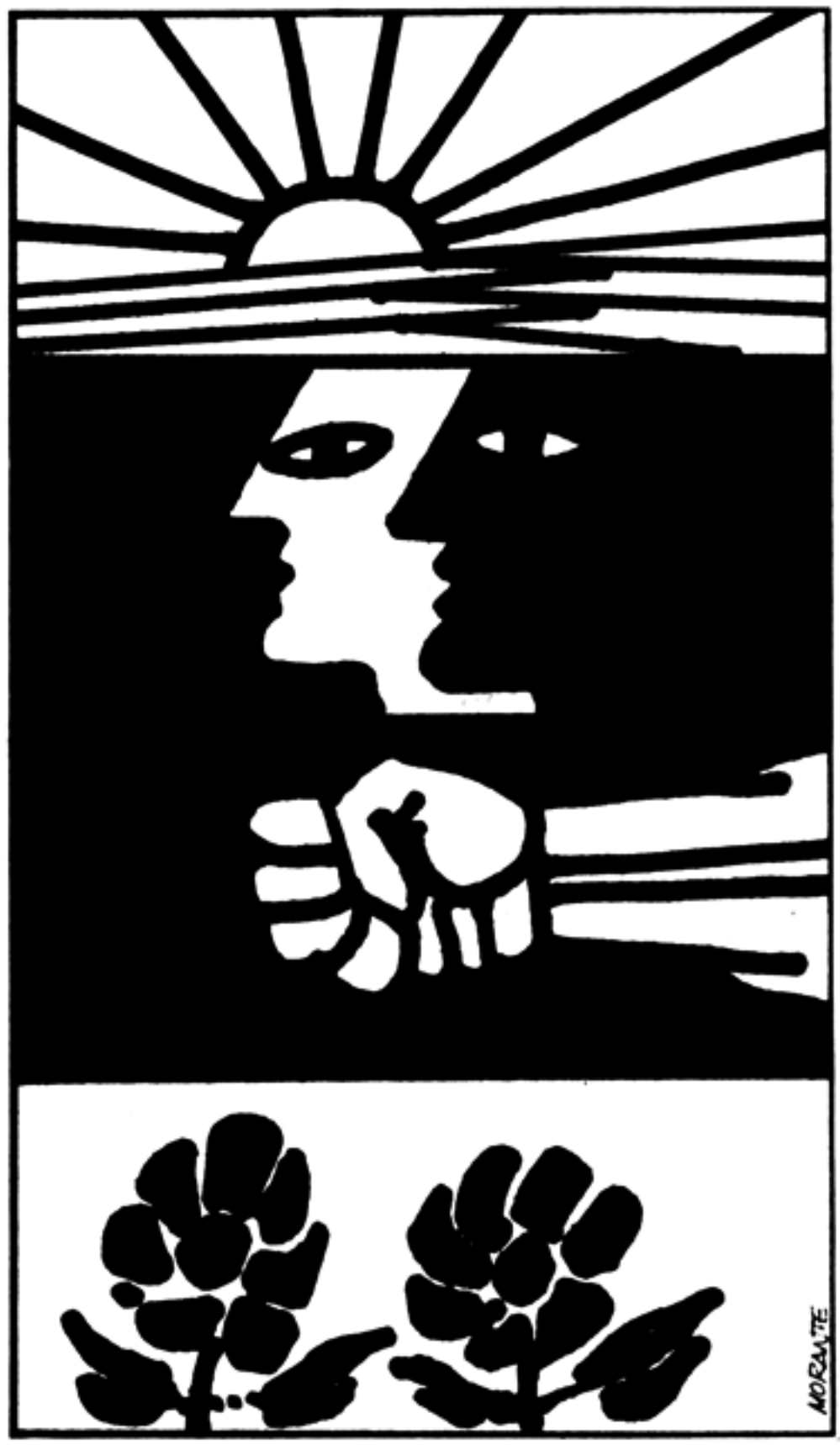
> "The national struggle in our conditions cries out for the organised paticipation of the working class and its class political organ — the Party. And equally, the struggle for socialism cries out for a vigorous and strong national movement of the African people which heads the liberation front. Experience has proved over and over again that in our revolution collaboration between our two bodies has raised the level of struggle and has been a mutually reinforcing influence"

The further strengthening of the bonds between the SACP and the ANC was registered at the 60th and 65th anniversary meetings of the SACP and at the Kabwe conference of the ANC in 1985. The identity of outlook of the two

organisations in relation to the promotion of the national democratic revolution has been emphasised over and over again.

It is the pursuit of this policy by the ANC, the SACP and their allies which has made possible the mobilisation and organisation of the South African people in their millions and brought about the revolutionary situation which prevails in the country today. Had any of the policies advanced by the Party's "workerist" or "purist" critics been adopted, the SACP would have been left howling in the wilderness, the ANC would have been turned into an enemy and the masses of people would have been left confused and divided.

The SACP's 1962 programme "The Road to South African Freedom" has been vindicated by history.



THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE REVOLUTION

From a cadre in the SACP underground

As communists we believe that only in a socialist society is there a basis for people to organise their lives in a democratic way — in production, in the political and social life of the society and in personal relations. Socialism is the answer to the South African working people's demands. For this reason our Party has put the issue of working class leadership in the national democratic revolution at the centre of the stage. The road that our country follows after the victory of the national democratic revolution will be decided by the class composition of the forces that take power as well as the leadership of the working class within those forces.

Our Party programme also recognises the specific oppression of women and sees socialism as the only way to safeguard women's rights. Among our immediate demands is state protection for women workers, full maternity rights, the elimination of polygamy and equal admission of women to all spheres of state, industrial, commerical, agricultural, scientific, academic and professional life. We commit ourselves to full and equal rights for women in all aspects of our future socialist society. In organising women, and in raising the woman question, our Party has given a clear lead since the 1930s and 1940s.

We often lose sight of the connection between these two principles of our struggle. The working class must lead throughout our revolution. What we forget is that this entails a crucial role for women workers in building a socialist future. The achievement of a fully developed socialist future is dependent on the class composition of the forces that come to power in the national democratic revolution *and* the extent to which women are organised as part of their class.

Our demands and programme are a guide to action in the execution of our revolution. The way we organise and build the power of the different classes and sectors within our country *now* will determine whether they have the power to make these demands a reality. Women must be active in the trade unions, in community and student organisations, in the campaigns and fronts that take the revolution forward through mass action, in the ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe, in our underground and the underground of the ANC and SACTU, in learning how we build people's power and how we prepare and wage the people's war and insurrection.

As communists it is our task to examine our organising strategies, our calls to action, the issues around which we build people's power, in order to assess how they facilitate the participation and leadership of women workers. Our organisations and campaigns, our street battles and armed propaganda are the battlefields on which the working class and its allies are training for the crucial stage of our revolution. Can we honestly say that working class women are receiving the same training as working class men?

The exact shape of people's power we are building in this phase forms the embryo of the future socialist South Africa. Our present demands are state policy in the making. If we build organs of popular power controlled by men only in our communities, we are laying the basis for a society in which our Party's immediate proposals for the emancipation of women will be impossible. Our history is one rich in resistance by women organised into women's organisations. What we have yet to realise in the practice of our revolution is that women's oppression and exploitation must be combatted in *every* organisation. Women are workers. Women are mothers. Women are citizens. In South Africa women workers suffer at work, at home and in the political organisation of our country. Their rights as workers, as mothers *and* as citizens have to be fought for as *one* set of demands as part of our political programme. The emancipation of women depends on the full integration of women into all the aspects of our revolution.

The majority of our working women are employed on the white capitalist farms or in domestic labour. These workers do not have even the meagre

protection afforded to industrial workers through laws and unions. The wages they are paid, the treatment meted out to them by the boers and the madams, the inhuman hours they have to work make these workers the most exploited of all. But their resistance has been stifled because they have little choice of alternative jobs and because of the direct control exercised over them.

Many women in industrial jobs are little better off than the farm and domestic workers. The food canning industry is one of the major employers of women — largely as seasonal workers with no access to unemployment benefits, condemned to seek extra jobs in the kitchens during the off-season. In other industries women find themselves restricted to jobs which are relatively unskilled and badly paid. They are therefore easily replaced and this makes organised action by women workers more risky than for men whose skills make them more valuable to the capitalists.

Discrimination Against Mothers

A favourite argument for employers is that they do not employ women in skilled positions because "they will have children and stop working so that money spent on training them is wasted." The reality is that many women lose their jobs when they become pregnant. They have to sign statements that they are not pregnant when they apply for a job and in some industries even have to undertake to use contraceptives. This humiliation and discrimination against mothers is an enormous challenge to both the labour movement and the women's movement. The struggle for paid maternity leave for all women and their right to return to the same job after the birth of a child must be linked to the struggle for free childcare facilities. A woman cannot happily return to her job if she knows her young baby is being looked after by a 13-year-old who should be at school.

The regime's housing policy brings further problems to the working woman. The "reforms" replacing influx control transfer the hardship previously experienced by the African women in squatter communities to all women who do not have "approved housing". High rents and chronic unemployment face the housewife with the prospect of evictions, squatting and consequent harassment under the "illegal squatting" laws. As Botha's policies drive our country further into economic and political crisis, the rising prices of basic foods and of health care become insuperable problems for working mothers and housewives.

The problems can best be solved in a socialist economy where the demands of working women will be respected and addressed. As we organise

in trade unions, in civic and women's organisations and in the underground work of our Party, these demands must be campaigned for. The right to motherhood and the fight for child care, job security and equal training for women are not issues affecting women only. They affect the working class as a whole and our own socialist future. Our working class movement can win these rights if the voice of working women is raised in each and every organisation.

Our people are using many weapons to take forward the political aspirations of the working people — rent boycotts, consumer boycotts, stayaways and strikes, marches and demonstrations. A key question often ignored is how working women will respond and help lead these actions. Will women workers respond to a stayaway when many of them who work on farms and in kitchens or as self-employed and casual workers are unorganised? The women do the shopping for the family so it is women who make the sacrifices in a consumer boycott. The alternatives we propose to supermarkets and chain stores must be practical possibilities for women who leave the factories late or the white kitchens after the evening meal. We must therefore address ourselves to the women directly. Our calls must appeal to husbands and children to share the housework.

Factors Limiting Participation

Many factors limit the participation of women in organisations. After work she has to feed and care for her family. She is often working herself so what will her response be if she is asked to attend long meetings at night? She may be afraid of the dangers of the ghetto township if she walks alone at night. She may fear her husband's anger at her involvement with other people outside the home. If working women are not part of our organisation and present at our meetings we cannot adequately reflect the views of the entire working class. Our agendas must reflect the needs and views of all sections of our people — most importantly the working class, men and women.

Socialism is the highest form of democracy in which people take control of their own lives. For this ideal we must include men and women at this stage to take all the decisions. All Party cadres must ask: How can we advance the participation of working women in our struggle? As we solve this question we are ensuring the foundations of a genuine people's democracy, a democracy that will ensure the emancipation of women. Only by rooting out discrimination against women can we build genuine socialism in South Africa.

ANTI-COMMUNISM: WEAPON OF REACTION

How the Enemy Tries to Undermine the ANC

By Dialego

For nearly forty years the apartheid regime has tried to use anti-communism as a bludgeon to break the liberation movement. From the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950 to the Treason Trial of 1956-61; from the draconian security legislation of the 1960s through to the present State of Emergency, the regime has sought to justify its total onslaughts and reigns of terror in the name of anti-communism.

Yet the prestige of the ANC stands higher than ever before and so too does its historic alliance with the Communist Party. Joe Slovo's speech in London last July at a meeting celebrating the 65th Anniversary of the SACP was not only widely reported in the media but Botha himself made a meeting of businessmen watch a video of the speech in full! In June the regime

distributed 70,000 copies of a free booklet, *Talking with the ANC,* which contained numerous excerpts from ANC and SACP literature. According to one report, the pamphlet was eagerly snapped up by Africans in the townships who quoted the extracts and pinned up Mandela's photograph (which the next edition of the pamphlet promptly left out).[1] So desperate is the Botha regime to undermine the unity of the liberation movement and its international standing that it is even prepared to disregard its own laws against quoting statements from banned persons and organisations!

But if the situation is farcical, it is not without its dangers. The regime's campaign of slander and distortion may be pathetic and predictable, but as this journal recently pointed out, 'anti-Communism should not be treated lightly by South African freedom fighters'.[2] Anti-communism sticks. It divides and disorientates. It makes conservatives who can be won to a positive attitude towards the liberation movement, think again; it aggravates the anxieties of liberal sympathisers and even among social-democratic supporters it can create dismay and confusion.

The dangers of anti-communism are graphically illustrated in the Anti-Apartheid Act passed by the US Congress over the President's veto last October. This proposes a range of sanctions and calls for an end to the state of emergency, the release of Mandela and all other political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC and (it would seem) all other groups. At the same time the Act still depicts the ANC as an organisation engaged in terrorism and infiltrated by communists, and (with no little arrogance) it urges the ANC to re-examine its ties with the SACP. The Act not only threatens that the US will itself pursue diplomatic and political measures against those 'promoting terrorism' (presumably in conjunction with the regime itself) but calls for a report on the activities of the Communist Party. Indeed, such a report has now been released and is being used by the Pretoria Government as confirmation of its claim that the ANC is controlled by the Communist Party.[3]

As with the notorious Denton Report to the US Senate in 1982, the charge of 'terrorism' is linked to the smear of 'communist infiltration'. The clear intention of the Act (however welcome the sanctions it proposes) is to isolate and disarm the ANC. The instrument used to promote this dangerous manoeuvre is the septic scalpel of anti-communism.

Slander in a More Systematic Form

In November 1986 a London organisation calling itself the 'Institute for the Study of Terrorism' produced a virulently anti-communist tract entitled

ANC: A Soviet Task Force? Written by Keith Campbell, a former student and International Relations tutor from Wits University and with a Foreword by Lord Chalfont, a former British Minister of Defence, the report tries to give an air of academic respectability to its scurrilous argumentation. In contrast with the regime's pamphlet, it is detailed and systematic. By juxtaposing statements from the ANC, SACP and CPSU on a wide range of issues — ideology, political system, foreign policy, revolutionary violence — the report seeks to prove that the ANC is a communist dominated organisation serving the interests of the USSR.

The technique of analysis is 'McCarthyite' throughout. If a position of the ANC and the SACP coincide, then that is clear evidence of 'communist control'; if the SACP has a position which is similar to that of the CPSU, then 'domination by Moscow' is proven. It is worth probing this methodology a little more closely.

The Distorting Lenses of a Conspiratorial Chauvinism

It is true, to take a sample of Campbell's juxtaposed quotations, that the CPSU, the SACP and the ANC all consider the October Revolution an epoch-making event; they identify struggles as taking place within a world revolutionary process, and they emphasise the leading role of the working class. All three organisations emphasise the importance of anti-imperialism and the struggle for national liberation. But why should there be anything sinister about this overall unity of outlook?

Take the issue of foreign policy for example. Here Campbell argues that because the ANC opposes the USA on major policy issues and sides with the USSR, it can have no independent position of its own. But the ANC's stance on foreign policy, as the quotations make clear, stems from its consistent anti-imperialism. If it respects the international policies of the Soviet Union, this is because it perceives them to be sympathetic to the struggle for national liberation and anti-imperialist in character. As Thomas Karis (a well known liberal American analyst of South African politics) points out, anti-imperialism is a stance which embraces 'all who support the ANC'. It is a stance which is born of the *realities* of the situation — the long history, in Karis's words, 'of US and Western complicity in bolstering the South African regime'.[4] This point takes us to the heart of Campbell's problem. As a right wing ideologist, he substitutes wilful conspiracy for materialist analysis.

If communists and revolutionary democrats agree on foreign policy, Campbell argues, this is not because the realities of international politics dictate an anti-imperialist commitment (and the broader revolutionary

analysis which gives it coherence): it can only be because communists are manipulating nationalists! If South African and Soviet Communists have a number of positions in common, this can only be because the SACP is being used by the CPSU as a 'policy channel' into the liberation movement. Campbell repeats the old canard that the CPSA adopted its 'black republic' slogan in 1929 on the orders of the Comintern and yet it is clear from the historical record that the impetus for the new policy came from nationally minded communists *within* South Africa itself. It was the realities of the situation and not influences from outside which proved decisive.

In Campbell's world of chauvinistic conspiracy, if communists and nationalists cooperate, this can only mean that the former dominate the latter. Yet, the truth is, as Campbell's own quotations show, that the ANC and SACP are 'two pillars of the struggle', each of which respects the integrity and independence of the other. But, Campbell wonders, isn't there something underhand about the way in which a Communist Party regards itself as part of a Liberation Alliance *headed* by the ANC? The SACP accepts the ANC as leader and yet sees itself as having a vanguard role! What Campbell as a chauvinistic conspirator cannot grasp is that dictating strategy and tactics, here as elsewhere, are the pressures of reality — not the intentions of communists, benevolent or otherwise. ANC leadership of the struggle flows from the fact that a national liberation struggle is a struggle for the liberation of the oppressed people as a whole. Communists take 'the lead' in emphasising this point because their own experience teaches them that unless the ANC stands at the head of the alliance, the struggle for national liberation will itself be aborted, and if this happens, then the movement towards a socialist and communist society will also be brought to a halt.

Campbell however has his reply to this argument as well. Talk of different phases in the revolutionary struggle comes not only from communists: it also comes from the ANC. If ANC leaders themselves quote Lenin and analyse revolution as a process, then surely this must point to some kind of sinister control!

This raises a very interesting question — the mutually reinforcing impact of Marxists and revolutionary democrats in the liberation struggle. South African communists have been deeply influenced by African nationalism. But what has made it possible for our national liberation movement to identify itself (to take another of Campbell's scandalous quotations) with the struggle for a 'non-national world society; a society without class'?[5] What has compelled the ANC to dig ever deeper in its quest for freedom? Manipulation from outside by conspiratorial communists or the uniquely

repressive concentration of colonialism and exploitation, imperialism and multi-national capitalism in the brutal realities of the apartheid system?

Questions of Democracy and Revolutionary Violence

Because he is an incorrigible conspirator, Cambpell not only distorts the relationship between the ANC and SACP, he also radically misrepresents the positions they actually hold. The idea, for example, that the ANC and SACP consciously seek to impose a 'one-party Communist state' on a future South Africa is absurd. Even the regime's pamphlet says that the ANC 'avoids direct advocacy of a one-party state' and the fact is that the character of the democracy which will follow the destruction of apartheid cannot be determined in advance. So much necessarily depends on the nature of the transition, the forces involved, the weight of external interference, etc.

In the same way Campbell blatantly distorts the position of the Liberation Alliance on revolutionary violence. He characterises the strategy of Umkhonto we Sizwe as one of 'terrorism', the 'random killing of civilians', and yet in one of the quotations which he himself selects, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo refers to the need to destroy the monster of imperialism 'with the minimum cost of life'.[6] Given the importance of the argument about terrorism to the international standing of the ANC (we have already noted the dangerous role it plays in the Anti-Apartheid Act of the US), this question deserves a little attention for, as far as the liberation movement is concerned, the question of violence can only be understood in *political* terms.

This implies three things. Firstly, that violence is intrinsically undesirable as a way of settling human affairs. Hence Tambo's delightful comment, recently quoted: 'I even take insects out of the bath'.[7] As consistent revolutionaries, we seek, as our long-term objective, a world free from class conflict and the cruel coercion of the state. This is why it follows, to make a second point, that the struggle for emancipation should be peaceful 'if possible' and indeed the whole history of the ANC demonstrates a deep reluctance to move to the adoption of the armed struggle. But here is the rub. When faced with bannings, jailings, torture, forced removals, declarations of emergency and the unbridled violence of a fascist state, what is a liberation movement to do?

A Policy of Surrender

This brings me to the third point. Not to adopt revolutionary violence as a strategy when peaceful opposition on its own cannot succeed can only mean abandoning the struggle for real change. Not to use violence, when all other

means have failed, amounts to a policy of surrender. It means persisting with policies that inevitably bring demoralisation and defeat. This is why violence has a political character. It is necessary, not as an end in itself, but as one method among others of defeating a ruthless enemy.

Because it is political, revolutionary violence seeks to destroy apartheid by cementing a popular alliance of the widest possible character: hence it is a violence which is controlled and discriminate and its inspiration remains humanist throughout. But this violence cannot help to cement popular unity and destroy apartheid unless it is also *effective*. We cannot denounce this form or that form of violence (the US Anti-Apartheid Act is particularly obsessed with the 'necklace' killings), however gruesome or unpleasant it might be, simply because it offends those whose whole way of life inclines them to a hypocritical disregard for the realities of oppression.

Indeed nowhere are the critics of the ANC and the SACP more hypocritical than in their denunciations of 'terrorism'. Right-wing ideologists, whatever they say in theory, have always understood that politics is war by other means; that the political process involves an interweaving of all forms of coercion, both peaceful and violent, a fluid movement of one to the other as circumstances dictate. What differentiates revolutionary politics from the politics of reaction is simply this: *we* resort to violence, a disciplined, discriminate and democratic violence, as a self-dissolving process in order to build a world in which the state itself will have become a barbaric relic of the past, a world fit for a peaceful humanity. *They* resort to violence as a self-perpetuating evil in order to maintain a world founded upon division, exploitation and oppression. Hence the conspiratorial ideologists of reaction necessarily ascribe to others their own cynical and terroristic view of the political process.

'Communising' the Freedom Charter

Keith Campbell is a brave man. Over 3 decades ago the South African state devoted hours, months and even years of obscurantist argumentation in an attempt to demonstrate that the Freedom Charter was a communist document. But what the South African state during the Treason Trial of 1955-61 failed to prove in six years, Campbell imagines he can prove in six pages. Truly, a brave man!

Campbell's method of analysing the Charter is predictably fatuous, but it is instructive nevertheless. Basically, his approach is this. The Freedom Charter may sound like a liberal and humanist document when it calls for a democratic state or asserts that the people have been robbed of their

birthright to land and liberty by a government founded on injustice and inequality, but *we* know that by the 'people', Marxists really mean the party and the proletariat; by 'democracy', they mean dictatorship and when they speak of 'injustice and inequality', they are secretly referring to capitalism. If this is all pretty childish, to be sure, it is not without a certain distorted insight into the dynamics of this historical process.

Like all reactionaries, Campbell is dismayed by the fact that not only is there a break between socialism and the liberal tradition, but there is also a continuity as well. Historically, the demand for social freedoms sprang from a desire to see *liberal* freedoms put into practice so that in this sense socialism is both rooted in and at the same time transcends its liberal heritage. Although the Freedom Charter is not and was not intended to be a socialist document, it reflects this process of liberalism stretching 'beyond itself' in a most revealing way.

For example, the Charter states that 'all shall have the right to occupy the land wherever they choose': this is not a specifically socialist demand for it does not stipulate that the ownership and control of the land shall be collective in character. But at the same time it challenges the need for a propertyless proletariat. It brings out sharply the tension between liberal theory which links property with individuality and capitalist practice which makes people propertyless. Hence Campbell as an ideologist of the 'new right' is alarmed. People should not have the right to 'occupy' the land wherever they choose: they should only be allowed to buy and rent it! By placing land-ownership beyond the divisive operation of market forces, the clause displays, he snorts, a 'typical Marxist denial of property rights'!

The same point arises with the famous clause about mineral wealth, the land and monopoly industry. Monopoly is incompatible with the liberal ideal of free competition: Campbell may think that the term monopoly is Marxist jargon but the fact is that the attack on monopolies was originally raised by social rather than specifically socialist critics of capitalism who simply demanded that liberals should practise what they preach! In Campbell's world demands for a national minimum wage become assaults on capitalism and he declares that the clause seeking to control industry in the interests of the people is 'incompatible with the maintenance of free enterprise'. But what Campbell calls 'free enterprise' is not free enterprise at all: it is really a system which concentrates capitalist power in the hands of the few.

If the Freedom Charter is not a socialist document, it *is* concerned with making the 'will of the people' a concrete social reality. It builds upon the

most radical traditions of the past in order to serve as a 'lodestar' for the future. The fact that it alarms reactionaries who denounce it as 'communist' merely serves to underline the fact, as Dimitrov noted, that the most rightwing sections of the bourgeoisie become, as class struggle intensifies, terrified of their own ideological heritage. What once appeared benignly liberal now confronts them as menacingly socialistic as they shrink back in fear from the historical process.

Terrorising the Truth

Perhaps the most despicable part of the Institute's terroristic report is the clumsy attempt to prove that Luthuli was an anti-communist. Luthuli, we are told, was a 'genuine moderate' who wanted 'Black participation in government' rather than 'Black control'. To spice up his case, Campbell resurrects Jordan Ngubane's slander (quoted at length in the Denton Report) that communist 'sympathisers' saw Luthuli as a threat to their position and that when he was banished to Groutville, they withheld vital information from him so that he could not be involved in the discussions around the Freedom Charter.[8]

What Campbell omits to mention is that Luthuli was unable to take part in the preparations for the Congress of the People and the formulation of the Charter not merely because he was banned but also because he was seriously ill. It is true that like the organisers themselves, Luthuli felt there were deficiencies in the way in which the Charter had been drawn up; nor did he consider it a 'perfect document'. But anyone who reads Luthuli's autobiography cannot but be struck by his immense enthusiasm for the Charter and for the Congress of the People which adopted it.[9] The idea that Albert Luthuli preferred 'power-sharing' to democracy is simply untrue.

But what about Luthuli's attitude towards communism? Luthuli had the highest regard for Moses Kotane and once confessed to Walter Sisulu: 'if Kotane ever asked me to join the Party, I wonder what I would do'. Of course Luthuli was not as communist nor, as Tambo recalls, even near to being one.[10] But an anti-communist? Let Luthuli speak for himself:

> 'There are Communists in the South African resistance and I co-operate with them . . . Resistance movements cannot afford the luxury of McCarthyism . . . We are not playing at politics, we are bent on liberation'.[11]

Campbell contends that Luthuli was totally opposed to the adoption of the armed struggle. While it is a fact that he was unhappy with the way in which MK had been established, he made it clear to Moses Kotane that if he was not able to tell any member of the ANC to resort to violence, neither was he prepared to forbid or condemn it. Luthuli was deeply imbued with the whole

Congress tradition. He shared its reluctance to move towards more militant policies but it is equally clear that he could see the direction which the struggle needed to take. Campbell's portrait of this great man is a wilful caricature: a shoddy travesty of the truth.

The Real Movement of History

Campbell's report, like the Denton Report of 1982, the regime's own *Talking with the ANC* and doubtless like much of the argumentation which features in the US Senate's current investigations into the SACP, all reflect the reactionary's fear of history. For this in essence is what lies behind hysterical denunciations of the 'spectre of communism'.

What terrifies imperialists and reactionaries, racists and 'power-sharers' is the future that lies ahead. It is precisely because communism is not a question of conspiracies and elitist manipulations that they feel so afraid. Communism, as Marx and Engels put it in 1845, is not some kind of ideal to be imposed from above. 'We call communism the real movement which abolishes the present state of things' and they add significantly, 'the condition of this movement results from the premises now in existence'.[12] For this takes us to the heart of the matter. The 'premises' for communism are now in existence. Everything about apartheid and the brutal inequalities of power it imposes, the fearsome exploitation it sanctions and the monstrous dehumanisation it embodies points to the necessity of communism as the real movement which abolishes the present state of things. Not communism as the programme for today or tomorrow: but communism as the future of humankind.

This is why reactionaries fear the Freedom Charter. This is why they are hysterically opposed to the Liberation Alliance. This is why they are so agitated when they find that the supposed 'moderates' in the ANC will not break with the communists. If liberals take comfort from the present, reactionaries look ahead. What of the future? What will happen when the Pretoria regime crumbles and the people take power? What kind of policies will they demand in order to ensure that apartheid in *all* its forms is well and truly buried?

A national liberation movement with deep roots among the people; communists in its ranks, amongst others; influenced inter alia by Marxism and other forms of socialism; supported by the socialist community and proud of its alliance with the SACP: this is why reactionaries are alarmed. As we dissect their lies, their slanders and their terroristic disortions of the truth, perhaps we should pity them, for they are the victims of history itself and they know it.

Footnotes

1. Anthony Sampson, *Black and Gold: Tycoons, Revolutionaries and Apartheid,* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1987), p.18.
2. *The African Communist,* no. 107, p.8.
3. *Southscan,* no. 16, 13.1.87.
4. Thomas G. Karis, 'South African Liberation: the Communist Factor' *Foreign Affairs,* Winter 1986/87, p.284.
5. *ANC: A Soviet Task Force?,* p.30; *ANC Speaks,* p.154.
6. *ANC: A Soviet Task Force?,* p.12; *ANC Speaks,* p.83.
7. Sampson, *op. cit.,* p.194.
8. Substantial extracts from Ngubane's *An African Explains Apartheid* are cited in the Denton Report, *Soviet, East German and Cuban Involvement in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa,* (Washington, 1982), pp.4-7.
9. Albert Luthuli, *Let My People Go,* pp.141-42.
10. Cited in Brian Bunting, *Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary,* (Inkululeko Publications, 1975), p.234.
11. Luthuli, *op. cit.,* pp.137-38.
12. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels,* Vol.5, (Progress Publishers, 1976), p.94.

MAKING A NEW APPROACH TO WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS

by Denga

Events in South Africa clearly indicate that the apartheid system has entered a period of all-round crisis from which it cannot recover. Developments point in the direction of a build-up towards a revolutionary situation. As the struggle escalates, the crisis of the ruling class deepens. State policies and actions, including brute force, have failed to alleviate the deteriorating position of the ruling class. Consequently various sections of the oppressors and exploiters tend to pull in different directions, and the confidence of the white community continues to wane. Many among them are starting to question the ability of the regime to defend the status quo and protect their privileges.

It is a matter of time before the centuries-old system of colonial domination collapses. But how long it will take for all the factors to mature into a revolutionary situation depends mainly on the ability of the revolutionary movement to mobilise all the democratic forces for a victorious finish. One important aspect of such work is a systematic approach to various sections of the ruling class as well as what it considers to be its mass base.

In this endeavour, we have time to ensure that each step we take advances the struggle. Without limiting the scope of mobilisation and organisation, we should train our eyes both on the compass and the terrain, and move in such a way that we do not make such detours as would lead us to a destination far removed from the objectives of the national democratic revolution. We have to clearly define the forces arranged against us, and consider the ways by means of which we can weaken their camp and further swell our own ranks.

South Africa is a highly industrialised country in which the capitalist structure accounts for 90% of all production. It has a mature system of state monopoly capitalism with a high level of centralisation of capital. To cite a few examples: 4 corporations control 80% of the shares quoted on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and 2.7% of enterprises in the production sector control over 50% of total turnover. In agriculture, 2 industrial corporations control over 75% of the sugar industry.[1] The South African economy is clearly under the grip of a few monopoly giants.

As Marx and Engels pointed out, a ruling class is "the class which is the ruling material force. . . The class which has the means of production at its disposal. . ." They further stated that within the ruling class there is division of "mental and material labour, so that in this class one part appears as the thinkers of the class (its active, conceptive ideologists. . .). . ."[2]

It is on this basis that our Party concluded that "effective economic domination in South Africa is . . .exercised by an alliance of local white minority interests. . .together with foreign imperialists and representatives of State Monopoly Capital".[3] This is the ruling material force, the ruling class in South Africa. Yet, left on its own, such an assertion would leave many questions unanswered.

Identifying the Ruling Class

In defining the ruling classes in any society, the following factors have to be taken into account:

a. These classes seek all the time to portray their interests as the common interests of all sections of society; to "win the hearts and minds" of their subjects.

b. Usually, it is only a section of the ruling class which dominates the political machineries. This does not make such a section per se the ruling class. As Lenin stated, governments in exploitative societies may assume so-called republican, aristocratic, democratic and other forms.[4] But in the final analysis they represent the dictatorship of the class which owns the means of production. It is important in dealing with the ruling class to distinguish between "class rule at its social foundation and its political summit". . ., between the "purse and the crown".[5]

c. Under systems of severe repression such as fascism, a section of the capitalists controlling political office could even go to the extent of physically suppressing democratic-minded sections of the bourgeoisie who oppose the system even to the extent of participating in the physical struggle against it. This happened in Europe in the anti-fascist alliance. This does not alter the

fact that fascism is a form of bourgeois rule, an attempt by the fascists to defend, under crisis conditions, the common interests of the entire class.

In our situation we have to take the above-mentioned factors into account, as well as many others which are peculiar to South Africa. These include the fundamental question of colonial and national relations permeating all spheres of life, the history of conflict among various sections of capital and the positions occupied by non-capitalist sections of the whites.

The transfer of political power by the British colonialists into the hands of the white minority settlers starting with the Act of Union did not close the chapter in the history of struggle between two basic camps of the rulers in South Africa. On the one hand were the forces led by Smuts who paid allegiance to monopoly interests which were then dominated by non-Afrikaner (mainly English) local and foreign capitalists. For them, perpetuation of the colonial system lay in the alliance with British economic and political interests, and in running the system so as to promote the interests of the forces already dominating the economy.

On the other hand, the Hertzog group mobilised against domination of the economy by non-Afrikaners. Special institutions were set up to advance Afrikaner Nationalist entrepreneurs in the name of the volk. They advocated arch-racist policies and identified with fascism and Nazism. They campaigned for severance of links with Britain and the creation of an "independent" (and Boer) republic. Their economic clout lay in their control of agriculture.

There were compromises and alliances in the process; some of the issues were ironed out to the satisfaction of all contingents of the ruling class and the white community in general. But what is clear is that though all sections of the ruling group advanced the interests of capital and colonial domination, they did not at varying periods stand equal in relation to the political crown. With the advent of the Nationalist Party into office in 1948, the Afrikaner bourgeoisie advanced rapidly using its monopoly of political office to serve its interests and those of the Afrikaner community in general. Not that other sections of the bourgeoisie were to suffer any material losses. Their well-being was not in danger, and they soon discovered that they would do well to cultivate the new masters in joint monopoly ventures and so on. "Today", our Party concluded in 1979, "Anglo-American and the Afrikaner political establishment have moved closer to one another and co-operate increasingly (taking) much of the sting out of the English/Afrikaner conflict".[6]

The Ruling Class and its Mass Base

Whites in general enjoy countless privileges accruing from the system of

subjugation of the black people. They reap economic gains, social and other privileges far exceeding their input into the system of production. They reserve the right to choose the government of the day.

The majority of whites are committed to the defence of the colonial system; they conceive of it as their own. Historically-speaking the bourgeoisie in South Africa, using the profits from the super-exploitation of the black working people, filled the stomachs of the white non-capitalist sections and fulfilled their ideology by dividing society along racial lines.

Do these non-capitalist sections therefore form part of the ruling class?

Boast as they may about their privileged status, whites cannot claim to have gained, or to gain equally from the system. Even with the rise of the Afrikaner capitalists with their populist slogans about the volk, it was clear from the outset that this was not a movement of equals, least of all for the equal benefit of all. As early as 1944, there was an open admission that the idea of creating institutions "which could act in the interest of small traders. . ." was being frustrated by "big undertakings".[7] The rising Afrikaner bourgeoisie did offer white workers and other sections material gains, but in their own words, all in the volk were "numbers of one body, in which there is indeed a head and a heart, but also *the lesser members* without which the body would be crippled"![8]

Therefore, the relation between the capitalists and non-capitalist sections cannot be viewed as anything more than a strong alliance — a historical alliance based on the philosophy of racial superiority and, above all, on the extent to which the ruling capitalist classes continued to lay the golden eggs and keep them secure.

Just as we cannot consider all who support the system to be part of the ruling class, so we should not include in the ruling class those who serve in the state machinery. Though servants of the ruling class to the marrow, they do not all form part of this class. Here account has to be taken of their class position as well as the extent of their involvement in the formulation of policy. However (and this should be emphasised) the state machinery — the army, police, security apparatus, the courts and the bureaucrats — is a decisive tool of the ruling class to defend, justify and maintain the system. These forces (both white and black) *are antagonistically opposed to the basic interests of the people.*

Consideration of the ruling class would be incomplete without mention of the handful of blacks who have been enticed or bludgeoned into serving as administrators and defenders of the system of white domination. We refer in particular to those in the upper echelons of the bantustan, ghetto and tri-cameral racist governmental structures. The Matanzimas, Mphephus and

Rajbansis have not only carved themselves a space in the filthy history of reaction in our country; they have earned themselves business interests and other material gains as a reward for their blind subservience to their masters. While they do not constitute an independent section of the ruling class, they are an appendage thereof, whose "class interests... are completely subservient to those of the ruling class in white South Africa".[9]

To conclude. The ruling class in South Africa can be defined as the group of industrial, commercial, banking and agricultural capitalists and their active, conceptive ideologists including those functionaries in the highest echelons of the administrative machineries. They have won the support of the majority of white non-capitalist sections together with the handful of black stooges who benefit from the perpetuation of white domination.

How then do the white non-ruling classes and strata stand in relation to the national democratic revolution, to the forces of change?

The National Question

The concept of "Colonialism of a Special Type" implies that we have two nations in South Africa — the oppressor white nation and the oppressed black nation. According to one interpretation of this concept, one South African nation is to be formed through the merger of the two nations. Therefore, the most that whites can to today is display "internationalist solidarity" with their black countrymen, even to the extent of joining the revolutionary struggle.

In a treatise on the national question (*African Communist* No. 66, 1976), Molapo highlights two other theses to which different schools of thought adhere on this question: the "One Nation" and the "Many Nations" theses. In my opinion there is a 4th Thesis which is more dialectical, more practical and more concrete: not one nation, two or many nations — but a new South African nation that is being conceived in the process of struggle, existent now in an embryonic form and being fed by the act of struggle. We have in South Africa the basic conditions for the formation of one nation; and the national democratic revolution aims at the forging of one nation in one South Africa. The mass democratic movement, at the head of which is the African National Congress, is an embodiment (if only in an embryonic form) of the nation being born.

There are of course many disparate factors which divide the two racial groups; there are many characteristics within each group (and even within sections of the basic groups) which are common only to them, such as language, customs and traditions. However, counter to these factors and

tendencies which the regime fosters and constantly seeks to exploit, are the powerful forces such as the integrated economy, one country and a broad South Africanism which is fostered by the dynamics of the democratic struggle.

Colonialism in South Africa assumes its "special" character because the colonisers and the colonised reside within one country in which the entire people are economically, politically and culturally (in the broad sense) interdependent. The people of South Africa are bound by a common destiny; no section can pretend to live outside the total reality of our situation. This common destiny is emphasised by the fact that the destruction of colonialism in South Africa presupposes also the destruction of the colonial power and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic state.

Therefore, it is in the act of struggle, in the liberation process that South Africans — both black and white — can talk of relating, not as oppressor and oppressed but, in the words of the Freedom Charter, as "equals, countrymen and brothers". In this process, Africans in particular have a special role to play: the main content of the struggle is their liberation, and by uniting in action against the system, the democratic forces in general are also engaged in the act of liberating the oppressor white minority. In this regard, Africans constitute the core of the nation being born. They not only constitute the majority, the most oppressed and exploited, who have been robbed of the land and its wealth. Over the years, in the wars of resistance, in the struggle against the oppressors' Act of Union and the Land Act, in the formation and development of the ANC and in the industrial melting pot, they have forged the nucleus of the future South African nation.

This is not to place Africans in a position of advantage in relation to other groups. It is precisely 'their most disadvantaged status' in present-day South Africa which places on them the responsibility of leading the struggle for the liberation of our country, and to act all the time on the basis of democracy in respect also of the national question. The revolutionary nationalism of the liberation movement hinges on these premises. Yet it should not merely be assumed. It has evolved in the crucible of struggle; it has to be consistently propagated and defended.

The union of South African society into a single nation does not entail the disappearance of ethnic identity. It is a union of nationalities in which the languages, traditions and customs of all nationalities shall be respected and developed. "The tribe" as it were, does not have to die — be it Sotho, Jewish, Tamil, Malay, Shangaan, English or Afrikaner. Rather, its identity will flourish in the same measure as the progressive elements which constitute

that identity are fused with those of other nationalities in the protracted process towards a merger of all the people into a classless society. Language is an important but not decisive factor. Necessity and concrete experience will determine where, when and how the languages will be used, and which one(s) will assume the national mantle: in national government, education, courts and at the market. The guiding principle will be to remove all privilege, ensure national unity and at the same time protect and develop the languages of all nationalities.

The colonial system everywhere seeks to divide. It bases itself on falsehoods about the relationship between nations, nationalities and races. The democratic movement unites. The ANC, the SACP and the rest of the democratic movement propagate a policy of non-racialism. We call on all honest South Africans to join the ranks of the democratic movement for the eradication of apartheid colonialism.

The Mass Democratic Movement

The South African liberation movement has always prided itself on the immense contribution of many outstanding individuals from the white camp who have joined forces with it to destroy apartheid colonialism, giants of the democratic movement and the working class like WH Andrews, SP Bunting, DI Jones and Bram Fischer. Within the Congress Alliance, the Congress of Democrats occupied a respectable place as an equal and active partner in the endeavour to cleanse our country of the scourges of racism and oppression. This is not merely an act of solidarity, but a decision based on real self-interest, a response to the evil effects of apartheid on them as well as on their black compatriots. Yet, the organisations that existed in the past did not have a mass character. More often than not, they had the profile of small circles. The reasons for this are both objective and subjective.

There are many negative effects of apartheid on the white community: the oppression of the majority of society is a source of insecurity for them. Expenditure on armaments and on the maintenance of apartheid is a source of profound economic disequilibrium. The whole system of racial domination breeds people with warped minds, intellects confined to lying doctrines, a culture that is underdeveloped and lacking in contact with the achievements of humanity and a political outlook based on lies. However, these negative factors, on their own, cannot lead to the emergence of a *mass movement or to mass participation.* They do not outweigh the countless privileges. As stated earlier whites gain from the system and the majority consider it as their own.

At the subjective level, the democratic movement still had to develop a systematic approach to "the white camp": the tendency had been to preach, so to speak, to the converted.

Today, the mass democratic movement has gained in experience and outlook. Over the past few years, we have witnessed greater white involvement in popular actions. Organisations such as JODAC, ECC and the DPSC have attracted into their ranks several hundred democrats. The movement against conscription enjoys the support of a wide range of forces. The democratic trend in the universities now encompasses more students and it is action-oriented. Unlike before, many white graduates continue with their political activities outside the university grounds. An organisation such as the Black Sash has developed beyond "philanthropic" projects and its members participate in democratic campaigns. There have also been incidents of white workers co-operating with their black colleagues in the trade unions and on the factory floor.

JODAC, NUSAS, the ECC, the SIG and UDF Area Committees in the Western Cape — to name but a few — continually review their role and tasks and are evolving a well thought-out approach to mobilise and organise in the white suburbs, universities and schools, to identify the target and storm it. This is a practical approach to the democratic struggle and it helps to complement the democratic movement in its totality. Work within the white community does not imply that white democrats must confine themselves to their ghetto. They are doing work that has to be done. It is quite true that for it to have meaning, such work should be linked to the actions, demands and general direction of the entire struggle. But it would be a fundamental error to relegate such work to the background on the grounds that "it is only in the townships that things are happening". To adopt such an attitude means to leave an important terrain of struggle to the enemy and to those forces which seek to direct the popular struggle to reformist "solutions".

Many campaigns have been undertaken in the past few months: the Concerned Citizens Campaign, ECC, "Fasting for a Just Peace", Jews for Social Justice and so on. The most effective among these has been the JODAC/UDF "Call to Whites" campaign which reinforced the effort to further raise awareness within the white community. Against the background of the resignation of Slabbert and Borraine from parliament, these campaigns put extra-parliamentary politics on the agenda of the day among thousands of whites.

Even within Afrikanerdom, the circle of individuals critical of the fundamental aspects of apartheid has broadened, in particular among

students and academics. These are of course an insignificant minority, but their defiant self-expression is a sign not only of their personal bravery but also of the simmering discontent below the surface. Many of these and other forces have sought to make contact with the ANC. Where such meetings took place, they have resulted in a clearer understanding of the essence of the problems we face in South Africa and ways of resolving them.

While they might not have agreed with everything we say and stand for, they did appreciate why we had to resort to arms, why the privileges created by the system have to be got rid of, why we should have one-person one-vote and no "group rights" and why there has to be an equitable redistribution of national wealth if genuine equality is to be realised. The attempts of the regime to stop this interchange have only evoked anger and defiance. The regime's expensive efforts to portray the ANC as an ogre to be feared and fought against are increasingly met with scepticism.

These developments are not accidental, neither have they been achieved by dint only of mobilisational work. They are a consequence of the heightened mass and armed offensive of the people led by the ANC, and the international campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa. The more the struggle intensifies, the greater the insecurity of the white community, and the more an increasing number among them start to question the worth of it all. The tendency within the white community to move towards the democratic movement is manifest. However we should not exaggerate it. Operating at the same time is the other, opposite tendency — to drift into the ultra-right camp of the Treurnichts and Arrie Pauluses. And although Botha drummed up considerable white support on the platform of reform, his fascist policies and actions are supported by the majority of whites. Significant numbers have assumed the mood of fatalism — the "come-what-may" attitude.

This only serves to emphasise that the positive tendency will not develop on its own. We have to cultivate, encourage and speed it up. The extent to which the "white" democratic movement grows will always reflect the extent to which apartheid colonialism has become a source of insecurity for the white community, as well as the amount of political work done among them.

The Question Of Alliances

The tendencies outlined above manifest themsleves, to a certain extent and within certain limits, among sections of the ruling class, in particular big business. As stated earlier, they tend to pull in various directions when faced with a crisis — the more so with the deepening general crisis of apartheid

colonialism. Many of them have gone on record opposing the "excesses" of apartheid, and calling for far-reaching changes including the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC. Others have rallied around Botha and his henchmen. Yet many more have done both: while calling for far-reaching changes, they have come out in support of the measures taken by the regime to restore "law and order", and to put "sanctions-busting" measures into effect. De Kock captures the mood of the latter:

> ". . .any formula for the restoration of confidence and prosperity in South and Southern Africa must include the continuation of the Government's programmes for maintaining law and order and for comprehensive further political and constitutional reform".[10]

Some have expressed a willingness to co-operate with democratic forces on certain short-term campaigns. As far as the democratic movement is concerned, common sense teaches us that we cannot throw overboard supportive gestures from those who claim to have seen the error of their ways. Where practicable, parallel actions can be undertaken in pursuit of what common objectives exist, for example, against aspects of repression, conscription, troops in the township, for the release of Mandela and other prisoners and for the unbanning of the ANC. What counts in this regard are concrete actions not mere declarations.

However, it would be the height of folly on the part of the democratic movement to close its eyes to the concrete actions of big business in support of the regime; to be content with bandages and statements of intent from people who give the regime guns and the wherewithal to survive. If these businessmen are to be fully accepted into the democratic fold (and history still has to furnish such an outstanding example) they must cut links with the regime, change their policies on the factory floor, stop financing the war againt the people of South Africa and the rest of the subcontinent, stop such "favours" as salary packages and job security for soldiers who are butchering people in the townships. In brief, they cannot eat their cake and have it.

The democratic movement is faced with the task of intensifying the all-round offensive by, above all, taking mass and armed actions, ungovernability and people's power into the white areas where the nerve centres of the system and the rear bases of the army and police are situated. Accompanying this should be systematic work among enemy forces, the deepening and broadening of the appeal of white democratic organisations and the central task of strengthening the politico-military underground in these areas.

We should develop our system of dealing with the ruling class and its mass base, help precipitate a situation in which "the spokesmen and scribes of the bourgeoisie, its platform and its press, in short, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie itself, the representatives and the represented (face) one another in estrangement and no longer (understand) one another. . ."[11] And much more: those who constitute the mass base of the ruling class should question the mandate of their masters. The liberation movement expects more of them to confront their rulers under the banner of their true representatives of the people: the African National Congress and its allies. This is an essential element of people's war.

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AFRICA
NOTES & COMMENT

By Ahmed Azad

SENEGAL: A STRATEGY OF ALLIANCES AND UNITY

The creation and consolidation of alliances form an integral part of the strategy and tactics of Communist and Workers' Parties throughout the capitalist world. In theory everyone agrees that a sectarian go-it-alone policy is a recipe for isolation and disaster and that to mount a serious challenge to the rule and domination of capital requires the unity in action of all revolutionary forces. But it is often extremely difficult to build credible and durable alliances between parties that regard themselves as Marxist-Leninist. This is partly because there are genuine differences with regard to strategy and tactics on national and international issues, partly because doctrinal disputes have a habit of persisting, partly because one or other organisation does not have sufficient confidence in the prospective partner/s, partly because it is difficult to root out sectarian habits and attitudes and partly because personal differences and personality clashes present formidable obstacles.

In Senegal the fraternal Party, the Party of Independence and Labour of Senegal (PIT), has embarked on a series of discussions with a number of

political parties with a view to forming a coherent, credible and united opposition movement to the ruling Socialist Party (PS). These moves could have an important impact on Senegalese politics and pave the way for a serious challenge by the opposition to the ruling Party in the coming legislative and presidential elections. Thanks to its vigorous efforts, programme, internationalism and strategy and tactics the PIT has defeated all attempts to marginalise it or destroy it.

The PIT is involved in serious ideological and political battles against sectarianism and dogmatism in its endeavours to weld together those parties that claim adherence to Marxism-Leninism. The Maoist organisation in Senegal was one of the ultra-left groups that pursued a hostile campaign against the PIT. This group, which arose from the events of May 1968 in Western Europe, in particular France, is today in a deep crisis — theoretically, politically and organisationally. In assessing this group, Samba Dioude' Thiam, member of the Political Bureau of PIT, writes:

> "Generations of young men and women, remarkable for their ardour and determination, have vainly sought a revolutionary path under the banner of Maoism. The total results of Maoism add up to defeat, with lives ruined and revolutionary potential wasted. The best, the most dedicated and sincere revolutionaries produced by Maoism are now looking for something to attach themselves to. Their search is painful, sorrowful and hesitant. Our profound belief is that the best of them, the strongest theoretically and psychologically, those who have been able to achieve a national understanding of Marxism, will be of service to the Senegalese revolution. The others — and there are others — will serve the enemy of the revolution, imperialism." (*Dan Doole*, Central Organ of the PIT, October 1986.)

In their endeavours to establish new links with those organisations who declare their allegiance to Marxism-Leninism, leaders of the PIT met with leaders of the Democratic League/Movement for the Labour Party (L.D./M.P.T.) at the latter's headquarters. In a joint communique the two Parties declared:

> The two delegations examined major national problems and emphasised the responsibilities of the opposition in the face of the deterioration of the living conditions of the masses. They agreed to work resolutely for unity of the forces which adhere to Marxism-Leninism. They undertook to pursue their exchanges in order to arrive at a better cohesion of the democratic movement." (Ibid.)

Prior to this meeting the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the PIT had made an in-depth analysis of the consequences of various aspects of government policies, and of the strategy and tactics, positions, aims and objectives of the various political parties and mass organisations in Senegal. There are about 16 political parties operating in that country.

Obstacles to be overcome

The discussions between the PIT and the L.D./MPT are still at an initial stage. Many obstacles have still to be overcome before genuine understanding and unity can be achieved. Commenting on this comrade Thiam writes:

> "Of course, it would be naive to imagine that this movement will go forward as if on roller skates. Past confrontations have left much ill-feeling behind and there are also still real differences in theoretical postitions and political analyses. The essential thing, however, is to learn to manage these problems on the basis that we are all agreed to identify the enemy and save our blows for him. Above all we must base ourselves on scientific socialism as understood in the new age which began with the turning point of the Great October. It would be a tragedy if our militants and those of other parties which proclaim Marxism-Leninism were to learn to fraternise only in prisons or in sports grounds transformed into torture camps." (Ibid.)

The PIT has also made overtures to the Party of African Independence (PAI) which is led by a former General Secretary of PIT, and the Aud-Jef Revolutionary Movement for New Democracy. The latter, whilst indicating its willingness to participate in discussions, points out that it is not a Marxist organisation though it has Marxists within it.

In the wider political arena the PIT is an active participant in the multilateral consultations of opposition parties. The PIT operates with a view "to strengthen the democratic and patriotic opposition in order to strengthen the people's movement". Within the framework of these consultations the PIT has been charged with preparing a draft electoral plan of action.

The initiatives of the PIT, its readiness to work with other opposition groups and its strenuous efforts to build a united, powerful opposition movement is a fine example of the creative application of the science of Marxism-Leninism. Without sacrificing positions of principle or diluting the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the PIT is steadily gaining ground, becoming more influential and winning more adherents to the cause of socialism. By its energetic work in theory and practice, the PIT demonstrates that it is an important and influential political force in Senegal and the continent.

NIGERIA: THE WORKING CLASS SPEAKS

Over the past eighteen months representatives of different classes and organisations have participated in a wide-ranging debate on the political future of Nigeria. This debate was initiated by the Federal Government

through its political bureau. A crucial input into the debate is the voice of the organised working class. The working people of Nigeria are groaning under the burden of unemployment, factory closures, job retrenchments, lack of adequate housing, health care and educational facilities, and the breakdown of law and order.

The Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), which represents about 5 million members, has intervened in the debate by publishing a workers' manifesto entitled. "Towards a viable and genuinely democratic future: Nigerian working class position". Present at its launching were leaders of the Nigerian trade union movement, giants of the working class movement such as Michael Imoudou, Wahab O. Goodluck, Hassan A. Sunmonu (Secretary General of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity) and Dapo Fatogun, doyen of Nigerian Marxists and editor-in-chief of *New Horizon,* Nigeria's Marxist monthly.

In an introduction to the manifesto Ali Chorima, NLC President, points out that the document, which reflects the political aspirations of the Nigerian working class, was adopted by the entire Nigerian trade union movement. A common attack of our adversaries, national and international, is that socialism is alien to the traditions and cultures of the people of Africa. In dealing with this falsehood Ali Chiroma reflects the views of Marxists-Leninists throughout our continent when he declares:

> "Some have argued that the change of system which implied change from capitalism to socialism would usher in a system alien to our tradition and culture, in fact they propagate that socialism is anti-religion and inhibits individual initiative and is based on the prevention of the right to own property.
>
> "These arguments are outdated and remind one of the pictures of socialism painted by our erstwhile colonial masters. Our socialist options would be rooted in Nigerian realities and Nigerian environment and will be operated by Nigerians without dictation from any foreign power." (*New Horizon,* September 1986.)

The NLC manifesto contains 28 points covering a wide spectrum of political, economic, social and cultural issues under the following headings: 1) Revenue Allocation, 2) Role of Traditional Rulership and Administration, 3) A Philosophy of Government For the Future,
4) Forms of Representation in Government, 5) A Viable Popular and Genuinely Democratic Political System, 6) Rural and Community Development, 7) Interest of Minorities and under-privileged groups, 8) Human Rights — Economic, Social, Legal and Political, 9) The Armed Forces in Nigeria, 10) Regionalism, 12) Statism, 13) Nationality and Citizenship, 14) Role of Women in Nigerian Politics, 15) Labour in Politics, 16) Youth and Students in Nigerian Politics, 17) Rural Population in

Nigeria, 18) Formation of Nigerian Political Parties, their Funding and Administration, 19) Elections and Electoral processes, 20) The role of Judiciary and the Administration of Justice, 21) State and Religion, 22) Links between economy and politics in Nigeria, 23) Social and Political Mobilisation for Development, 24) Discipline, Law and Order, 25) The Local Government System, 26) Corruption in Public Life, 27) The role of Mass-Media and other forms of Communication in Nigerian Politics, 28) National Language.

In this brief survey we shall only highlight a few aspects of this important document. After characterising Nigeria as a capitalist, neo-colonial country incapable of independent development, the manifesto boldly asserts, "that only a socialist option can ensure a viable and stable political, and economic arrangement in Nigeria." (The manifesto was published in full in *New Horizon,* September, 1986.)

Point 3 makes a succinct yet sharp contrast between the interests of the capitalist class and those of the workers and peasants. It points out that for the former profit through "exploitation, greed and grasp of political power" constitutes their basic interests, whilst for the latter it is, "existence, guaranteed stable employment, education, health, housing and participation in deciding political and economic issues which determine their lives and the existence of the nation. "Advancing the argument the document points out that in the areas of full employment, free education, free health care, housing and all-round human development the socialist system is superior to the capitalist.

Political Consciousness

Under points 4 and 5 the NLC calls for the fullest participation of the mass organisations in political life. They are convinced that a viable and genuinely democratic system requires a "high level of literacy and political consciousness, guarantee of basic necessities of life, equitable distribution of wealth, social justice and equal opportunity for all."

On the future economy the document stresses the importance of working class control and planning. Speaking a language that workers all over the world can understand the manifesto states:

> "From taking control of the economy through so-called investments to over-invoicing we have seen clearly the collaboration of the multinationals and their local agents in ruining our economy, perpetrating fraud and corruption and influencing technocrats and administrators in the performance of government business. What Nigeria requires today under the leadership of the working class is to take our destiny into our own hands through the appropriate political action — socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange."

Under the section "Labour and Politics" the document underlines the importance of the working class having its own independent political party which amongst other tasks would "enhance national unity, promote genuine patriotism by de-emphasising religious and tribal cleavages." The NLC emphasises that in calling for the independent expression of the working class it is not proposing the conversion of the NLC or any other trade union into a political party. This is because the NLC clearly distinguishes between the role and character of a trade union and those of a political party.

In Nigeria the military has ruled for seventeen years since independence in 1960. Not surprisingly the manifesto pays attention to this issue. It clearly locates the class character of military regimes and points out that as long as the country remains "a dependent capitalist state, with weak and fragile social, economic and political structures," military rule and frequent intervention in politics would continue.

> "The trade unions are opposed to any 'distinct and privileged political role for the military' since it is not a neutral political class." Under socialism the military can be transformed into the defender of people's interests, and if it indulged in adventurist actions the people mobilised "would resist and call the military to order."

The manifesto contains interesting proposals designed to resolve the complex and divisive national and regional questions. For example it proposes that in addition to English each State should have its own dominant language and that at the national level a dominant language in addition to English should be adopted thereby ensuring that every citizen knows at least two languages. Only a socialist society which ensures equal participation of all ethnic groups in politics guarantees basic rights and pursues a programme of economic, political and cultural development can "allay minority fears of domination."

National Question

The national question features prominently in a paper by Dr. Inya Eteng, presented to the Nigerian Anthropological and Sociological Association as a contribution to the national debate. Dr. Eteng exposes the successes of the Nigerian ruling class in utilising ethnicity and religion to conceal "the class basis of most of the country's basic problems." He brings to the fore the constant attacks on the democratic rights and freedom of the people of Nigeria by the ruling class acting through different civilian and military regimes.

The pernicious consequence of ethnicity, he points out, is to encourage communal hatred, corruption, violence, religious manipulation, inter-

ethnic conflict and to undermine the growth of class consciousness in favour of ethnic/state consciousness. (*New Horizon,* October, 1986.)

The open and courageous intervention of the trade unions and revolutionary intellectuals in the great Nigerian debate has given it a working class input, substance and organisational strength. This debate, initiated by a military regime, makes it possible for Marxist-Leninists and other left-wing forces to argue the case for a radical transformation of Nigerian society. All the signs indicate that there is a growing interest amongst the Nigerian working people, intellectuals and circles in the army for an alternative to capitalism.

The Babangida government has now initiated and conducted three national debates — the other two were on the IMF and on Foreign Policy. It is certainly noteworthy that the government is not only encouraging a dialogue and an exchange of views on fundamental issues, but is also willing to listen to the different points of view.

Given that Nigeria is one of the most important countries in Africa and plays a significant role in continental and world politics, this debate will have ramifications far beyond the borders of that country.

SOVIET UNION: A TRUE FRIEND

For decades forces hostile to our struggle and the revolutionary alliance led by the ANC have accused us of being "Moscow inspired", "Moscow organised," and "Moscow controlled." Since the sixties the Soviet Union has been accused of fishing in the troubled waters of apartheid and of exacerbating the South African conflict by supplying arms and military training to Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Now it seems some anti-Soviet specialists have discovered a new angle. It is alleged that the Soviet Union is decidedly cool on the escalation of the armed revolutionary struggle in South Africa and that its approach to future developments in our country is at variance with that of the ANC and SACP. Indicative of this is an article in a new fortnightly bulletin published in London called *Africa Analysis,* (12 December 1986), by an anonymous correspondent with so-called "important contacts in the USSR". This brief but tendentious piece, full of assertions but short of any evidence claims:

> "For the time being, at least, any wish [that is, in Moscow] for a further escalation of violence in South Africa seems to be decidedly lacking . . . There is considerable anxiety among those who specialise on South Africa that events might get out of

> hand . . . One finds in Moscow a lot of scepticism as to whether the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party are in a position to control developments in the townships. Moreover, there is not much love lost for the young 'Comrades'. Their strong leaning towards Marxism-Leninism is mostly seen by Soviet Africanists as yet another example of African misunderstanding — or even ignorance — of what Marxism-Leninism and Soviet policy is truly about."

In spite of all the evidence relating to the immense prestige and influence of the ANC and its allies, there is within some circles of the bourgeois mass media scepticism about our capacity to "control developments in the townships." By a strange process of metamorphosis this scepticism is ascribed to scientists in the Soviet Union. The truth is that at no time have Soviet political figures, party functionaries or academics ever expressed this "scepticism" either to those in the movement or in their research and published works.

What the political or even logical connection is between the young comrades, Marxism-Leninism and Soviet policy is left to the reader's imagination. Undoubtedly there is a growing interest in the science of Marxism-Leninism amongst various sections of our people as there is in the history, role and functions of the SACP. In defiance of police batons, guns and bullets our people have raised high the banner of our party. Slogans on the walls in the townships declare, "Viva ANC! Viva SACP!" These developments are understood and appreciated by the Soviet Union and the entire world communist movement.

The correspondent of *Africa Analysis* also makes the unfounded and absurd allegation that "the Soviet people, like most Western Europeans, have an emotional sense of the difficulties facing South African whites about giving up power." The fact is that millions upon millions of people in Western and Eastern Europe fully support the ANC and its allies, materially, morally and politically. Time and again they have demonstrated that they have an emotional sense of the difficulties faced by our people and their revolutionary movements. It is naturally the ruling class in the imperialist world and their hired pens who never cease to express sympathy for the "difficulties" of the whites.

Academic Debate

The above mentioned article and one in the South African *Weekly Mail* (January 9 to January 15 1987) both latch on to an academic paper by Professor Gleb Starushenko given to the Second Soviet-African Conference for peace, co-operation and social progress held in Moscow last year. In the paper, which attempted to analyse white South Africa, Starushenko made a

few controversial points in which he suggested that the ANC might consider offering some guarantees to the whites in South Africa. Both journals however fail to point out that at the conference the ANC delegation and many Soviet scientists took issue with Starushenko in a comradely manner.

Starushenko does not represent or claim to represent the views of the CPSU or of the Soviet government. Like other academics in the West he is entitled to express his views, on the developing revolutionary process in our country. The enemies of socialism are fond of claiming that that there is no academic freedom in the Soviet Union and that Soviet scientists are afraid of stating their own views. When this is done they use it as an excuse to attack the Soviet Union and to distort its positions.

Tambo in the Soviet Union

From our experience we know that the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community are our most consistent allies. The Soviet Union has no relations with racist South Africa and is in the forefront of the world-wide battle to impose universal mandatory sanctions on the Pretoria terrorists. Not surprisingly the close links which bind our two peoples together were once more emphasised during President Tambo's recent visit to the Soviet Union.

During the course of this visit President Tambo had a historic meeting with Comrade Gorbachov, the general secretary of the CPSU. Never before had a leader of the ANC had an official meeting with the leader of the CPSU. The meeting which was held in a warm and cordial atmosphere ended with both sides finding common agreement on all the major issues facing humanity. In the words of Tambo:

> "We emerged from this meeting greatly strengthened by the knowledge that the Soviet Union stands firmly with us in the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, an independent Namibia and a peaceful region of Southern Africa. We draw immense satisfaction and inspiration from the fact that the Soviet Union is resolved to contribute everything within its possibilities and, within the context of our own requests, to assist the ANC, SWAPO and the peoples of our region to achieve these objectives.
>
> "We would like to state it here as our firm conviction that in taking these positions, the Soviet Union is acting neither out of considerations of selfish interest nor with a desire to establish a so-called sphere of influence. We are therefore more than ever certain that in the CPSU, the government and people of this country we have a genuine ally in our struggle against racism, colonial domination and aggression."

In the statement President Tambo also praised the valiant efforts of the Soviet Union to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

During the press conference President Tambo announced that his request for additional help to intensify the armed struggle was received with sympathy and understanding.

Those who seek to undermine the life-giving alliance between our revolutionary movements and the Soviet Union will no doubt continue to indulge in mischief making, mud-raking, lies and distortions. However, the facts quite clearly demonstrate that there is no shift in the attitude or positions of the Soviet Union with regard to our struggle and the revolutionary ANC-SACP alliance.

MOZAMBIQUE: DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

Mozambique has given the world a magnificent demonstration of democracy in action with the completion of its second general election last year. The election, which began in mid-August, was for delegates not only to the national People's Assembly but also to local councils, administrative posts and district councils throughout the country, as well as city councils and provincial assemblies.

The elections were suspended after the death of President Samora Machel, but were resumed on November 10 and concluded with the election of the People's Assembly on December 15. The outcome was "a major defeat for the bandits (MNR) and for those forces outside the country who are threatening our sovereignty and national independence", stated the final report drawn up by the National Elections Commission and read by the Commission's rapporteur, Rui Balthazar, at a press conference in Maputo in January. Mr Balthazar is Rector of Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University.

The elections, said Mr Balthazar, were "a great victory won under extremely difficult circumstances". They were completed "despite the brutal and unexpected tragedy that, in the midst of the electoral process, robbed us of President Samora Machel". Mr Balthazar said that President Machel had always been closely linked to the process of establishing organs of people's power in Mozambique and "it was his dynamism, his courage and determination that galvanised the entire Mozambican people in the electoral process".

During the elections, the South African sponsored MNR bandits tried to disrupt the voting. Some candidates were murdered, election brigades were attacked and in some cases it had been necessary to change the date or place

of the election because of bandit attacks. The "massive infiltration of bandits from Malawi into the provinces of Tete and Zambezia" also caused difficulties, the report noted.

Despite this interference, 569 local assemblies were elected, 330 administrative post assemblies, 109 district assemblies, 22 city assemblies and 11 provincial assemblies, in addition to the People's Assembly itself.

The report revealed that the war waged by the MNR made it impossible to hold elections in 20 districts and 64 administrative posts. Some local elections were aborted not only because of banditry but also as a result of population movements arising from the war and drought, which left some areas virtually depopulated. New dates for voting in these areas would be announced "as soon as the situation allows".

Just how deepgoing was the electoral process was revealed by figures quoted in the report. In the local and administrative post assemblies a total of 26,181 full deputies and 3,600 supplementary deputies were elected. At this level, 789 candidates were rejected by the electorate, largely on grounds of their moral and social conduct. In the districts, 5,780 full deputies and 1,030 supplementary deputies were elected; in the cities the figures were 1,145 and 167 and for the provincial assemblies 1,055 and 110.

In the districts 24% of the deputies are women, in the cities 26.5% and in the provinces 24.8%. The People's Assembly itself consists of 249 full members, 39 of whom (15.8%) are women, chosen from a list of 299 candidates proposed by the Frelimo Party Central Committee. 21.7% of the members of the People's Assembly are workers, 17.7% peasants, 16.9% come from the defence and security forces, 28.1% work in the state apparatus and 15.6% fall into other categories.

The report stressed that the country had to make a gigantic effort, mobilising scarce material and manpower resources, to carry out the elections successfully.

Despite all difficulties, the elections were "a high point in the affirmation of democracy and hope", said Mr Balthazar, "and in the affirmation of the will and determination of the people to preserve their freedom, sovereignty and independence".

Mozambique's first general election was held in 1977.

HOW THE ULTRA-LEFT PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE ULTRA-RIGHT

Another contribution to the battle of ideas in the South African Revolution

By Thando Zuma

"Today, the South African revolution stands at a momentous threshold . . . The people have seized the initiative, using every form of struggle to challenge apartheid tyrrany . . . In the forefront of this struggle is the battle of ideas." (Moses Mabhida, *The African Communist,* No. 100, 1985, p5.)

"It is one thing to criticize weaknesses and mistakes with a partisan desire to help correct them. It is quite another to join the frenzied, howling hyenas of reaction and imperialism in condemning, denouncing and vilifying socialism and Marxism-Leninism while prettifying and running interference for imperialism." (Gus Hall, *The African Communist,* No. 90 1982, p39.)

It has become very difficult to conceal the truth about South Africa, despite the draconian news black-out imposed by the apartheid regime. There is a growing international movement for the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against Pretoria. On the other hand new forms of 'diplomatic' relations with the struggling people of South Africa are being built. There is no doubt that the fierce battles now going on in the country have given impetus to these developments.

At the same time there has been a proliferation of writings on the struggle, in numerous journals, pamphlets and books. Of particular interest in this discussion is the competition amongst ultra-left sectarian 'Marxists' to produce some profound theoretical discovery about the nature and conduct of the South African revolution that can prove once and for all the alleged incorrectness of the Communist Party's theory and strategy and tactics of the revolution. Typical are two leading articles published in *International Socialism,* Spring 1986 and *New Left Review,* Number 160, 1986. These articles are written by Alex Callinicos (a tireless anti-Communist Party crusader and 'activist' of the Socialist Workers' Party in Britain) and John Saul (a leading Canadian scholar, prominent activist in the solidarity movement in Canada, who has also published many articles in the *Monthly Review).*

These two articles have a number of common features. Firstly, they both doubt the SACP's "colonialism of a special type" thesis with its emphasis on the democratic revolution as an immediate popular demand by all classes and sections of the revolutionary forces in South Africa. Secondly, they share the anti-Communist Party, anti-Soviet approach typical of ultra-left sectarianism of the west. John Saul would prefer "racial capitalism" as a characterisation of the South African social formation rather than "colonialism of a special type". For Callinicos South Africa is simply a capitalist society like Britain or any other.

Colonialism of A Special Type

Callinicos develops his arguments against "colonialism of a special type" to a conclusion that undermines the policies of the whole liberation movement. He says that

> "for a number of years we have argued that the struggle in South Africa is concerned with more than national liberation and the establishment of political equality . . . Only a socialist revolution can uproot the system of racial domination in South Africa . . . and in this revolution the central role will be played by the black working class." (Callinicos, 1986, p.4.)

He calls for the forging of a Socialist Workers' Party in South Africa because,

> "There are many trade unionists and students radicalised by the struggles of the past decade who can be won to the Marxist understanding needed to lead a successful workers' revolution in South Africa. Drawing these activists together into an organised grouping is an urgent task. For the black working class to realise its potential and destroy apartheid a revolutionary socialist party is essential." (Callinicos, *South Africa: The Road to Revolution,* 1985, p.35.)

So this party should have a base amongst trade unionists and students and behave like an "organised grouping".

His arguments mainly identify themselves with sectarian "groupings" and personalities such as the Unity Movement, Cape Action League, AZAPO on the one hand and Neville Alexander, No Sizwe, Martin Legassick, and others. In his pseudo-revolutionary phrase-mongering piece of writing he advocates the "class struggle" as the only form of struggle in South Africa. To Callinicos the liberation movement is wasting time, energy and personnel by pursuing the national democratic revolution because ". . .this strategy is based on a mistaken analysis, and is therefore likely to lead either to defeat or betrayal". [Ibid, p31.] Let us remind Callinicos and his likes that "the revolutionary sounding phrase does not always reflect revolutionary policy, and revolutionary sounding policy is not always a springboard for revolutionary advance. Indeed what appears to be militant and revolutionary can often be counter revolutionary". [*Forward to Freedom: Strategy and Tactics of the A.N.C.*, 1969, p5.]

What their critics are challenging here are the basic theoretical formulations of the entire liberation movement. The disturbing feature of these challenges is that they aim to have some influence on the activists in the democratic movement in South Africa, thus attempting to weaken the strength and cohesiveness of the leadership of that revolution. For example by 1982 Joe Forster, then general secretary of FOSATU, was calling for a "workers' party" to be established. As we know his address grossly confused a trade union with a vanguard party of the working class and he also distorted South African working class history. [See Toussaint, *The African Communist,* No 93, 1983]. Many articles are also being written in *Work in Progress*, the *South African Labour Bulletin*, and others challenging the revolutionary content of "colonialism of a special type", raising all sorts of questions about the Freedom Charter, the Two-stage Thesis (which they interpret as national democracy now and socialism later) and *The Road to South African Freedom.*

These critics all fail to analyse adequately the dynamic relationship between national oppression, class exploitation and the revolutionary

process in South Africa. The development of the theory of revolution has not just begun either with the 1976 students' revolt or the post-1984 upsurge in South Africa. This theory has evolved as a result of a long and bitter battle within South Africa. Though it involved at some stage comrades in the International Communist Movement, we must emphasise the leading and crucial role played by South African revolutionaries in this development. Joe Slovo says:

> ". . .perhaps one of our most significant achievements in the 65 years of our existence has been a truly indigenous elaboration of the theory of the South African revolution. This theory has increasingly informed revolutionary understanding in the ranks of the broader working class and national movement. It has also helped sharpen revolutionary practice." (*The African Communist*, No 107, 1986, p18.]

In South Africa the national and class struggle are part and parcel of a dynamic whole. This theory was developed from the realities of South African society where black people suffer from the yoke of apartheid colonialism and thus the ". . .main content of the present stage of the south African revolution is the national liberation of the largest and most oppressed group — the African people." [*Strategy and Tactics*, p13.] Apartheid colonialism affects all sections and classes of the black population. This has been the case ever since our country was forcibly colonised by imperialist forces. But in the process of this colonialism, a complex system of economic exploitation — whose roots are traceable to the discovery of diamonds and gold in the late 1800's — has developed. For black workers the exploitation is dual: they are exploited as workers because in capitalist society the owners of the means of production (capitalists) extract surplus value from the workers because of the social relations of production inherent in that society; and secondly they are exploited as black workers because of the existence of a political system that ensures a more intense rate of exploitation.

Illusion and Reality

This is the reality of South African society. It is worth noting that Lenin has warned that ". . .in assessing a given situation, a Marxist must proceed not from what is possible, but from what is real." [*The April Theses.*] Sol Dubula emphasises the same Leninist outlook when he says that "we must remember a fact which is often overlooked by purely academic analysts: in South African conditions it is false to counterpose the national and class struggle as if they are two separate forms of struggle." [*The African Communist.* No 87, 1981, p40.]

National and class struggles are a daily reality for black workers in South Africa. Thus to black workers it is obvious that they need to join with non-

proletarian forces in order to jointly fight and defeat apartheid colonialism. But within this broad front for liberation, the working class insists on the independence of its party and continuously advances its ultimate objective of socialism. Nevertheless, revolutionary theory demands of socialists that they be part of the struggle to destroy apartheid NOW. Only those sectarian forces who have no appreciation of the tactical and strategic phases of the revolutionary process will demand socialism now at the expense of the liberation movement.

In joining with other democratic forces in the democratic struggle, the working class and its party are in fact advancing in practical ways their ultimate objective of socialism. Lenin put forward this thesis for revolutionary workers when he wrote:

> "Can a class-conscious worker forget the democratic struggle for the sake of the socialist struggle or forget the latter for the sake of the former? No, a class-conscious worker calls himself a social-democrat (read communist) for the reason that he understands the relation between the two struggles. He knows that there is no other road to socialism save the road through democracy, through political liberty. He therefore strives to achieve democratism completely and consistently in order to attain the ultimate goal — socialism." [Lenin, *Petty-Bourgeois and Proletarian Socialism.*]

In South Africa, the popular democratic revolution will destroy apartheid and all that it stands for. This revolution will implement the democratic aspirations of the majority as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Political activity will for the first time be free, the SACP will be free to educate, debate and do whatever is deemed necessary in the new conditions to advance the process towards socialism. Given these new conditions which socialist forces will have struggled for, ". . . the continuing drive towards a socialist future . . . could well be settled in debate rather than on the streets". (Slovo, *The African Communist* No 107, 1986, p25.)

Let us repeat and re-emphasise that socialism is not being postponed by the national democratic revolution. Socialism must be prepared for now because "revolution is a continuing process. Although it inevitably goes through strategic and tactical phases . . . the ingredients of the later phase must already have begun to mature in the womb of the earlier." (Slovo, p23.) This does not happen because we wish it so but because of the nature of the struggle in which the working class is the dominant force in the liberation alliance led by the ANC. It is in this sense that the working class outlook becomes the dominant — although not the only — feature of the national democratic revolution.

Who Leads the Revolution?

The SACP, the vanguard party of the South African working class, does not and should not seek to replace the ANC as the leader of the liberation alliance.

> "On the contrary, if correct leadership of the democratic revolution requires the strengthening of the national movement as the major and leading mass organisational force, then this is precisely the way in which a party exercises its vanguard role in the real and not the vulgar sense of the term." (Slovo, pp 22-23.)

Thus as the wheels of the new economic system are set rolling, as envisaged in the Freedom Charter, it is crucial that the class content of such nationalisation must be in favour of the working class. This is because nationalisation *per se* is not a precondition for a transition towards socialism as can be seen from numerous examples in the developing countries. In practical politics this demands the predominance of advanced socialist forces in the socio-economic and political democratic decision-making processes in order that the new social relations of production gradually tilt in favour of socialism. Planned formulation and implementation must reflect this process.

None of the above arguments satisfy our critics. Why is this? In *The African Communist* No 72, 1978 Toussaint reviewed a book by Callinicos and John Rogers: *South Africa After Soweto*, in which he made the following comments. On theory:

> "It might be argued that the sheer persistence and vitality of these 'working class' theories after all these years shows that they have a real rooting in the soil of South Africa. Unfortunately not. The ideas in this book have been weeded out of South African thinking by decades of South African revolutionary experience. These ideas are now being reintroduced and injected into the South African scene from outside. They are not a product of revolutionary experience . . ." (p27).

On the 'real aim' of the ultra-left sectarians:

> "(They) might also be deliberately subversive — and attempt . . . to sow divisions in a united movement . . . Or might it be a bid perhaps to undermine the leading cadres of that movement by picking holes in their ideological 'impurity' in the hope that their mantle might fall on new shoulders? Who knows? But the authors are not innocents; they are politicians, not writers, and they cannot claim to be unaware of the consequences of the explosive device they hurl into the movement's centre." (p27).

These extracts from Toussaint are as relevant today as they were in 1978 when he wrote them.

Nyawuza (*The African Communist* No 103, 1985, pp 45-62) has dealt with the 'legal Marxism' or 'New Marxism' propagated in academic circles in South Africa. These theories have had an influence on the recent trade union upsurge in the country and have tended to be 'workerist' in orientation. To some of these theorists, national oppression and consequently the need for

national democracy are ignored in favour of socialism now. Is it because they have not experienced national oppression and not studied Marxism outside the confines of 'legal Marxism'? Whatever the causes (which no doubt are many), Nyawuza is correct in saying that

> "The real . . . aim of these new 'Marxists' is to reject the two-stage theory of our revolution. To do this successfully, they have to question the validity of the thesis of 'colonialism of a special type' and then proceed to demolish the national democratic stage thesis and question the role and genuineness of the non-proletarian forces in the struggle. They want to change the orientation and language of our movement and all that we stand for." (p51.)

Anti-Sovietism and anti-communism is another tool of our critics. It is in this context that John Saul says:

> "Many socialists will in any case be uneasy with the proposed division of revolutionary labour, in which another 'official' Communist Party defines itself as the (more or less exclusive) vanguard of the working class." (*New Left Review*, No 160. p16.)

This sounds very strange. Why is the SACP said to be 'official'? Official to whom and in what sense? We are also told that the SACP is 'orthodox', Soviet-influenced, not open and not 'independent', (p17.) "The CP's policies have faithfully followed the twists and turns of Moscow's line ever since (1928) . . . from Hungary to Afghanistan the SACP has toed the line". (Callinicos, 1986, p9.)

An Independent Programme

On independence, it is very clear to anyone familiar with the revolutionary politics of our era — the era of moribund capitalism and the development of socialism on a worldwide scale — that all communist and workers' parties of different countries have their own programmes, developed by themselves and relevant to their local conditions. The SACP theory of revolution was developed in South Africa. However, communist and workers' parties do from time to time hold joint meetings to discuss issues of common interest. The SACP is a South African party, produced and moulded by the complexities of South African conditions. The Party has its own structures and finances, holds its own meetings and congresses and has its own programme *The Road to South African Freedom*, adopted in 1962 at an underground congress inside South Africa. The Party is guided by proletarian internationalism in its support for all truly revolutionary movements of our times. It is in this context that its relations with the CPSU and the USSR are determined.

On democracy, the SACP is committed to democracy and is guided in this

by Marxism-Leninism. How else does one explain the Party's long-standing history in the struggle for democracy in South Africa? The Party endorsed the adoption of the **Freedom Charter** as a minimum programme — nobody dares suggest that the **Freedom Charter** is undemocratic. It is strange to suggest that the future of democracy in South Africa is threatened because of the vigorous and "often savage tone adopted by many (SACP) writers towards those on the left with whom they disagree." (Saul, p17.) For communists, the battle in the terrain of ideas is as important as the battle in the military trenches. Revolutionaries continue to fight vigorously on both fronts!

Why should communists be soft when they respond to flimsy arguments that violate the very basis of the movement? Communists hit hard not only at flimsy ideas from ultra-left sectarians. They also do not mince words in combating right-wing, racist and sexist tendencies. This does not threaten democracy. Flimsy ideas must be vigorously combated.

Who would be soft on those who openly declare that there is a need for a new Workers' Party in South Africa which ". . . would be able to undermine the hold of ANC type politics over the working class". (Nigel Lambert, *Socialist Worker Review*, 1985, p20.) The outside forces which aim to create some sort of Socialist Workers' Party in South Africa must be combated. (See Callinicos, p60.)

A Resolute Defence

We take revolutionary politics seriously, and consider the defence of democratic ideas and organisations to be primary. The founders of scientific socialism were themselves very ruthless in combating reactionary ideas. Lenin never minced his words in his debates with the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries, Karl Kautsky, Trotsky and all those he called left-wing children. Marx trounced Proudhon and others without mercy. Today in the same tradition Gus Hall (a master in polemics!), Toussaint, Mzala, Nyawuza and many others continue to fight vigorously against all reactionary and flimsy ideas.

On openness, the SACP cannot be expected to televise its congresses as do the ruling class in the United States and elsewhere. Those who want to follow the direction and progress of the Party can do so very easily by reading their publications. The communist witch-hunters in the US and South Africa would like all communists to raise their hands. In the process of struggle this would not be wise, given South African conditions. It is typical of the 'hyenas of reaction and imperialism' that they conduct an anti-communist witch-hunt in the name of openness.

For most cadres of the liberation movement in South Africa these issues do not pose any fundamental problems, because they have had a long history of political education and practical experience. The importance of political education for our movement cannot be over-emphasised, and it is pertinent to mention here that all cadres of the liberation movement undergo a process of intensified political education where most of the above issues are clarified.

I remember that when I left South Africa seven years ago as an angry militant young student activist, all that dominated my approach to the destruction of South Africa's apartheid system was the armed struggle — pure and simple. As we said then with my peers, it is best to get arms, come back and sort it out with these boers, once and for all! This reflects the angry and militant mood of young people.

We were told by the movement that, before we could be given military training, we had to be grounded in the ABC of South African revolutionary politics. It was made very clear that the armed struggle was a continuation of the political struggle by means which included the use of revolutionary force. And so began the process of our political education. Our teachers insisted that political education and discipline were essential before military training. They were right! The challenges ahead demand that we stay vigilant on all fronts, no less in the terrain of ideas.

§§

The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in different countries. It cannot be otherwise under commodity production. From this it follows irrefutably that socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois.

V.I. Lenin: *The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution*

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HENRY WINSTON: A MAN OF VISION

by Vusizwe Seme

Henry Winston, national chairman of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., an outstanding and internationally renowned fighter for racial equality and justice, peace, national liberation and socialism, died in Moscow on 12 December 1986, at the age of 75. A grandson of slaves, he grew up in Mississippi at a time when that state was ravaged by racism and racist lynchings. In 1922 the family moved to Kansas City to join his father who had found employment as a steel worker. Winnie, as he was popularly known, attended a segregated school, the Abraham Lincoln High School. But he was forced to seek work before he could complete his secondary education. It was then that he made contact with the Communist Party of the USA for the first time. At the age of 20 he led a group of unemployed people in Washington D.C. to join the Hunger March of 1931.

Two years later he joined the CPUSA and from then on devoted his indefatigable energy and boundless enthusiasm to the cause of liberating humanity from the evils of racism, national oppression, imperialism and capitalist exploitation. His courage and commitment were put to a severe test during the Cold War period. In 1948, 12 members of the Political Bureau of the U.S. Communist Party were indicted under the notorious anti-communist Smith Act. Justice U.S. style was not for communists and in 1951 four members of the P.B., including Gus Hall (the present General-Secretary) and Henry Winston were forced to go underground. For five years Winnie worked in the underground eluding all the efforts of the F.B.I. to apprehend him. After his arrest he served five years in prison where he completed his secondary education at the age of 50. During these years owing to the wilful negligence of the prison authorities he lost his eyesight.

On his release from prison Winston, unbowed and undaunted, declared at the first mass meeting he attended, "They robbed me of my sight, but not

my vision." This vision of a world free from racial discrimination, class exploitation and war helped him to overcome the terrible hardships endured by blacks in the U.S.A. and the additional handicap of blindness. In so-called free and democratic U.S.A. the Afro-Americans continue to suffer from racism. They are the last to be hired and the first to be fired, and on average the wages of black workers are still lower than those of their white counterparts.

Admirable Qualities

Comrade Winston was a warm-hearted, generous, and compassionate human being. He possessed the admirable quality of making any person irrespective of age, sex, and position feel at ease. On meeting someone for the first time he would ask his wife Fern or the person accompanying him for a description of the person to whom he had just been introduced. At times he would display an uncanny sense of recall. For example I met him for the first time 12 years ago. Two years later, I had the pleasure of meeting him once again. On hearing the name and the voice he not only recalled my physical and facial characteristics but also the conversation that we had had. For me Winnie combined the theoretical depth and organisational strength of Moses Kotane with the ebullient and lovable personality of J.B. Marks. In discussion Winston listened attentively to all points of view. Yet he could be merciless in polemicising with his ideological and political opponents. His remarkable output of articles, speeches and reports was supplemented by two major books, *Strategy for a Black Agenda* (1973), and *Class, Race and Black Liberation* (1977). In both books he takes issue with those who seek to dilute the purity of Marxism-Leninism, reduce or eliminate the leading role of the working class, turn African nationalism into narrow chauvinism or link it with black capitalism. He also took issue with those who make superficial comparisons between the oppression of the Afro-American minority in the U.S. and that imposed on the peoples of present and former imperialist dominated colonies. On the latter point he wrote:

> "Those who talk of taking over the economy of the ghettos either through "Black Revolution" or "Black capitalism" fail to understand the funadmental difference between the position and demands of a colonial people and those of the oppressed Black people in the U.S.
>
> "When freed of imperialist control, the colony has the possibility of developing a separate, viable economy on its own territory. But the ghetto enclaves across the country cannot form the basis for a viable economic life apart from the nation's total economy — either on a capitalist or a socialist basis.
>
> "Unlike colonies the ghettos scattered across the country have no economy and territory that can be separated from the monopoly-controlled economy dominating every nook and cranny of the country, including the ghettos. Moreover,

unlike colonies, therre are no riches in the form of oil, minerals and agricultural products to be extracted from the ghettos." (*Strategy* p.303).

In one of the chapters of his second book Winston exposes the dangers and weaknesses inherent in the arguments of those who suggest that "the primary contradiction is between white and non-white workers instead of between imperialism and the workers and peoples of all colours." Furthermore he points out "It is the bourgeois nationalist class orientation of Holden Roberto, Jonas Savimbi and Roy Innis — not skin colour — that determines 'code of conduct'." He also emphasises "in the era when the central contradiction is between the socialist system and the declining capitalist system, the liberation of emerging nations is intertwined with the ascendancy of the international working class." (*Class, Race* etc. p.67).

An Internationalist

Comrade Winston was an internationalist who never wavered in his admiration of and support for the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. From their victories, progress and development he derived optimism and confidence in the capacity of working people to shape their own future. He linked the fight for world peace with the defence and propagation of the peace policies and initiatives of the Soviet Union.

In the U.S. solidarity movement he worked tirelessly to consolidate and increase support for the ANC and SACP. No matter how busy he was, he was always ready to meet any ANC member who happened to be in New York. The comradely, warm meetings between him and leaders of our revolutionary alliance were characterised by serious discussions spiced with mutual affection and humour.

Elected National Chairman of the C.P.U.S.A. in 1963, Winston was known and loved by communists of other parties throughout the world. He was not only a deep theoretical thinker but also a superb organiser. Over nearly four decades he played a prominent role in all the major struggles of the U.S. working class, in particular of the Afro-Americans. If a comrade undertook some task he would be exacting in checking whether or not that task had been accomplished. If not he could be very critical. However, all comrades young and old knew that Winnie was always ready to offer a sympathetic ear to their problems — political or personal.

No tribute to Winston would be complete if it did not give due credit to his wife Fern. A wonderful, sensitive and warm-hearted person she is an important political figure in her own right. As a member of the National Council of the C.P.U.S.A. she is deeply involved in the difficult and complex

struggles taking place in the United States. Over and above her own work she helped Winnie in a myriad ways. In recognition of Fern's immeasurable contribution Winston dedicated both of his books to her.

To Fern, daughter Judy, two grandchildren, mother and sister, and to all his comrades, South African revolutionaries extend their deepest condolences.

The political,theoretical and ideological contribution of Henry Winston will continue to inspire and influence revolutionaries throughout the world. The Afro-Americans have produced some of the most outstanding thinkers, political activists and cultural figures of the last century. It is not an exaggeration to rank Henry Winston with Frederick Douglass, W. B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson.

One of Winston's favourite poems was Robert Hayden's "Frederick Douglass". Lines from this poem make an equally appropriate elegy for comrade Henry Winston:

"When it is finally ours, this freedom,
this liberty, this beautiful and terrible thing,
needful as air, usable as earth;
When it belongs at last to all,
when it is truly instinct . . . reflex action;
when it is finally won:
This man visioning a world where none is lonely,
none hunted, alien,
This man, superb in love and logic,
This man shall be remembered.
Oh, not with legends and poems and wreaths of bronze alone,
But with the lives grown out of his life,
the lives fleshing his dream of the beautiful, needful thing."

S.A. AGGRESSION AGAINST FRONTLINE STATES

Apartheid's Second Front (Penguin Special, 1986, 130 pp);
Beggar Your Neighbours (C.I.I.R./James Currey, 1986, 352 pp),
both by Joseph Hanlon.

Apartheid's first front is the war waged by the Pretoria regime against its own people. Its second front, as Joe Hanlon points out in his introduction, viz. the regime's war against its neighbours, has become a full-scale war in the 1980s causing vastly more death (at least 100,000 lives) and destruction (at least £10 billion) than the war inside South Africa.

This regional war of aggression and destabilisation is conducted largely against economic targets, with a clear political goal: the subordination of the independent states of the region to South Africa's will, making Southern Africa 'safe' for the apartheid regime and economy. Despite the huge disparity in military strengths, Pretoria has only succeeded in forcing minor concessions from its neighbours. They continue to resist the ruthless pressures they are subjected to by South Africa. Their future peace and development therefore require the ending of the apartheid system.

Hanlon's short book is a brilliant piece of propaganda, written with a keen journalistic eye for the revealing incidents, the telling statistics that bring issues sharply into focus. It's essential reading for anybody wanting a quick overview of a large, complex regional conflict.

To the reader looking for more depth, Hanlon offers in *Beggar Your Neighbours — Apartheid Power in Southern Africa* a much more substantial study that few people could read without learning a great deal from. He examines thoroughly and in a comparative way the economic linkages between each of the 9 member states of the SADCC and South Africa, the ways in which South Africa uses direct military aggression and indirect destabilisation to complement those linkages in an attempt to impose its regional hegemony, and the ways and means whereby the countries do or might seek to reduce their dependence and prospects for development.

There are many revealing facets to this study, and a great deal of information has been systematically collected, even if it is sometimes presented somewhat repetitively, because the complex structure of the book reflects the complexities of the realities it deals with. This reviewer found particularly helpful Hanlon's meticulous examination of the way in which South Africa tries to dominate rail and road transport in the region — from monopoly expertise in freight forwarding to the manipulation of freight tariffs, delaying of freight to exert pressure on neighbouring governments, and the crippling sabotage of the bridges, railway lines and harbour facilities in order to sustain a near strangehold on the region's transport links with the outside world.

Another 'find' was Hanlon's unravelling of the complicated balance of short-term advantage and long-term prejudice to Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland of their membership of the Customs Union. South Africa dominates and exploits the Southern African Customs Union to block industrialisation in the BLS countries, to promote the 'independence' of the Bantustans, and to reinforce the economic advantage of South African capital in what it regards as its exclusive domain.

Role of Zimbabwe

He is particularly strong on Zimbabwe's place in the regional balance of forces. This country, enjoying a greater degree of industrial and agricultural development than any of its SADCC partners, has by far the best basis for reducing its dependence on South Africa. Yet it is more heavily penetrated by multi-nationals based in or operating also in South Africa, with the Anglo-American Corporation and Old Mutual insurance company especially prominent. Fifteen years of UDI gave South Africa capital and unique opportunity to supplant British-based multi-nationals such as RTZ, Lonrho and Turner and Newall as the dominant powers in the Zimbabwean economy, and this influence retards Zimbabwe's efforts to break free from South African economic hegemony.

If the political analysis of the book is somewhat bland and simplistic, it must be related to the fact that in a sense it was conceived and written on behalf of the SADCC countries. Their diversity, ranging from the embattled anti-imperialist positions of Angola and Mozambique to the supreme, pro-imperialist postures of the governments of Malawi and Swaziland, can only be covered by a common approach if it confines itself to their relations with South Africa: all the countries, without exception, pay a cost for South Africa's regional ambitions, and all share the objective necessity to be allowed to develop along their own lines without let or hindrance from their domineering neighbours.

This lowest common denominator political perspective informs the rich statistical and factual material assembled by Hanlon. But Southern Africa does not exist in a vacuum, and one misses a wider perspective taking in such realities as the Reagan Administration's alliance with the Pretoria regime, their common hostility to the People's Republic of Angola, the acquiescence of the major Western powers in South African destabilisation of the region, the investment flows that entrench white domination in South Africa but starve the development needs of the independent states around it, and the role of the socialist countries in helping anti-imperialist forces in the region to stand on their feet and fight back against their common enemy.

Aid to the Frontline States both from east and west is an urgent imperative of the liberation process in this region as a whole. This is the clear message coming out of Hanlon's book, together with numerous constructive indications of the economic and geographical areas where aid needs to be applied. Everything that strengthens the Frontline States in their resistance to Pretoria's brutal onslaught waged on its on behalf and in the interests of imperalism world-wide, contributes not only to their welfare but also to the furthering of the liberation struggle inside Namibia and South Africa.

Scorpio

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ON THE HORNS OF A DILEMMA

Social Democracy and the Struggle against Colonialism and Apartheid, by V. Shubin, published by Nauka, Moscow 1985.

This by-product of a dissertation — 190 pages — considers the changing policy of international social democracy and its organisational centre, the Socialist International, towards the national liberation movement in Southern Africa in the 1960s-1980s.

The author specifies three stages in this policy evolution. The first one, which ended with the 1960's, was marked by the Socialist International's leadership professing the need to expand their activities in Africa without taking any tangible measures to establish links with fighters against colonialism and apartheid and refraining from open support of their actions. Social democratic parties' leaders who headed governments in a number of Western countries, on the contrary, often encouraged co-operation with colonial and racist regimes. An evolution towards recognizing the national liberation movements as genuine representatives of their peoples as well as towards rendering them certain practical assistance was more clearly seen only at the turn of the 70's after the successes scored in the struggle for the liberation of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and some other Portuguese colonies had become apparent. The stance of the Socialist International was also influenced by general positive changes in the international situation and by the evolving detente.

In the second stage (up to mid-70's) the Socialist International began establishing links with organisations fighting for national liberation. The initiative here belongs to social democrats of neutral Sweden followed by other parties of Northern Europe. These steps, however, did not mean support of the liberation movements' political demands. This was especially noticeable at the final stage of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, specifically in relation to Angola, when many of the Socialist International's leaders opposed the coming to power of the MPLA government.

These two stages form the subject of the book's initial two chapters (Chapter I deals with the attitude of international social democracy towards the armed liberation struggle of the peoples in Portuguese colonies, while Chapter II analyses its attitude towards the liberation movements in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia).

The third stage (from mid-1970's up to the present) which opened with the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the sharp intensification of the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, forced the leaders of international social democracy to revise their policies and to adopt the Socialist International's Programme of actions on Southern Africa (1977).

The current policy of social democrats in the above region is determined by a number of factors including comprehension of Africa's strategic and economic importance for the West and the need to strengthen their influence on independent African countries. It is also a bow towards the pressure of the left wing forces in the Socialist International. Trying to benefit from the successes of the national liberation movements, the Socialist international, nevertheless, has so far failed to take a clear-cut position in support of all the forms of liberation struggle, including armed struggle. The author cites many specific facts showing that the majority of social democratic declarations on Southern Africa, including the Programme of Action, are still to be implemented.

At the same time, in the conditions of the Republic of South Africa's growing military-political and economic cooperation with the most aggressive imperialist circles (first and foremost the USA), the very fact that the Socialist International recognizes the justice of the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa, and condemns the racists' repressions and aggressive actions is of no small importance.

The author also considers the growing differentiation within social democracy over the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. He speaks of a possibility of a dialogue on Southern Africa and interaction between the communists and the social democrats.

The concluding section deals with the September 1984 conference on Southern Africa organised at the initiative of the Socialist International in Arusha, Tanzania.

P.N.

A FLAWED GUIDE TO THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Communist and Marxist Parties of the World, a Keesing's Reference Publication, compiled and written by Charles Hobday. (Longman, 550 pages, £48.)

Strictly speaking, an encyclopaedia or reference book should aim to purvey factual information free from bias. In practice such objectivity is impossible to achieve and perhaps should not even be attempted in the sphere of politics, where prejudice, fear and above all class interest are so often the determinants of thought and action. If Mr Hobday's readers all think as he does about what has gone on in the world during this century, they might find his compilation useful. But the ordinary reader has to take too much on trust and may well find himself in doubt as to the accuracy of Mr Hobday's judgment.

The book is divided into three sections: 1. The history of the international Communist movement from the time of the Paris Commune and the First International — this section ends with a survey of "Communist Front Organisations", including the World Peace Council, the Christian Peace Conference, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and others, without any explanation of why they are considered to be Communist Front Organisations or what a Communist Front Organisation is, apart from the sentence "is largely or entirely under communist control and serves the purposes of communist propaganda", which begs the question. To an anti-communist Mr Hobday's explanation may be sufficient. To the many millions of non-Communists as well as Communists who are members or supporters of these organisations it is inadequate and insulting.

The second section of the book deals with Communist and Marxist parties throughout the world, grouped according to region. Here again Mr Hobday's bias reveals itself: Cyprus and Turkey are included in the section headed "Northern, Western and Southern Europe", while "Eastern Europe and the USSR" are grouped together — a small point maybe, but illustrative of a certain political rather than geographical approach. The same attitude is revealed by the listing in the appendices of the world's parties under the headings "Pro-Soviet Parties", "Eurocommunist Parties", "Pro-Chinese Parties", "Castroist Parties" etc. It may be a convenient shorthand,

but it is unscientific. At the end of this section, incidentally, is a list of "Guerrilla and Terrorist Organisations" which does not discriminate between the ultra-right and the ultra-left but creates the impression that the existence of all of them can be blamed on the international Communist movement.

The entry dealing with the South African Communist Party is also not without its inaccuracies. Nelson Mandela is described as general secretary of the ANC, which he never was. And the leaders of the Defiance Campaign are said to have been "convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act in 1952 for advocating equal political rights for all races". They were, in fact, convicted of inciting their supporters to break the law in order to bring about political, industrial, social or economic change. This amounts under the Suppression of Communism Act (now incorporated in the Internal Security Act) to "statutory communism," which, as the judge pointed out "has nothing to do with communism as it is commonly known". The Defiance Campaign leaders certainly advocated equal political rights for all races, but were not charged with this offence because it does not exist in the statute book.

The final section of the book consists of documents relating to the development of the international Communist movement. Here one is not surprised to find extracts from Marx, Engels, Lenin and a variety of mainline documents, but what is Regis Debray doing in that company?

Finally, the "Select Bibliography" turns out to be very select indeed. The section on "Eastern Europe and the USSR" contains not a single publication from the Soviet Union. The section on Africa contains not a single publication of the SACP, but finds room for Richard Gibson's *African Liberation Movements,* which is as unreliable a sourse as any we can think of. In all sections only a handful of writings by "pro-Soviet" authors are cited, heavily outnumbered by the writings of dissidents, renegades and anti-Communists of various hues.

Mr Hobday has put an immense amount of work into this reference book, but we regret we cannot recommend it to our readers unless they are prepared to make use of his spectacles to peruse the text.

Z.N.

SCENES OF COMMUNIST PARTY HISTORY

Amakomanisi — the South African Communist Party 1921-1986. Produced by Inkululeko Films. 16mm film in Colour. 28 mins. Available in film or video from IDAF, 64 Essex Road, London N1 8LR.

To try and fit 65 years of history into 28 minutes of film is no easy task, but the makers of Amakomanisi, which means "The Communists" in Zulu, have managed it and succeeded in producing not just an informative documentary on the oldest Communist Party on the African continent, but a stirring and uplifting precis of the vital role played by the South African Communist Party in the South African liberation struggle.

The South African Communist Party (SACP), close ally of the African National Congress, has a history to be proud of. Springing originally from the white organised working class in 1921, by 1928 the Party's membership had increased to 1,750 members of whom 1,600 were Africans. While the Party attracted a predominantly black membership, as one would expect from a Party committed to the eventual victory of the working class, the vast majority of whom, in the South African situation, are black, it continued to be the only political organisation in South Africa without racial criteria determining its membership. Highlighting this point the film presents us with a virtual pantheon of revolutionary heroes drawn from every section of South African society: J B Marks, Bram Fischer, Moses Kotane, Sidney Bunting, Yusuf Dadoo, Ahmed Kathrada, Moses Mabhida — all comrades steeled in the trade union and other democratic movements of the people.

The narrative of the film is kept going by interviews with present day leaders of the Party: Joe Slovo (now its General Secretary) and Dan Tloome (Chairman), and by others including two young students who left South Africa after the Soweto events of '76 and now study in the USSR. The close allegiance of the SACP with the world communist movement is made clear not only from the words of a seasoned campaigner like Comrade Slovo when he says that the 1917 Russian Revolution was the starting point of "an unprecedented and unending attitude of solidarity with our struggle", but from the young students who, through their experience of studying in Moscow, believe that they are living in a country where "one really sees, lives, breathes socialism. It's something you really feel you should fight for."

Through clever use of the interviews interweaved with footage the film encapsulates the history of the SACP and the role it is playing now inside the country. Some rare archive footage of the White Miners' Strike in 1922, stills of pamphlets and posters from the '30's and 40's against the rise of Hitler fascism, and of course dynamic scenes of demonstrations and marches, illustrate the views of those interviewed.

The formation in 1961 of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the armed wing of the ANC) was a product of the fighting alliance between the ANC and the SACP, and one of the interviewees in the film clearly states his support for that decision: "I am definitely convinced that the working class people of South African can only be freed through an armed struggle . . . it is through armed struggle we can bring about a change" — and the raised wooden AK47's shown at demonstrations are an even clearer indication of mass support for the use of "revolutionary violence."

As are the red flags raised at demonstrations all over South Africa a clear proclamation that the SACP far from being dead and buried after its banning in 1950, is in fact more alive and kicking than ever before. Its unique role in the South African liberation struggle is here brought to life and the film itself will hopefully be part of that process, mentioned by Moses Mabhida in the rousing climax of the film, whereby "even those who have no ears begin to hear."

Joe Slovo says "In South African conditions, you don't have to be a Marxist or a Communist . . . to accept that there can be no true liberation without a redistribution of South Africa's wealth". That is no doubt true, but for those whose sight goes further than the overthrow of apartheid to the creation of a just, democratic, socialist society in South Africa, the SACP has credentials forged in the struggle that are hard to ignore, and *Amakomanisi* proudly shows that for all who want to see.

B.G.

PUBLICATION ANNOUNCEMENT

Two books by Brian Bunting have recently been republished. They are *The Rise of the South African Reich,* published by the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, Canon Collins House, 64 Essex Road, London N1 8LR, price £6; and a revised edition of *Moses Kotane, South African Revolutionary,* published by Inkululeko Publications, 39 Goodge Street, London W1P 1FD, price £5.

ANTI-COMMUNISM: A MAJOR CHALLENGE TO ALL PATRIOTS

From Comrade Marc

Dear Editor,

As the prospects of victory loom larger the anti-communist hysteria of the racist regime and its imperialist allies reaches new heights. Today they offer the ANC a spurious form of legality in exchange for breaking with our Party and the Socialist countries, and abandoning a revolutionary course. This reflects a realisation that they cannot destroy the ANC, vanguard of our liberation alliance. Instead they have been forced to turn their attention to weakening our alliance in order to blunt its fighting edge.

Challenging anti-communism is the duty of every patriot and democrat, for the ideology and practice of anti-communism is a direct threat to the right of a people to self-determination, democracy and peace. We must ensure that all the democratic minded people of our country, even those who do not support the ideology of our Party, have this perspective placed before them.

Throughout its history our Party has been presented by the ruling class as an agent of a foreign country. An intensive anti-communist campaign was launched in the 1930's by a number of pro-fascist organisations such as the New Order, Greyshirts, Ossewa Brandwag etc., together with the reactionary clergy of the NG Kerk. They declared communism to be the major danger facing South Africa, accused the Party of being agents of a foreign power and anti-religious, and they spread lies about the Soviet Union. They appealed to the most reactionary prejudices of the whites by pointing out (correctly) that our Party stood for full equality amongst all South Africans

and for black majority rule. Throughout the 40's these pro-fascist elements, many of whom were to hold leading positions in later years, called on the state to take drastic action against the communists. Thus when the Nationalist Party took power in 1948 they launched an anti-communist, anti-Soviet crusade. This crusade was part of a wider campaign against democracy and the national liberation movement as a whole. The fact that the Suppression of Communism Act (1950) was an attack on the democratic rights of all opponents of apartheid was missed by certain elements who claimed to be in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle. In the fifties the anti-communism of the Liberal Party was so intense that they elected to remain peripheral to the liberation struggle rather than co-operate with communists within it. Ultimately, their refusal to prioritise the struggle against racism over their anti-communism condemned them to political obscurity.

The PAC which broke away from the ANC and the "gang of eight" disrupters within the ANC were both influenced by a heavy dose of imperialist anti-communism. These elements sought to divide the liberation movement on the basis of chauvinism and anti-communism. Falsifying history they alleged that our Party was "dominated by whites" and that it was an alien force in the liberation alliance. But their rapid demise proves that their ideas find little favour amongst the masses. Another variety of anti-communism within the broad liberation struggle comes from the utlra-left. Saths Cooper of Azapo speaks of combatting "Soviet imperialism", whilst Trotskyite sects declare themselves ready to do battle with the Stalinist SACP". The "workerist" elements try to present our Party as being alien to the working class, an outside force to be fought off. All the various ultra-left groups, while claiming to protect the interests of the working class, are in reality seeking to deprive the working class of its most potent weapon — the vanguard revolutionary party.

Anti-communism in the ranks of the broad liberation movement objectively advances the enemy's cause because it divides and weakens the forces ranged against the racist regime. Anti-communism is a device used to justify the most brutal forms of repression and a rallying cry used by the oppressors and exploiters to seek allies at home and abroad. At the present moment the Pretoria terrorists label our General Secretary, comrade Joe Slovo, "a KGB agent" and our Party "an agent of Moscow" in the hope that this will undermine our support amongst the working people.

Anti-Sovietism

Ever since 1917 the imperialists have conducted a sustained and ferocious anti-Soviet campaign. In the early years of the revolution the main imperialist

centres acting in concert sought to crush the Soviet Union by force of arms. Later they encouraged Hitler to unleash his fascist hordes. It is also indisputable that the Soviet people, Party and Red Army played the decisive role in the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism. During the war the Soviet economy, social and political life and demographic structures suffered colossal damage and devastation, and 20 million Soviet citizens lost their lives.

The anti-Soviet ideological campaign which contains lies, half-truths and outrageous distortions continues unabated. The Soviet Union which has done more than any other country in the world to preserve world peace and prevent a nuclear catastrophe is presented in the imperialist mass media as "warmongering" and seeking to "dominate and control the world". But the facts show that it is imperialism, in particular US imperialism, that continues to threaten world peace, that continues to plunder and exploit the developing countries and continues to give succour and support to the Pretoria murderers and counter-revolutionary terrorists in Angola, Afghanistan and Nicaragua.

Thus more than ever before our Party has the task of vigorously combatting the intensified anti-communist anti-Soviet campaign in our country and region. We must show our people that the SACP defends and will continue to defend their immediate and long-term interests and aspirations. We must dispel the fears and prejudices cultivated by anti-communism and expose its reactionary roots and objectives. We must demonstrate to every patriot that anti-communism is hostile to our fight for self-determination and national liberation. Let us show in an offensive way that no patriot, national and indeed liberal democrat should endorse an ideology that holds democracy and self-determination in contempt. Let us popularise the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Above all, let us communists fight at the forefront of every battle on every front winning the confidence of the masses by the example we set.

ARMED SEIZURE OF POWER: A REVOLUTIONARY OBJECTIVE

From Prodigal Hondo

Dear Editor,
Central to every revolution is the question of power. It is therefore necessary to reassert that *only* through the armed overthrow of the racist regime can the

revolutionary forces led by the working class attain victory; and secondly, to emphasise that a change in the military balance of power in favour of the revolutionary forces is the primary pre-condition for any negotiations.

Time and developments have vindicated our decision to launch armed struggle. In particular, the period since 1976 has exposed even more the evil nature of the apartheid regime and the need for its forceful overthrow. Moreover during this period the mobilisation of the oppressed and their participation in mass actions reached unprecedented levels. In the latter part of this period we have witnessed an increase in attempts to organise and give direction to spontaneous mass violence against the enemy. We have seen the emergence of revolutionary fighters from our youth. The readiness of our people to engage the enemy in battle has never been higher. Lenin's analysis of the Russian masses in "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising" and other writings in which he highlights the use of the barricade tactic and the innovativeness and creativity of the masses is most instuctive.

What Armed Struggle Means

Armed struggle means that our *primary* method of struggle shall be the politics of war. It means that the primary pre-occupation of the revolutionary vanguard organisation — and not only the army — must be to wage war. Thus all cadres of our revolutionary alliance — from the highest level to the rank-and-file — must be trained in the strategies and tactics of military science. This definition of the armed struggle at the present phase does not conflict with our position on the primacy of politics over the military. However, it does assert that it is not just politics in general that is supreme over the military, but specifically the politics of war. There is indeed a great difference between peace-time and war-time politics.

Only a scientific and not a sentimental analysis of our military standing can bring advance in this field. In spite of all advances made and the high militancy evinced by our people, the instruments of state repression remain intact. The question is, what have we achieved in our war effort? How far are we from our point of departure in terms of posing an effective challenge to the state's instruments of repression? We have launched and waged a significant number of political-mass-mobilisation campaigns with a high rate of success. Today we can point with pride to the results of one or other mass campaign. But what about our military efforts?

Since 1976 there have been hundreds of what could technically be described as military operations. But how far have these military operations taken our military offensive? To illustrate the point: What liberated zones do

we hold? Is there a sector of the enemy's political-economic-administrative-military organisation that we have destroyed or put out of action effectively? We ought to be able, at this hour, to say that we have paralysed the power network in Northern Transvaal or fully effected the mass abandonment of farmers of their land in the Western Transvaal. It is within our capacity, for example, to destroy within a set period all police stations in the townships and villages. Scattered blows have little effect beyond their political impact, and the physical damage is soon repaired.

In dealing with some of these issues a contributor to *The African Communist* wrote:

> "The mere existence of these communes in the form we have just defined, posits an element of challenge to the SADF. Here lies the significance of building a people's army and militia inside South Africa, the small mobile units that wage guerrilla warfare here and there, raiding armouries and arms dumps in order to secure weapons for themselves, but at the same time diverting the racist army and police from crushing the embryonic organs of people's power." (No.106, Third Quarter, 1986).

It is interesting that here guerrilla warfare is presented as significant primarily for logistical and diversionary purposes. This would be the case if it was conducted in support of a conventional army offensive, for example the Soviet offensive on the Nazi army during the Great Patriotic War. The author fails to appreciate the different context of our situation where guerrilla warfare constiutes the major offensive. At this stage — and this will remain so until a decisive shift in the politico-military balance — the 'communes' should be perceived first and foremost as organs of furthering the armed offensive; as structures to heighten, safeguard and sustain the war effort. This does not exclude administrative functions that they may undertake. It is thus for the war effort that these structures should be created, and not for the purpose of "diverting the racist army and police" from such structures. The war effort is primary.

Raids and Sabotage

We should re-evaluate the tasks and functions of the "small mobile units" that we have. The small military units we have are suitable mainly for sabotage combat actions, but for the stage we are gearing ourselves for, such units need re-evaluation from the tactical point of view. Raiding — in its military-technical sense — armouries and arms dumps cannot be accomplished by such units. At this stage raids on these and other targets, as well as ambushes and other tactical operations, should be a priority. Furthermore we have outgrown the stage of blows "here and there". Blows

should be so focussed and directed that they build upon each other. Our military strategy must map out coherent war campaigns to physically undermine and destroy the enemy.

As part of the overhaul of our military approach, the revolutionary movement has to discard all elements of liberalism in organisational matters. Strict adherence to discipline, clearly defined goals, responsibilities and criteria, and combat readiness for the pursuance of people's war should be our bonding factor. In short the revolutionary vanguard, the ANC, should drastically transform itself — yes overnight — into Lenin's Organisation of Revolutionaries. We are not here calling for a transformation of the national liberation movement into a working-class party. We already have such a party — the SACP. But we are calling upon the ANC that is leading the struggle for a national democratic revolution to sharpen, tighten and heighten its level of organisation. Linked to this is the issue of morality. The time for religious and "gentleman" morality is up. Revolutionary and in particular war morality must govern our conduct and manner.

Negotiations

A low level of competence in conducting war may not be the only reason for the state of affairs on the war front. The emphasis on scattered uncoordinated blows might also reflect a lack of confidence in armed victory over the enemy. It also encourages those who believe that military operations are designed to bring pressure upon the enemy to "negotiate." All talks that have been held and are to be held with various interest groups within our country, as well as its imperialist allies, are at the present time of little consquence to the war effort and therefore of little relevance. It is questionable whether the revolutionary movement has anything to gain from such talks, added to which their timing has been at great odds with the tide of ever-increasing militancy amongst the oppressed. Talks and negotiations only begin to be of relevance towards the later stages of a people's war, when the politico-military balance has significantly shifted to the revolutionary forces. Negotiations must be carried out on a basis of strength and not weakness otherwise they can lead to a betrayal of the interests of the masses. A strong basis for negotiations can only be an MK stronger — significantly stronger — than the enemy's repressive forces in the battlefield. The apartheid regime can only be destroyed and not dismantled. The people must seize power, wrest it forcefully from the enemy. Such a decisive victory can only be achieved by heightening our war offensive. The concept of dismantling

apartheid is only of relevance once power has been seized and we institute a people's democracy whose guardian is the working class.

Sanctions

The question of sanctions against the enemy economy should also be viewed in the context of the war effort. Sanctions are not the "last method to avert disaster," they are not a substitute for the war effort nor can they be dealt with or considered on the same plane. They are an element of advantage in that a weakened economy will have increased difficulty in sustaining its military and other operations. Our friends, allies and supporters have little or no economic ties or leverage with the racist regime. The efforts of progressive forces in the imperialist world will of course damage the enemy economy. But whilst the sanctions campaign is of positive worth we should not expend a disproportionate amount of energy and resources upon this aspect, particularly if this is done at the expense of the war effort.

We have to break out of the barrenness of military thought brought about by a fear of being labelled militarist and the deliberate exaggeration of security considerations. We must build constructive understanding on the conduct of warfare, encouraging innovation and creativity in accordance with our situation. At the moment it seems that academics of different shades in our country — in particular the Institute of Strategic Studies of the University of Pretoria — and in the West are paying closer attention than we are to militarydevelopments in our country. The time for generalisations is over — concrete military strategies are required. We must wage war leading to the seizure of power by the oppressed. That is our objective.

FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S WAR!

LISTEN TO

RADIO FREEDOM

Voice of the African National Congress and Umkhonto We Sizwe, The People's Army

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Shortwave 31mb, 9505 KHz	7.00 p.m. Daily 10.15-10.45 p.m. Wednesday 9.30-10.00 p.m. Thursday 10.15-10.45 p.m. Friday
Shortwave 25mb, 11880 KHz	8.00-8.45 a.m. Sunday

Radio Luanda

Shortwave 31mb, 9535 KHz and 25mb	7.30 p.m. Monday-Saturday 8.30 p.m. Sunday

Radio Madagascar

Shortwave 49mb, 6135 KHz	7.00-9.00 p.m. Monday-Saturday 7.00-8.00 Sunday

Radio Ethiopia

Shortwave 31mb, 9595 KHz	9.30-10.00 p.m. Daily

Radio Tanzania

Shortwave 31mb, 9750 KHz	8.15 p.m. Monday, Wednesday, Friday 6.15 a.m. Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday

The above are South African times