

J S ~~+~~ CENTRAL COMMITTEE
C/O
GENERAL SECRETARY
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

LUSAKA

Zambia

Cde Joe Slovo,

I have decided firstly to address you in person, secondly in your capacity as chairman of the ANC for which I congratulate you - as perhaps it is the cap which is most suitable for you. I also still wish to address myself to you in your capacity as chief of staff and a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and as well as a member of the central committee of the ANC - with leading positions of the liberation movement.

I have known you since about 1942 before you enlisted into the army during the last world war II, (1939) when you were attached to the Springbok Legion together with Nicol Williams, Jack Hodgson, Rusty Crustain and Monty Berman just to name few in the list. You later continued studies from the grant earned from the army and successfully qualified as a lawyer, an advocate of the supreme court of South Africa.

In 1948 the ANC decided to encourage African members to join the ANC as a result there was resistance to an extent that a fairly large number of them unceremoniously left politics, including the national organiser, Solomon Mosekoti. The reason for persuading African party members to be ANC members was to strengthen and increase the ANC fighting capacity as against the African Democratic Party (ADP) led by personalities as Paul Maseko, Senator H. S. Semon, A. D. Mngulwa, Gauer Hadebe and Mr. Rogosa of Alexandra Town ship.

There were also groups such as Unity Movement, All African Convention and their subsidiaries which all together were the offspring of Trunkism.

The party in the face of these complicated political transitional change opted to support the ANC and it even cold-shouldered remembrance of the I.C.U. This decision by the party to support the ANC was because the ANC is the organisation of the Africans - its mission is to liberate the African people. It was therefore, the organisation of the African people.

In one of the pages of the Communist Party's manifesto states that: The main content of the struggle in SA is the liberation of the African. The Black Republic slogan also support the main content of the struggle as the liberation of an African till freedom is achieved. This quotation reinforces the need for a strong organisation of the Africans led by those until final victory.

Therefore what was to be observed or guarded was the ANC should be requested not to take a negative position against the CP and the progressive mankind but it should remain the African organisation i.e. supreme African body.

The logic of this argument from lay man point of view is that an African is dispossessed, landless and enjoys no democratic rights whatsoever, the only thing the African has is the ANC which is a shield and spear to repossess what he lost and taken away from him by force by reactionary colonial regimes.

Is question which should be raised at this stage, are the Africans liberated at this stage to fully participate equally in an intergrated society, could relax military combat readiness or are other racial groups responding actively and physically to the CALL in every way?

I have dealt with some aspects on the characteristics of our problems in my other document which was redistributed by one of our stalwarts without my permission but I respected his honesty

for telling me of his own decision to circulate it even if he thought affected more than himself as the first person who received it two weeks before everybody else, to include the ANC president.

In this document I was not trying to write a thesis to obtain a degree or merit of competence with anybody but I was raising problems as I know and see them. I do not apologise on any word or sentence used in it- incomplete view can be left to the researchers to verify!

It is interesting that you have been a party in an attempt campaign to discourage people to talk to me. I hope you will keep black sash vigil for the next 25 years. I also believe you were also discouraging several young people to avoid talking or voting for me so as to save them from a poisonous opposition to Open Membership at this stage of the African organisational up grill, when they are not being killed like birds and bucks on the river banks, merciless killings of African children and women without a sizable figure of protest from their lot of other racial groups, except a usual few clergymen, though their protests have been brain washing and just moral building for those who are in the front line like the youth in the black township all over the country.

My disagreement with Open Membership at this stage, if I may repeat is not philosophical nor ideological is what I choose to call realistic at the present stage of the struggle of the masses, the ANC is a mass movement of the Africans. In addition to the Open Membership of other racial groups to the ANC makes the SACP irrelevant, emasculate, misdirect it from the targets, tone down the African militancy and confidence in themselves. I therefore submit that the party will forfeit its platform to convey the message of socialism.

The concept which was taken for granted is removed by June 16th The National Consultative Conference in 1985.

It can now be transformed, into a political party no more a liberation movement of the dispossessed, landless and whose existence is a privilege not a right. I do not intend to lecture anybody on this matter. I merely place myself in the boots of those who feel the yoke of slavery- not read about it in the text books of library shelves.

I do not choose to find myself standing on the side of anti-communist platform it will be unfortunate if my point of view is interpreted or misunderstood to be anti-SACP which is undeniable, as my baby in any case, like the two previous party episodes of the CPSA.

I will find time soon to tell why I asked to be released from it, in 1982. Perhaps the present hulations are in persuasion or grudges of that action to see me out of the political life of South Africans unless I take orders from unqualified individuals who think that they could change history and geography over night with bossy mentality.

In the meantime there are the following complaints which are circulating around eg that I am a racist, tribalist oriented, individualist, and dispatch confidential decisions of the important committees, I am supposed to be a member serving in..... am disagreeable in many issues because I am influenced by some philosophies such as BCM or PAC.

Commenting on the above mentioned items I can only say if for more than 40 years in my political involvement have not been accused of such childish innuendo, why does this come now when I disagree with what is not clear to me- the immature Open Membership of the ANC which I do not with its timing support at the present for reasons I have advanced.

How do you equate the strategy and tactics of the SACP and BCP or PAC and at what stage did you differ with the CPSU and its manifestoes and that of the SACP which was accepted by the other Communist Parties of other countries? Perhaps we could ask their advice on these issues or request them to help the SACP to solve this problem. I am sure the CPSU would be ready to help!

The alliance as existed should be continued so as it performs the needs of the ANC, SACP and SACTU and it should not be substituted for one organisation for the other. Each one of them should serve its historical mission, development or simply it's being.

A question to be asked presently is why J S & Mac Maharaj want to be leaders of the Africans if they take such a courage in their insistence to be in the lead of those people who has been fighting all the time for freedom, independence and democracy to gain political power from a special type of colonialism whose strong basis is apartheid system which is still dominant system of the country?

The Africans have not gone of existance as the group which is denied political, economic, social and cultural power!

The U.S.S.R with CPSU is making great strides after it knitted itself in the ranks as it crudely dealt with the opportunists, and other types of the characters, also fought Patriotic War which it lost 20000000 of its population and suffered heavy material losses against German Fascism and defeated it reaying on the might, unity, discipline and courage of it's gaint CPSU at the head of the affairs.

The strength of the SACP

The strength of the SACP and it's role lay among the African majority, this means without the Africans there maybe no Communist Party which is rooted among the workers or masses of workers. It would be out of question to discuss the issue without a stress on them.

This means the leadership of the Africans in the SACP is historically important for them and to other racial groups to learn the new science in the country for the first time in the history of SA's approach in the outlook of Marxism and Leninism theory and practice towards scientific socialism. The stronger is the Communist Party, the stronger will be the ANC. Conversely the weaker is the Communist Party, the weakest will be the ANC at the present stage and in the future!

If one ignores the leadership of the Africans he also fails to grasp the phenomenal prospective changes after the collapse of the strong past colonial empire. This presupposes the century of the common man who is an African in SA projecting social changes, intercourse and the relationship of the peoples of SA in particular.

It should be to make a room for African leadership to play a major role part in the organisation and it's acceptance means advancement in the alliance movement or liberation as a whole of growth and maturity of them. Cde Bill Andrews once said in one of the interviews in Europe with pride that the General Secretary of our party is pure blooded African, he meant Cde M M Kotane who brought some changes within the ranks of the party and in style of work- for this reason he attracted the African workers by leaps and bounds to support the party. Today such Africans are many, for this matter there are many M M Kotane's, J B Marks, Alpheus Madibe's, John Molefe, Joyce Palmer's etc, what is to be avoided and to be removed is a complex, that some of them still suffer from as compared with time when the party declined in it's several occasions, then African membership in the party could not exert sufficient influence and theoretical they had had no opportunity to develop, coupled with isolation as a sickness deprived them to match with other Communist parties of other countries- this placed them at a serious disadvantage.

The figure of the party members of the CPSA who then came out to take ideological training was insufficient if we take Cde L. M. Kotane, Albert Nzula, J. B. Marks, A. T. Mofutsanyane and Joyce Palmer as example.

Our approach today

Our approach towards the liberation movement today should not conceal the disagreement in it's ranks and play diplomat when in fact we should say there is no material change in South African political, economic, ideological and social life for the party to influence other racial groups to join the ANC and to lead them to be more precise to direct them when they are not yet freed. How does the unity of national and international tasks, fulfilment to the proletarian internationalism - to the internationalism solidarity of the working people being exercised by our party? Maybe there are those who deliberately fight against the party, to encourage divisions when we should struggle for unity, freedom, independence, progress, disarmament, peace, friendship, and socialism.

The dictatorship of the Proletariat and it's victory

The dictatorship of the Proletariat is a means towards socialism.

The deeds and example of the Soviet Government of workers and peasants even if of undeveloped country with the minimum experience, education, and habits of organisation managed for a single year in the mist of erroneous odds, confrontation in the struggle against exploiters who got support of international bourgeoisie to keep power of the working people, to introduce democracy that surpasses other forms of democracies in the world and began to systematically, work out plans to have millions of workers and peasants for the practical construction of scientific socialism.

The bolsheviks assisted to develop proletarian in Europe, America and the world proletarian revolution to height of maturity before the eyes of all assisted and accelerated by the achievement of the victory of the proletariat of Russia. The 1/6 socialist world could not do much but acted to serve as a model that it could withstand against aggression also watch still in tactics to bring enormous benefit to socialism and enhanced assistance with growth of invincible world revolution.

Pre-conditions for preparation of the Proletariat victory

The Proletariat victory is a long, drawn, stubborn and ruthless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism and similar bourgeois influences, trends and traits which are generally and always there since the Proletariat is operating in specific capitalist environment.

In the absence of the struggle if outright and intellectual opportunism in the working class movement is not utterly defeated before hand there could be no dictatorship of the Proletariat. The SACP must take strong courage to defeat the opportunists, reformists, social-chauvinists - ruthlessly expose and expel them from the party of the proletariat.

In my case if it's proved that I am an opportunist and also cannot speak my mind and still be considered to be influenced by other people not by conviction of Marxism-Leninism then I should not be accepted into the party.

The SACP should be reorganised before it's emergence in SA so as to be knitted. Since it would not be worth it's name if attempts are not made to shape it on the road followed the party of the New Type, the CPSU which has chartered a long struggle with enormous living experience of over 68 years.

The African workers, agricultural and the progressive intelligentsia must play a decisive role to close up ranks to complete the democratic revolution as stated in the F C with the cooperation of other sections of the people to carry the banner of the revolution further and lead this revolution!

What is the weakness of the SACP after it was reorganised out side in the early 1970 was that the other racial groups who formed the party remained the top dominant group that continued to do what the party did all along by excluding Africans who have the ability - to be at the rock bottom particularly if such Cdes have a different views. This example is not up to now discouraged. Old Cdes no longer are required, they are said to be dead wood and useless, instead younger Cdes are being recruited and encouraged to occupy to positions because do not have sufficient or have no experience and history of the party to refer, to be bold enough to criticise the wrong. Ofcourse if he would today talk of the mistakes he would no longer be tolerated to be kept in the position! Particularly when mistakes pertaining to the basic policy of the organisation concerning personnel who is favoured by one influential dominant white Cde over African toddlers.

(a) Assignment of immature cadres to manage Cdes who have experience, know how who could inteprete the situation and give fair perspective to the party have been given no place. The experienced Cdes are expected to take advices from the unversity graduates, who acquired Marxist- Leninist theory from the books only.

(b) Are We all on the same wave length at this stage?

(c) The party should reshape itself

Putting the right man at the right time, observe the mood, at a given situation, read the situation properly place it at the right perspective, avoid self-seeking and glory.

(d) Apply maximum flexibility on the strategy and tactics within the guidelines of the party programme.

(e) We should note that the party has nationally and internationally registered it's presence, impact, tremendous achievement and recognised by friends and foes but if care is not taken, a dark cloud will over shadow, it's achievement as sure as day follows night!

(f) The party must derive it's leadership from the working class and discourage elitism as a principle. But encourage it's development by enforcing people's lanuages.

Politics of funds

At present the party is still under cover of the entire movement it's still has to be in the open to meet the chilly morrow of the painful realities face to face. It should be prepared to raise out of politics of funds to politics of convictions as the river Nile will be dry. It will be the survival of the fittest and there will be TEARS in Egypt. As many donors will have reached their destination to support liberation in it's present form.

John Pule Motokabi
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