

UMSEBENZI

VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

BOTHA'S PROPAGANDA WAR

The maxim which always guided Hitler's propaganda chief, Goebbels, was: the bigger the lie, the better the chance that it will be believed. It is not surprising that the South African racists — heirs to the evil philosophy and practices of Nazism — should follow so closely in Goebbels' diseased footsteps.

With the world closing in on white South Africa, the Botha regime is daily becoming more desperate in its search for external support. The natural constituency for such support is to be found among those forces in the West who see a red under every bed and whose anti-Soviet hysteria leads them everywhere to trample on human rights in the name of 'human rights'.

This partly explains why the racist propaganda machine is daily churning out more and more falsehoods about our Party, its role in the liberation alliance headed by the African National Congress, and the historic bonds which have been cemented between our struggling people and the socialist community of nations, more especially the Soviet Union.

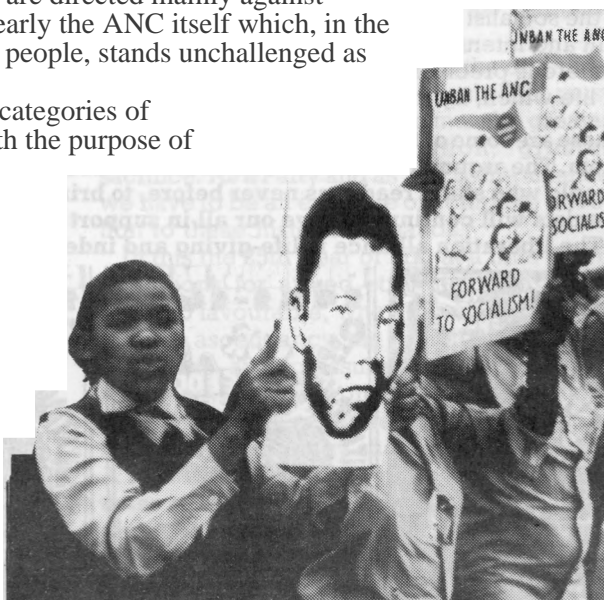
On the surface the lies and distortions are directed mainly against communists. But the main target is clearly the ANC itself which, in the eyes of the overwhelming majority of people, stands unchallenged as the alternative power in our land.

Let us enumerate some of the main categories of falsehoods which are being spread with the purpose of dividing the liberation forces and scaring away external support for our struggle.

Big Lie Number One:

That the Party as an organisation controls the liberation movement and that communists use the ANC as a mere front for their own objectives.

The alliance between our Party and the ANC has no secret clauses. Despite unending onslaughts against it from many quarters, this alliance has survived and grown more firm.



Continued on page 2 ...

AN ALLIANCE FORGED IN STRUGGLE!

It has done so precisely for the reason that South African communists have never sought to transform the national movement into a front for themselves. Participation in the ANC by communists has always been based on absolute respect for the independence and integrity of its internal democratic processes.

The trust and admiration which communists have won from some of the greatest leaders of the ANC (like Chief Luthuli, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo) are not the result of manipulation but of outstanding contribution to the national cause. And it is for the same reason that the Party's flag is more and more being raised besides that of the ANC in our streets of struggle.

Our situation demands a mass national movement as the real head of the alliance of forces struggling to destroy racism. Any attempt to 'capture' the ANC and to transform it into a communist front would serve only the racists and not the working class.

Big Lie Number Two:

That Botha is quite ready to talk to 'leaders' of the black people but that he cannot talk to an organisation like the ANC because it is communist controlled and relies on violence.

Absolute hypocrisy! We know that there is no communist party in Namibia and no-one has suggested that the leadership of Swapo is dominated by communists. Yet the racists and their allies have unendingly sabotaged all prospects of moving towards independence and democracy in Namibia by means short of bloodshed. The racists own creation — the Turnhalle stooges — are presented to the world as the true representatives of the Namibian people.

In the case of South Africa itself Botha has shown over and over again that he is only really prepared to talk with sweetheart organisations and sweetheart politicians like Buthelezi because the only thing he wants to talk about is 'sharing power' without giving up white domination.

The demand that the ANC abandon violence has the same objective. The SACP and the ANC were driven underground long before they turned to the armed struggle as an important weapon in the fight for democracy. No amount of lying propaganda will hide the real reason for the racists hatred of the ANC and its allies; it is because they know that the liberation alliance will unendingly strive to wipe out white domination from every inch of our soil. This is what they really fear; real democracy.

Big Lie Number Three:

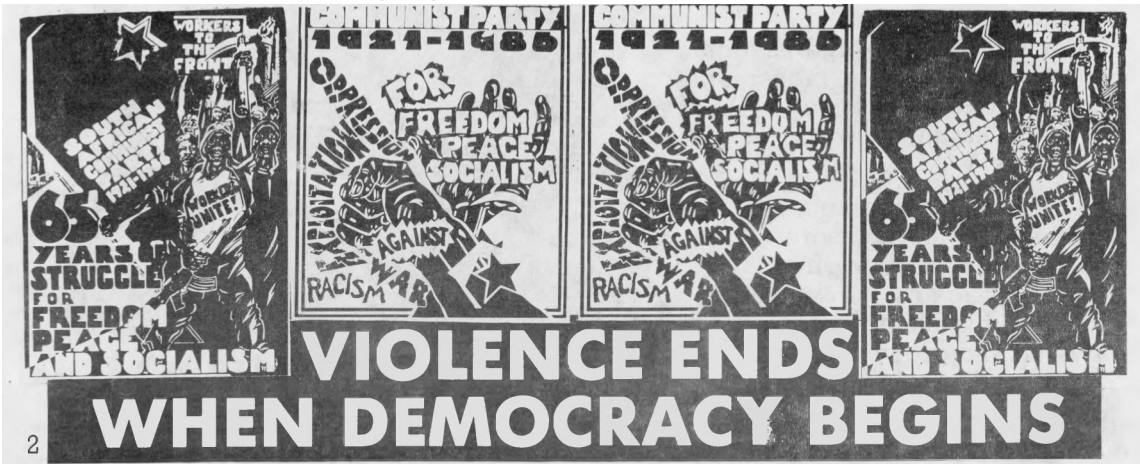
That the support for our struggle by the socialist world and especially the Soviet Union, implies that the liberation alliance headed by the African National Congress is a puppet of an outside power.

Our movement has had a long experience of a warm fraternal relationship with the socialist countries. This relationship was born and continues to flourish within the framework of the most principled and generous support by countries like the Soviet Union for our liberation struggle.

While the whole imperialist West sucked profits out of our people's apartheid miseries, it is the socialist world which provided the wherewithall enabling the people's forces to maintain and intensify the onslaught on the racist enemy. This assistance has been all the more generous precisely because it has been unconditional and with no strings attached; a view of life which, by the very nature of things, Botha and his imperialist allies cannot grasp.

These are some of the big lies. There are many others. Words alone are not sufficient to answer them. The argument will in the end be won in the rising struggles of the mass of our oppressed people who stand ready, as never before, to bring the racists to their knees. And we communists will continue to give our all in support of this objective.

The liberation alliance is life-giving and indestructible. Forward to Victory!



25TH ANNIVERSARY OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS TO THE SEIZURE OF POWER!

A small number of bomb blasts in the main cities of South Africa on December 16, 1961, announced the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe. This modest beginning has irreversibly affected the course of history in our country. Umkhonto's formation, dynamic growth and combat record has inspired the mass resistance of our people, contributed to the crisis of the apartheid system and is a crucial element that makes possible the revolutionary seizure of power.

Having exhausted all peaceful forms of struggle, our movement took the revolutionary way out 25 years ago and decided that there could be no going forward without turning to revolutionary violence. Our Party played an important role in that decision and together with the ANC helped with the task of forming MK. Party cadres were among those recruited into MK and were active in helping to plan and execute operations, training cadres and obtaining weapons and resources from abroad. We are proud to have always been an important part of the armed struggle, our cadres distinguishing themselves in the ranks of the people's army throughout the years.

The Way Forward

Much has been achieved in extremely difficult conditions, including many audacious blows. Among the most adverse factors are those which deny MK friendly neighbouring bases and limit our people's access to weapons. In order to overcome such unfavourable factors and capitalise on the favourable ones, such as the insurrectionary mood of our people and the liberation movement's formidable strength in the urban areas, all its constituents need to concentrate their major resources and efforts to:

- Build a stronger underground inside the country.
- Solve the key problem of weapons supply.
- Develop the combat forces in town and countryside — involving the workers, peasants, women and youth.
- Merge the mass struggle with the armed struggle — integrate military work with political work and build a People's Army.
- Work within the enemy forces to win over black troops and police, neutralise and

Joe Modise
Commander of
Umkhonto we Sizwe
and member of the
NEC of the ANC



politicise sections of the white conscripts and weaken the effective capacity of the SADF.

The military strategy of the People's Army must aim to:

1. Inspire the mass resistance and bring our people into armed struggle (into combat units of all types including self-defence units).
2. Destroy the enemy's administrative structures (thus paving the way for the establishment of organs of people's power that enable our people to run their affairs and defend their gains).
3. Drain the enemy's resources and manpower (which is his Achilles heel) by combat actions throughout the country.

Such a strategy builds up our strength and gathers our forces, whilst draining the enemy's strength and dividing his forces. With the correct political programme (we have the moral and political superiority over the enemy) the massive participation of the people takes place. An active revolutionary situation develops in which the armed struggle becomes the prop for the people to overthrow the apartheid regime by general insurrection.

In order to achieve the above the organisational skills and levels of discipline must everywhere be raised. There must be greater effort, greater determination, greater sacrifice. As a Party and as part of the alliance we have to be an example of complete devotion to these historic demands.

In this the 25th Year of MK, at a time when conditions for armed struggle have never been so favourable, when the mass struggle is in the ascendancy, the regime in irreversible crisis and pressure from imperialism mounting for compromise and negotiation, we communists reiterate the main thrust of our common strategy shared with the ANC: A revolutionary seizure of power in which mass struggle combined with armed struggle is the decisive element!

**Long Live Umkhonto we Sizwe!
Victory is Certain!**

LONG LIVE THE YEAR OF MK!

PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

AND OUR REVOLUTION



Our struggle has reached a very crucial point of its development. One of the most important of these developments is the mushrooming, both in rural and urban areas of our country, of elementary organs of popular power i.e. People's Committees. They are also forcibly effecting fundamental democratic transformation of the country.

In some areas, these Committees have already begun to exercise the functions of a modern state, e.g. People's Courts, People's Education, as well as the spread of People's Militia and Area Defence Committees.

In other words, there exists in our country today an alternative type of power, a People's State in the making. For the first time after many decades of struggle, an organised popular force necessary for the destruction of the apartheid system has become a reality in South Africa. This does not mean that our goal of liberation can be reached tomorrow; victory can be achieved if, and only if, this organised popular force is moulded into a mighty weapon for the seizure of power. And it is the duty of all revolutionaries to apply themselves, body and soul, to implement this task.

Political Nature of People's Committees
While it is true that in some areas these Committees have been performing mainly administrative tasks, it is essential that they should be seen and made to function as political organs. And one of the important ways of securing this is the democratic election of people's representatives.

It is also important, at all stages, to put in the forefront of activity of these Committees the political policies of our liberation movement and our fighting programme. This programme can only be achieved through a relentless struggle, through a revolutionary

people's war against the apartheid system. In other words, it is not enough for these Committees to exercise political functions; they must also be transformed, through action, into revolutionary organs which can play a basic role in the seizure of power.

People's Committees

are Revolutionary Organs

This transformation can be achieved, among other things, by securing the active participation in, and the leadership of, these Committees by our organised black working class. This is of crucial importance, for this class has the key to the success of our revolution.

Finally, it is also extremely important for these People's Committees, among other things, to guard against:

- Opportunist elements who would like to de-politicise these Committees by bogging them down with administrative functions only.
- Elements who pretend to be political, but who are not ready to commit themselves through deeds to the ideal of a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa.
- Elements who would like to pull People's Committees into deals with agents of the apartheid regime. For the permanent settlement of the South African conflict, nothing short of the dismantling of the apartheid system and the right of all to vote through a system of one person one vote, should be accepted.

Above all, the most important task of these Committees is to spread and multiply themselves throughout the length and breadth of the country. The strength of one People's Committee is the strength of all. The speedy success of our revolution lies in the formation, development and consolidation of these organs of popular power.

ORGANISE THE GRASSROOTS!

ON THE 30th ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF BERTHOLT BRECHT,
ONE OF THE MOST OUTSTANDING SOCIALIST POETS
OF THE 20th CENTURY, WE PUBLISH TWO OF HIS POEMS



Praise of Communism

It's sensible,
anyone can understand it.
It's easy.
You're not an exploiter,
So you can grasp it.
It's a good thing for you,
find out more about it.
The stupid call it stupid
and the squalid call it squalid.
It is against squalor and
against stupidity.
The exploiters call it a crime
But we know:
It is the end of crime.
It is not madness, but
The end of madness.
It is not the riddle
But the solution
It is the simplest thing
So hard to achieve

Bertolt Brecht.

Questions of a Worker who Reads

*Who built seven-gated Thebes? In books are the names of kings.
Did the kings carry the blocks of granite?
And Babylon, so many times destroyed, who raised her up again
So many times?
In what dwellings dwelt they who built Lima, radiant with gold?
Where, in the evening, when the great Wall of China was completed, did
the masons go?
Majestic Rome is crowded with triumphal arches.
Who built them? Over whom did the Caesars triumph?
Had much-sung Byzantium only palaces for those who dwelt there?
Even in fabled Atlantis, when the sea swallowed it, the drowning
howled in the night for their slaves.
Young Alexander conquered India.
He alone?
Caesar smote the Gauls. Had he not at least his cook with him?
Philip of Spain wept when his great Armada went down.
Did no one else weep?
Frederick the Second conquered in a seven-year conquest.
Who won? He alone?
Every page a victory
Who cooked the victory dinner when they celebrated?
Every ten years a superman.
Who met the expense account?
So many reports
So many questions.*

BANTU EDUCATION DESTROYS THINKING!

INGXOXO NEKOMANISI

Iqhubeka Kweledlule Iphepha

'Ngike ngezwa ukuthi uKhongolose(ANC) kanye neban dla laMadlanda wonye (Communist Party) alapha kwelakithi ayabambisana. Kungani ukuba kube nezinhlangano ezimbili?'

IKomanisi:

Izwe lethu licebile ekubeni nezinhlanga ezahlukene. Mayelana nokuthi baziphilisa kanjani emphakathini; kunabasebenzi ezimbonini, ezimayini, omabhalane, odokotela, onesi nalabo abaphile ngokuzilimela emaphadleni. Into efanayo kithi sonke ukuthi sibamnyama kanti futhi sicindezelwe. Umbuso wabelungu ufuna ukucisicezuzela usenze izizwana. UKhongolose ke wona uyasihlanganisa ukuthi sibumbane sibe isizwe esisodwa lapha ezweni lethu. UKhongolose kanye noMkhonto we Sizwe ulwela ukuthi sikhululeke futhi sizibuse. Ibandla laMadlandawonyeke lona, njengawo wonke amabandla aMadlandawonye emhlabeni, liyibandla labasebenzi. Libhekele amalungelo abasebenzi. UKhongolose ekulweni kwawo uyabambisana neBandla laMadlandawonye ngoba uyazi ukuthi iqembu labasebenzi yilo elingu go emzabalazweni wethu. Nabacindezeli bayayazi leyonto kungakho nje befuna ukulibhuqa baliqede ibandla laMadlandawonye. Bathi likhokhelwa abamhlophe, futhi lithola iziqondiso zawo eMoscow kanye nokuthi liphokelela uKhongolose ukuthi enze izinto ezifunwa iMoscow. Kodwa leyonto ingenzeka kanjani ngoba ibandla laMadlandawonye umbutho wabasebenzi iningi labo okungabamnyama?

ISoviet Union izwe lokuqala ukwakha umbuso waMadlandawonye. Abasebenzi bakhona babekhokhelwa uLenin nombutho weBolshevik. Ngo 1917 ngesikhathi abasebenzi baseRashiya bephumelela ukuthatha umbuso abantu abaningi bakhona babengakwazi nokuloba kodwa lokhu kanti futhi belamba. Bathi uma abasebenzi bethatha umbuso banika amakoloni ilungelo lokuthi bakhethe phakathi kokuthi baphume embusweni waseSoviet bazibuse njengezwe elihlukile nasekutheni baqhubeke ekubeni umbuso owodwa neSoviet Union. Abanye bakhetha ukuphuma kanti abanye bakhetha ukuba inxeny eymbuso waseSoviet. Okunanamahlanje iSoviet Union iyizwe lezizwe ngezizwe kanti futhi iyizwe elinamandla kakhulu emhlabeni. Akunamuntu ongathi untula umsebenzi khona kanti kanjalo futhi indlala into engaziwa. Umthetho wakhona uyaqiniselela ukuthi wonke umuntu abenomsebenzi, unendlu kanye nemfundo engakhokhelwa yabantwana bakhe. Wonke umuntu unezwi ekubusweni kwezwe ngenxa yelungelo lakhe kuzinyunyana zabasebenzi, ezikoleni, ezimbonini kanye nasembuthweni waMadlandawonye.

Zonke lezinto zenza ukuthi abacindezeli bethu bazonde iSoviet Union. Bayazi ukuthi iSoviet

Union ilona lizwe kuphela elingabhekana nabangani bePretoria abanamandla amakhulu abanjengo Amerika. ISoviet Union ihlala inceda abalweli bankululeko.

'Umzala wami ubesebenza embonini eNatali. Bamxosha emsebenzini ngoba ecele umholo othe xaxa. Sebemlahlele le ezabelweni zakwaZulu. Uma ngibuza umqashi wakhekabanzi ungitshela ukuthi umzala ubeyiKomanisi?'

IKomanisi:

Umzala wakho wafundiswa ibandla laMandlandawonye ukuthi abasebenzi kumele babumbane kuzinyunyana ukuze bakwazi ukulwela umholo ocacile. Uma umsebenzi eyedwa angeke akwazi ukulwa nabaqashi. Kuyalanjwa le kwaZulu kodwa inhliziyi yakhe yeneme ngoba ushiye inyunyana yabasebenzi embonini abasebenza kuyo. Abasele bazoyiqhubezela phambili. Umzala wakho uqale ukufundisa abasebenzi kunyunyana. Inyunyana ibumba abasebenzi ukuthi balwele amaholo abukekayo futhi nezindawo abasebenza kuzo zibukeke. Kodwa ukuze abantu abacindezelwe bathathe umbuso badinga umbutho ozobafundisa ukuthi bawulwisa kanjani umbuso wencindezelo. Umzala wakho uyazi ukuthi into ezomlahlekela uma elwa nesitha sencindezelo amaketango obugqila ngoba abantu abamnyama abanalutho olunye.

'Waguquka kanjani uze ube iKomanisi?'

IKomanisi:

Ngake ngasebenza nomlisa owanginika incwajana ebizwa ngokuthi iAfrican Communist. Lencwajana yangitshela ukuthi iCommunism umbuso lapho abasebenzi bethatha umcebo kongxiwankulu ukuze uhlukaniselwe abantu abawukhiqizayo. Kulapho izimboni, izimayini namasimukazi kungawabantu bonke. Umbuso usuke usuphethwe abantu bonke. ICommunism indlela etsha yokwakha umbuso ngokucophelela okukhulu. Lombuso uletha izikolo, izibhedlela, imisebenzi nezindlu kubo bonke abantu bezwe. aMadlandawonye ngabantu abasebenzayo abazuzayo ngomcebo abawukhiqizayo. Ukumuncwa kwegazi ngabanye abantu akukho neze.

Ingakho ke umbuso wobandlululo nencindezelo waseNingizimu Afrika usaba aMadlandawonye. Kungakhoke ke ngilalela ibandla laMadlandawonye lase Ningizimu Afrika. (South African Communist Party) Uma lithi:

Basebenzi Vukani! Hlanganani! Into eninokuyizuza ukulahla amaketango obugqili.

WORKERS UNITE FOR STRUGGLE!

80 YEARS AGO:



THE BAMBATHA REBELLION

At the turn of the century the process of industrialisation and capitalist development began to gain momentum. This was accompanied by a tightening of colonial administrative tactics to secure a dependent labour pool through the imposition of higher and higher taxes. The main aim was to destroy the African social fabric and in this way to separate the people from the land and their traditional economic mode of life, or to transform it to serve capitalism.

It was against this background that the Bambatha Rebellion of 1906 occurred. What were the immediate causes of this rebellion?

From January 1906, the British administration introduced one of the harshest forms of taxation, the notorious Poll Tax. But the people simply refused to pay. A state of emergency was declared and the colonial troops went on a rampage, shooting at random. The people responded by taking up arms and hitting back. One of the most important leaders of this resistance was the legendary Chief Bambatha.

Battles took place at Mome Gorge, Mpanza Valley, Macala Hills, all in the area around the Inkandla forests. Other battles took place around Mapumalo. Our people displayed a lot of initiative. Whenever necessary they broke into small groups and employed irregular methods of warfare. Bambatha died in a battle around the Mome Gorge on June 10th, 1906, and was beheaded by the 'civilised' British as a 'warning' to others.

The people suffered a defeat because of the enemy's superiority in weapons and numbers. But Bambatha's epic story remains instructive for our embattled people in many ways. It is a tale of courage and heroism, abounding in selflessness and a spirit of 'no surrender'. From it we draw historic lessons that will continue to inspire us in the daily execution of our revolutionary tasks.

The iron heel of the oppressor will melt in the pool of courage and determination. Bambatha's name, even after so many decades, remains one of the finest examples of these qualities. Our people, particularly the young, continue to march in the footsteps of this great son of the soil.

READ THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

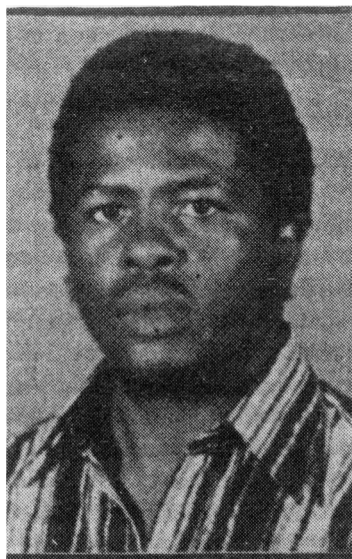
Theoretical quarterly journal of the
South African Communist Party.

Available from Inkululeko Publications

39 Goodge Street, London W1P 1 FD, United Kingdom



HONOUR RESISTANCE HEROES!



MDUDUZI GUMA ('NKULULEKO')

Mduduzi Guma studied law at Ngoye and practiced as an attorney in Durban. He had joined the ANC and was steadily building up an underground network. No one suspected him even though by 1976 he was defending students caught up in protests and rebellion. He was an excellent underground worker, working with, amongst others, Lancelot Hadebe and the extraordinary Reverend Mandla Msibi (Blackman).

Mduduzi Guma went to Swaziland as a political refugee. An avid reader of political tracts, he paid great attention to the Marxist classics and helped translate the Party programme into Zulu. He wrote for the MK journal, *Dawn*, under the name of 'Conqueror Ntswana' — choosing the pseudonym because of his implacable belief in victory. In the barbarous raid on Matola, in January 1981, Mduduzi Guma, together with Lancelot Hadebe, died when their bedroom was hit by a rocket.

PEN PICTURES OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

JACK HODGSON

A founder member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Jack Hodgson, born in South Africa in 1910, started work as a miner at an early age. He participated in the 1938 strike of white miners, and was involved in the white labour movement. He joined the then legal Communist Party, where he came to realise that the liberation of the working class in South Africa is tied to the struggle for national liberation of the African people.

During the anti-Hitler war, Jack Hodgson served in the famous Desert Rats army unit, which stopped the advance of the Nazi forces into Africa. After demobilisation, he was elected secretary of the ex-servicemen's organisation, the Springbok Legion, which did a great deal to mobilise the people in the fight against the Nationalist Party.

House arrested and banned, it was decided by the movement that he should continue his work in exile. He left South Africa in 1963, and remained in Britain until his death on December 3rd, 1977. At the memorial service held in London, ANC President Oliver Tambo, in a message delivered by ANC Treasurer General Thomas Nkobi, said in part:

'... Jack Hodgson was a man with a deep appreciation of oppression, as a result of which he became a great teacher contributing to the nucleus around which Umkhonto we Sizwe units were established. He was among the first with technical know-how of explosives who was fully prepared to impart this knowledge so that the aims of liberation could be achieved. He ensured that the black man was no longer unarmed in his struggle, but would fully understand the military aspects of warfare ... He was amongst those whites who refused to enjoy the bribery and privilege that is part and parcel of the way of life for whites in South Africa. Instead he chose a life full of hardship and self-sacrifice, totally dedicated to the cause of liberation, human justice and dignity ...'



THE 'TWO-STAGE' ARGUMENT

In the recent period some South African academics 'on the left' have debated the so-called two-stage theory of the South African revolution, particularly in the pages of the South African Labour Bulletin and Work in Progress. We reprint a short extract from WIP No. 42 as a useful addition to the discussion.

... Innes rather pretentiously sees himself and Fine joining Erwin and Cronin in 'breaking new theoretical ground', with the 'divisive concepts' of the past having been abandoned by all. In particular he lauds the jettisoning of the 'usual two-stage argument' ...

We need to be more careful about what jettisoning the 'usual two-stage argument' entails. We assume 'two-stage argument' means a mechanical separation between the tasks of establishing democracy and of social emancipation. These are slotted into 'stages' separated by a chasm in time. The implication is that the second set of tasks is only placed on history's agenda when the first set is complete. But there is no 'usual' two-stage argument — there have been many, from a wide variety of political positions.

The question of building the path to full social emancipation cannot wait until the achievement of formal democracy in South Africa. It is the process by which the national democratic tasks are completed that will determine the character of the society which follows, and the extent to which progress towards complete emancipation from exploitation will be uninterrupted.

However, this does not deny the existence of historically-distinct stages, phases or moments through which our struggle must pass. These are not determined by the programme or outlook of particular organisations, but mark an objective and historically-determined route along which we pass. In rejecting a mechanical separation between stages, we do not reject the idea of the national democratic struggle as defining the character of the South African struggle.

The national democratic struggle is the path necessarily followed by the struggle for socialism in South Africa. This is a result of the particular nature of South African

capitalism — a structure of minority rule and national oppression which has persisted, in essence, from the colonial era.

The national democratic struggle unites all classes among the oppressed together with democratic whites, behind the pursuit of democracy and national self-determination. It is not in itself the struggle for socialism, nor is it simply a socialist programme which incorporates a challenge to racism. The system of minority rule, through which political power is organised, is the immediate obstacle to socialism in South Africa. Only when that system has been abolished does the possibility of social emancipation arise. Democracy is the vital condition for the completion of the process of education, mobilisation and organisation of the masses necessary for the transition to socialism.

The immediate objective of the working class is therefore the marshalling of all possible social forces for the eradication of minority rule and its replacement by democracy. The deeper that democracy, the greater the prospects for uninterrupted social transformation.

The national democratic struggle is not an unfortunate detour on the road to socialism: the present national popular mobilisation against the regime gives tremendous momentum to the struggle for socialism in South Africa.

The various classes among the oppressed are united, not by an ideological smokescreen which hides their different class interests, but on the basis of their common, but diverse, class antagonism to the colonial structure of minority rule, a political and economic phenomenon which prevents any significant sector of the oppressed from realising their class interests.

This is not to argue that all classes among the oppressed have identical class interests, but rather that their different interests coincide on the question of eradicating minority rule. The method of that eradication, and the depth of the democracy which replaces it, is the essential class question of the national democratic struggle.

SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF SOCIALISM!

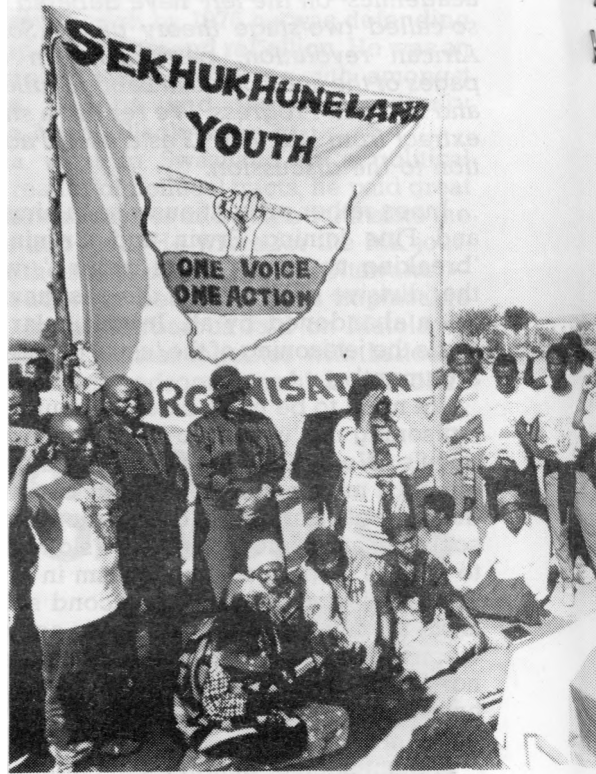
'WORKERISM' AND — TWO DEV

At present the issue that causes a great deal of confusion is the use of the words 'populism' and 'workerism'. The confusion has its roots among certain 'ultra-left' intellectuals — in practice they are often, of course, more liberal than left. Unfortunately some of their confusion has now spread much more widely amongst politically active youth, students and workers. Not that all these sectors accept the ultra-left position, but they have become confused by some of the terms that are being thrown around.

In brief, the confusion consists in portraying the major debate within the broad progressive camp as being between the 'populists' and the 'workerists'. For instance, the liberal journalist Steven Friedman, in his *Weekly Mail* assessment of May Day, sees the 'real significance' of the massive stayaway not as a blow to the apartheid regime. Instead he writes that its 'real significance' is an indication of the relative strengths of the 'workerists' and the 'populists'.

Friedman uses these words so loosely that he ends up equating numbers of UDF and Cosatu leaders with the political position of Inkatha's sweetheart union Uwusa. They are all said to be 'populist', as opposed to certain unnamed 'workerists'. This is simply nonsense.

The loose use of the terms 'populist' and 'workerist' has prevented Friedman from understanding the most basic facts about the present situation. The fundamental error in his approach, and it occurs in a variety of different places at present, is that it seeks to confine the options open to progressives in South Africa to two possibilities — 'workerism' or 'populism'. In fact, both these approaches are deviations from the correct, dominant (and increasingly more dominant) strategic approach to our struggle — the struggle for full social and economic emancipation.



Workerism — Narrow and Mechanical

While correctly recognising the importance of the working class and its leading role, 'workerism' approaches this class and its interests in a narrow and mechanical way. Friedman, who clearly espouses 'workerism', is no exception. He criticises the May Day statement of the Cosatu President, Elijah Barayi, for failing to deal with a 'single worker issue'. This remark simply shows that in his narrow 'workerism' Friedman does not recognise the pass laws, the struggle to unban the national liberation movement and to free the prisoners of apartheid — all mentioned by Barayi — as working class concerns.

Populism — Abuses the Word 'People'

How about 'populism'.

Again, this word is being used a great deal in a very loose and confusing way. In the first place, any use of the term 'the people' tends to be held as evidence of populism. The Freedom Charter's first demand that *The People Shall Govern* is said to be 'populist', so too is the call for the developing of people's power.

Those who speak about 'populism' in this way most often claim to be 'Marxists' with an advanced class understanding. To them, VI Lenin in his *Two Tactics of Social*

THEORY MUST COMBINE WITH

AND 'POPULISM' VARIATIONS

Democracy long ago provided an answer when he affirmed the absolute correctness of speaking about the people: 'Yes, the *people's* revolution.'

However, he immediately adds that the party 'has fought, and quite rightly is fighting, against the bourgeois-democratic abuse of the word "people". It demands that this word shall not be used to cover up failure to understand class antagonisms within the people. It insists categorically on the need for complete class independence of the party of the proletariat. However, it does not divide up the "people" into "classes" so that the advanced class will become locked up within itself, will confine itself within narrow limits, and emasculate its activity ... It does that so the that the advanced class, which does not suffer from the half-heartedness, vacillation and indecision of the intermediate classes, should fight with all the greater energy and enthusiasm for the cause of the whole people, at the head of the whole people. That is what the present-day new-Iskrists (the workerists of his time) so often fail to understand, people who substitute for active political slogans in the democratic revolution a mere pedantic repetition of the word "class", declined in all cases and genders.'



The Real Essence of Populism

The real essence of populism is that it ignores, or even conceals, the class differences within the people's camp. In appropriating the words 'the people' for our own purposes we are, at once, fighting against the narrowness of 'workerism', and against the distortions of 'populism'. In short, the use of the term 'the people' in our political slogans is not populist.

There are other confusions surrounding the use of the term 'populist'. Once again Friedman provides us with a clear example. In his article on the May Day stayaway, he identifies 'populism' with 'high profile politics' (like press conferences, consulate sit-ins, etc), with the use of mass rallies, stirring speeches and popular media — banners, stickers and songs.

This is an extremely superficial approach. It merely describes certain tactics, and does not probe into the real importance of these tactics in concrete situations.

It may be true that certain brands of 'populism' lay great stress on these 'high profile' forms of struggle, while ignoring, for instance, the need to build strong organisations. But the essence of 'populism' is not that it uses this or that tactic. High profile politics, mass rallies and popular media are all an important part of our struggle. To dismiss these means as 'populist' is stupid. There is nothing about these forms of struggle that mean they should be monopolised by 'populists'. The content and concrete effects of a particular tactic must be assessed. A mass rally, for instance, may be marked by populism, workerism, or by a correct, class-based understanding of our needs.

In our long struggle, rich in experience, we have learnt to use a wide range of strategies and tactics. This history, from the earliest days to the present, also confirms the need to avoid the errors of both 'workerism' and 'populism'.

REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE!

COLONIALISM OF A SPECIAL TYPE



All workers are aware of the contradiction between those who sell their labour power for a wage and those who own the factories, farms and mines. The major tension in capitalist society is between capital and labour and this is reflected in the class struggle.

But in South Africa, *within* the struggle for economic and social emancipation, is the struggle against the national oppression of the black working class, as well as all other classes that make up the majority of the population.

The capitalist, yet semi-colonialist status of the blacks in South Africa, is identified in the Programme of the South African Communist Party in the following way: *'South Africa is not a colony but an independent state. Yet masses of our people enjoy neither independence nor freedom'*. What emerged from the former colonial state was a system in which political power was transferred to a racist white minority in the interests of British imperialism. In the process, the evils of colonialism were perpetuated and reinforced insofar as the black majority were concerned. Hence, in the words of the Programme: *'A new type of colonialism (emerged) in which the oppressing white nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed people themselves and lived side by side with them'*. The special nature of South Africa's oppressive system is to be found in this combination of the worst features of imperialism and colonialism within a single national frontier. The frantic strategies of the white political-military power bloc to carve out a neo-colonial constitution — call it 'power-sharing', federation or confederation — serves only to emphasise that it is more of the same. Not even capital itself, which is blind to all but the production and reproduction of profit, has confidence in these paper 'solutions'.

In truth, the denial of all opportunities that in other colonial countries would have fostered the growth of independent classes, has united the majority against apartheid structures which define South Africa's special brand of colonialism. It has created a dynamic and undetachable force of liberation and working class movements to challenge and overthrow the internal colonial power.

In this struggle the South African working class has made enormous sacrifices. Its persistent confrontations with the state and capital in the fire of repression and victimisation has been an inspiration to all other classes who are similarly engaged in the struggle for national, democratic transformation. The working class, who take the lead in the struggle, are equally concerned to establish a socialist transformation which, in emancipating the working class, will free all of society from exploitative social relations.

In order to create the conditions for such transformation, it is vital that we strengthen the united front of national liberation led by the ANC to overthrow white supremacy and establish an independent state of national democracy. It is not just any state that is envisaged: it is the Freedom Charter with its programme of profound agrarian transformation and the socialisation of those sectors of the economy in the grip of monopoly capital. This destruction of the colonial state is the basis for working class advance.

Workers cannot stand aloof from the national democratic struggle. To do this is to weaken that struggle and to weaken the movement for socialism. Conversely, for the workers to campaign actively for national liberation is simultaneously to help prepare conditions which will make an advance to socialism a possibility.

The South African revolution is a process of phases, differing in content and quality, in which the conditions are created for transition to socialist emancipation. There is no in-built barrier between the phases of struggle to delay that transition. But the pace of that development depends on the extent of active working class presence in the process of the overall struggle. A dominant worker profile in the line-up of class forces in the national democratic revolution will help to create the appropriate conditions for socialism, sooner rather than later.

AN END TO WHITE RULE!



POLITICAL ECONOMY

6. Capitalism soon destroys 'Free Enterprise' and 'Competition'

Capitalism, we have seen, is a system of private ownership of all the means of production, but also of exploitation of the workers who do the actual producing. To conceal the real nature of the system, which is oppressive and exploiting, the capitalists like to talk of 'free enterprise' instead, and of the benefits of 'free competition'.

But is the system either free or competitive? It was once, in the early beginnings. At that time many small owners of workshops and farms, employing small numbers of workers, competed freely with each other in the market places. That competition drove them to search for ways to make goods cheaper than their competitors and for new products to supply people's needs. Competition also drove them to try constantly to exploit their workers more fiercely, and to lower wages and lengthen hours of daily work. Still, the people generally gained some benefits from the free competition — better goods, lower prices, more choice.

But the capitalists were only interested in these things if they increased profits. Production was not for the purpose of pleasing the public, but to produce profits for the private owners. Competition was fierce and cut-throat. In the fierce competitive search for ever more profits, the most ruthless exploiters of labour and the most efficient users of modern equipment prospered; their competitors failed to compete successfully in the markets; their products were more expensive or more shoddy. The successful ones grew bigger and richer — and fewer — and the less successful went broke and disappeared from the production scene.

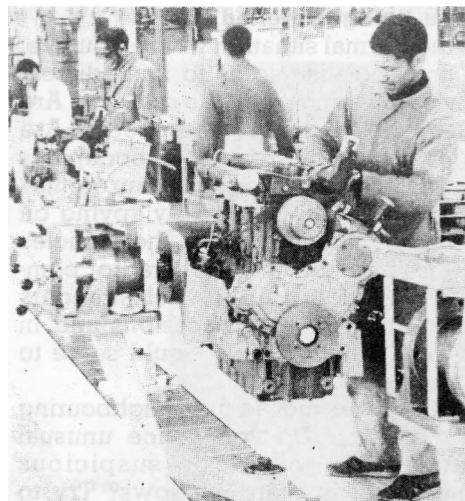
Why should they diminish in numbers — these successful capitalists? In a system they claim to have 'open and free markets', as one unsuccessful employer goes broke, surely another can arise to fill his shoes? Not true. Once, perhaps, again only at the beginning might this have been true. But as capitalists grew, new ways of producing new and more complicated machines, more and more energy and fuel, bigger groups of specialised workers to operate the new techniques, and so bigger and

bigger factories.

To start a workshop say, as a wagon builder in the early days of capitalism needed a few tools, a few workers, a small workshop. But the development of the competitive market has wiped out the old wagon — and with it the wagon builder — and replaced it with a motor truck. To make that, a vast plant is needed, vast arrays of complicated tools, great numbers of workers and enormous stockpiles of raw materials — not just in a truck building plant, but in a dozen allied industries like tyre making and glass rolling, paint manufacture and so on.

So the wagon builder was devoured by the drive of competition, and cannot be reborn or replaced by another in the developed capitalist world. Only the most massive financial and industrial companies survive in most industries today — Volkswagen, Toyota, Ford, General Motors and one or two others in vehicle production; General Electric, Westinghouse and Phillips in electrical goods; Sony and a handful of others in radio and TV. And so on. No one can any longer join this magic circle without capital resources as great as many state treasuries. This means that the system is no longer 'open' — it is closed and controlled by the few giant survivors; it is no longer competitive either — or not in the old way.

(This theme to be continued in the next issue)



SOCIALISM MEANS FREEDOM!

HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK



7. COUNTER-SURVEILLANCE

We have been examining the enemy's surveillance methods — that is, the forms of observation used to watch suspects and uncover secret revolutionary activity. We now turn to counter-surveillance, which is the methods we use to deal with enemy observation.

Qualities Needed

For successful counter-surveillance you need to be aware of your surroundings and be alert to what is going on around you. That means having a thorough knowledge of the town or area in which you live and work and knowing the habits of the people. You need basic common sense, alertness and patience — together with cool and natural behaviour and a knowledge of certain tactics or ruses (which will be discussed later). It is important not to draw attention to oneself by strange behaviour such as constantly looking over one's shoulder. And one must guard against paranoia — that is imagining that everyone you see is following you. It is necessary to develop powers of observation and memory (which come with practise) so that you notice what is unusual and remember what you have seen. It is when you notice the same person or unusual behaviour a third or fourth time that you are able to conclude that it adds up to surveillance and not coincidence.

Are You Being Watched?

Study the normal situation where you live, work and socialise so as to immediately recognise anything out of the ordinary. Are strangers loitering about the streets? Are strange cars parked where the occupants have a commanding view of your home? They may be a distance away spying on you through binoculars. Do the vehicles have antenna for two-way radio communication? Do you notice such strangers or vehicles on several occasions and in other parts of town? This would serve to confirm interest in you.

Have strangers moved into neighbouring houses or flats? Do you notice unusual comings and goings or suspicious movements at upstairs windows? Try to

discreetly check who such people are. The enemy might have created an observation post in the house across the road — or placed an agent in the room next door to you! Be sensitive to any change in attitude to you by neighbours, landlady, shopkeeper etc. The enemy might have mobilised them for surveillance. Know such people well, including the local children, and be on good terms with all. Then if strangers question them about you, they will be more inclined to inform you.

Know the back routes and concealed entrances into your area so that you may slip in and out unnoticed. Secretly check what is going on in the vicinity after pretending to retire for the night. Avoid peering from behind curtains, especially at night from a lit room. This is as suspicious as constantly glancing over one's shoulder and will only alert the enemy to conceal themselves better.

Record all unusual incidents in a note book so you can analyse events and come to a conclusion. Be alert with persons you mix with at work or socially, and those like receptionists, supervisors, waiters and attendants who are well-placed to notice one's movements.

Telephone and Mail

'Phone tapping often causes faults. Check with neighbours whether they are having similar problems or is your phone the exception? Is your post being interfered with? Check dates of posting, stamp cancellation and delivery and compare the time taken for delivery with your friends. Examine the envelopes to check whether they have been opened and glued down in a clumsy way.

Some of these checks do not necessarily confirm that you are being watched — but they alert you to the possibility. To confirm whether you are in fact under observation requires techniques of checking which we will examine in the next issue.

Next Issue: The Check Route

Be Aware and Alert!

WATCH THE ENEMY!



MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

2. Materialism versus Idealism

In the first article of this series, we saw that Marxist philosophy or Dialectical Materialism was a form of practical thinking and a form of struggle. We said that Dialectical Materialism was a practice by which Marxists show their understanding of such theories as Historical Materialism, defend the truth in theories and expose through criticism the falsity of false theories. Marxist philosophy, therefore, is a struggle to understand and to defend the truth against error.

Another way of putting this point, which will take our discussion a step further, is to say that philosophy is a struggle between materialism and idealism, and that Dialectical Materialism is the struggle to defend materialist ideas against Idealist ones. What does this mean? First, let us see what we mean by a theory. A theory is a carefully worked out explanation of how and why things are as they are in the world. A true theory truly reflects the reality it explains. All genuine scientific theories, such as those worked out in physics, chemistry, biology and in Marx's theory of how history works, are examples of true theory (although it is by no means an easy task to tell genuinely scientific theories from those that merely look or sound 'scientific').

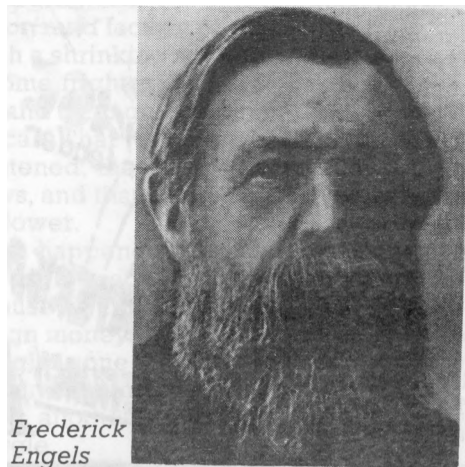
Scientific theories are true because they explain with various degrees of accuracy the real material processes and forces beneath the appearances of the things they set out to explain. For example, physics explains the structure of seemingly solid objects in terms of the movement of real, but invisible, particles and the forces which bind them. Idealist theories are false because they try to explain material realities in terms of spiritual forces or processes or ideals in our minds. When racists try to explain the revolutionary upsurge in our country with talk about ideas spread by evil 'agitators', this is idealism.

We should not think, however, that because Idealist philosophy makes incorrect theories, we can treat it with contempt.

Contempt for the thought of others stops us from finding the truth, even where there seems to be only error, and finding truth in this way is what Marxist philosophy is all about. Hegel was an Idealist. Yet in explaining the method of thought he had used in writing *Capital*, Marx called Hegel a 'mighty thinker' who was the first to work out the general form of the Dialectical way of dealing with philosophy.

In fact, it is impossible to understand Dialectical Materialism without some understanding of Hegel's theory. He believed that all change — change in history and even change in dead matter — was only an expression of a spiritual process, which he sometimes called *Spirit*, sometimes *The Concept* or *The Absolute*. Just as we sometimes say that the words or gestures we use in speaking express our thoughts, so Hegel thought that all material change — even political change — were expressions of stages in *Spirit's* struggle to find itself.

Of course this is wrong. A *Spirit* can't be a process because a process is a movement in space and time, and the meaning of the word *Spirit* points to things outside space and time. Marx saw this. But he also saw that Hegel was right to concentrate on trying to understand the ideas we have of history as a *Process of Struggle*. So he turned Hegel's philosophy upside down and inside out, so as to explain this process of struggle in materialist terms. In doing this, Marx invented Dialectical Materialism, which we will discuss in our next issue.



Frederick Engels

IDEAS LIBERATE!



TRADE UNIONISM

7. Trade Unions and Nationalism

The post-depression years in South Africa saw a rapid growth of industry. By 1935, over 100 000 additional workers streamed into the factories. The prospects for organising a powerful trade union movement were better than ever before. But many obstacles stood in the way of taking full advantage of the potential.

One of the first consequences of the Hertzog-Smuts coalition government was the introduction of the 'Native Bills' designed to remove all vestiges of citizenship rights from the African majority and to limit their residence rights to 13% of the land. The need to resist these measures and resuscitate the African national movement was urgent. Simultaneously, Greyshirts and other Nazi sympathisers brought home the nature of the fascist menace which threatened the world.

Many were unable to reconcile the ideas of militant African nationalism with the necessary establishment of a non-racial united front. It was this issue which the unions also sought to come to terms with. The African Federation of Trade Unions was not alone in its failure to bring African and non-African workers together in joint actions against employers and reformism. A major problem was the unwillingness of progressive organisers to face directly the problems of national oppression. Many who maintained that it would be reformist to campaign for the inclusion of African workers in the bargaining process provided by the IC Act, themselves continued to use these procedures as the most expedient means to improve working conditions. The issue of job reservation was also largely ignored.

Although the Trades and Labour Council took up grievances of lower-paid workers, organised strike funds and became more militant than ever before, it refused to admit African workers. The Cape Federation of Labour Unions followed the non-racial principles it espoused inconsistently. Not surprisingly, many African organisers decided it was time to organise African workers separately. In 1938, the Non-European Trades Union Co-ordinating Council was formed, with Gana Makabeni as its Chairman. Delegates agreed unanimously to bar all whites from office, though not from the executive.

In 1941, this Council combined with other unions to form the Council of Non-European Trade Unions. At the outset, the CNETU took up the struggle for the recognition of African trade unions; for a national minimum wage; and for the organisation of African miners. But it remained a Transvaal organisation.

When the Second World War ended in 1945, attention once more focussed on the need for a national trade union body. The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party passed a resolution on the need to establish a non-racial centre. It was emphasised that

wherever discrimination acts as a barrier to trade union organisation, black workers should not sacrifice their inherent rights in the interests of a fictitious 'unity'. But at the same time efforts should be directed towards building a united movement.

It was such efforts which led to the establishment of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) in 1955. We will discuss this in our next article.



ONE FEDERATION — ONE FIST!

UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY ECONOMICS



2. THE EXCHANGE RATE

The exchange rate is often in the news. Soon after Botha declared a state of emergency in July 1984, the papers had headlines like 'The Rand Crashes' or 'Turmoil on the Foreign Exchanges'. They meant that the exchange rate of the rand had fallen sharply.

But what is the exchange rate, and does it matter?

The exchange rate is the price of the rand in terms of other currencies. It tells us how many dollars an American firm has to pay to buy one rand, or how many rand a South African has to pay to obtain dollars. At present one rand equals about 40 US cents (\$0.40). So firms would need to pay R2.50 for each dollar they want to buy (as long as dollars are wanted for trade).

That is the exchange rate for the rand against the US dollar. It also has a price in terms of British pounds and other currencies (at present a firm would need to pay nearly R4 to obtain £1 for trading).

The exchange rate goes up and down every day. If banks, firms and individuals sell a lot of rands and buy dollars, the exchange rate falls. In other words, the rand becomes cheaper.

The Reserve Bank, which is part of the Boer state, tries to offset such falls. It supports the price by selling dollars and buying rands when the others are selling rands.

In the 1970s the regime aimed to control the rand's price completely so that its exchange rate with the dollar was fixed. In 1983 they went to the opposite extreme, almost completely ending their intervention.

In September 1985, the regime was forced to change the system. After some foreign banks refused to lend more money to apartheid, big and small capitalists took fright and sold rands. The exchange rate fell to R1 = 35USc (it had been 88USc in February 1983) and looked like falling further. The regime tried to prevent this by having two exchange rates. The commercial rate was the rate if the currency was needed for imports and exports (that is the rate currently at 40USc). The financial rate

applied if people were buying dollars to take their capital out of South Africa. At present the financial rate is about 20USc. So people selling rands to switch their capital to the US do not get many dollars for their money.

Does the exchange rate matter? Yes. It affects our living standards everywhere from Soweto to the farms, and it can cause big problems for the bosses of the banks, shops and firms.

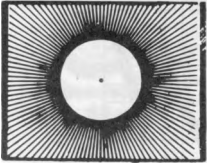
It affects our lives because it influences the cost of goods imported from abroad and the price of exports. If the rand falls, dollars, pounds and other currencies become more expensive. The price in the shops of goods imported from the US, Britain and elsewhere go up because the importer has to pay more rands for each dollar's worth of imports. At the same time foreigners can buy rands more cheaply so it costs them less to buy South African exports such as coal and fruit and production of them could rise (unless the people of Europe and America succeed in forcing Thatcher and Reagan to impose sanctions).

Those changes affect our jobs. For example, when the rand falls, the bosses of factories using imported raw materials make lower profits, so they fire workers and squeeze wages harder.

A fall in the rand affects bosses' profits in other ways. Most important, it hurts foreign firms which have collaborated with apartheid. The profits they make in South Africa are worth less dollars. And each one million rand factory or share investment is worth a shrinking amount of dollars. They become frightened of a falling exchange rate and try to get their money out of South Africa. That makes other capitalists frightened, the panic to withdraw money grows, and that pushes the exchange rate still lower.

That happened in 1985. Botha's friends are frightened of it happening again because South African capitalism needs foreign money. Intensifying the liberation struggle is one thing that frightens foreign firms and sets off a panic. So the exchange rate is another weapon in the liberation struggle.

MAKE SANCTIONS BITE!



HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

6. The Boycott Debate and the Last Years of Legality

The Party's annual conference meeting in January 1947 agreed to take part in any campaign to carry out the policy of boycotting unrepresentative institutions. Kotane explained that the initiative had to come from the ANC; communists on their own could not conduct the campaign. Edwin Mofutsanyana told the conference that boycotts were a method of struggle, but not a principle of policy.

Apart from differences of theory, communists had a practical objection. Being non-racial, its members took part in elections at many levels. African Party members sat on advisory boards; some contested elections to the NRC. Coloured members stood for election to municipal councils in the Cape. White communists fought in municipal, provincial and parliamentary elections. It was a class party, argued HA Naidoo, a member of the Central Committee, and should not tail behind the national liberation movement or become so closely identified with it as to lose its independence. Its mission was to unite members of all national groups in struggle for a socialist South Africa.

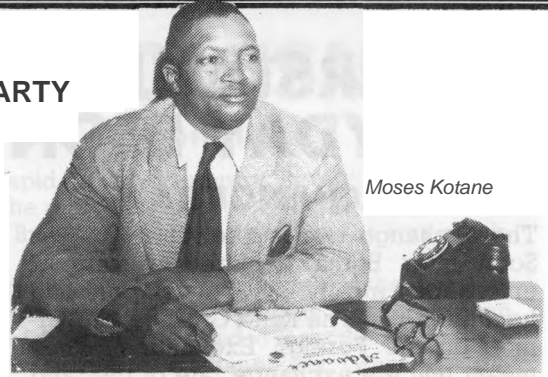
The Party's annual conference of January 1948 decided to put up candidates in the NRC elections and the general parliamentary election. Their primary message was defeat of the pro-fascist Nationalist Party, advance the struggle for a universal franchise, and mobilise the people for socialist democracy.

Conference also demanded the withdrawal of criminal charges pending against members of the Central Executive as a direct consequence of the strike by African miners in 1946. To explain these proceedings, we should go back to the events that followed the strike.

Communists on Trial

The Smuts government blamed the Party for organising the strike. On August 26, a preparatory examination was opened in Johannesburg against 52 persons charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act and War Measure 145. It was the biggest political trial since the white miners strike of 1922 and the most representative in the country's history of all national groups.

The trial fizzled out on September 16. Kotane and five other accused were discharged. The rest pleaded guilty to aiding an illegal strike and were fined. Among them was Yusuf



Moses Kotane

Dadoo, chairman of the Johannesburg district committee of the Party and president of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

After raids on September 21, the police arrested eight members of the Central Executive Committee in Cape Town and charged them with sedition. The trial lasted two years, but the persecution failed to trace a link between the Central Executive and the strike, or prove the elements of unlawful violence and conspiracy to overthrow the state that constitute the crime of sedition. The indictment was quashed in the final trial in May 1948.

Nationalists Win Power

The Afrikaner Nationalist Party took office later in the month. The new apartheid government withdrew the charges in October, leaving a threat of suppression hanging over the Party. The Nationalists won the general election on a platform of apartheid and anti-communism.

Only a Nationalist victory, claimed Dr Malan, the Nationalist Party leader, could save the white race from coloured blood, the black peril and the red menace. If they took office, he promised, the Nationalists would dissolve the Communist Party, deport Indians, segregate the Coloured, do away with the Native Representative Council and the African parliamentary franchise, bar blacks from white universities and exclude 'redundant' blacks from towns.

In spite of prosecutions, police harassment and threats of suppression, the Party's cause continued to flourish. Future historians, wrote Kotane on the occasion of the Party's 26th anniversary, would no doubt pay tribute to the contribution made by communists in educating and organising Africans, Coloureds and Indians for struggle to achieve democratic rights, equality and liberation from race discrimination. The Chamber of Mines, big farmers, Afrikaner churches and racist parties understood the communists' role and what it meant to the black majority. That was why reactionaries were calling for the Party's suppression.



NON-ALIGNED IN HARARE

In September a summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement took place in the Zimbabwean capital, Harare. Leaders of 99 independent countries and the liberation movements met to discuss their ongoing struggle to achieve and build meaningful political and economic self-determination. Although movement member countries have formal political independence, they must still struggle to free themselves from economic domination and military threats from the imperialist countries, particularly the United States.

The Non-Aligned Movement was formed 25 years ago mainly by countries which had just freed themselves from colonialism and were struggling to assert full national independence. They did not want to align themselves with one side or the other in the 'cold war' by the aggressive Nato bloc, led by the United States, against the socialist countries. Since then, the Movement has been led by such outstanding democrats as, among others, Fidel Castro, President of Cuba.

The socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, all sent messages of congratulations and support to the summit in Harare. But the United States issued a statement publicly insulting the assembled leaders, who represent hundreds of millions of people the world over. The main outpost of world imperialism then added injury to insult. The United States cancelled \$7-million in economic aid to Zimbabwe, which was elected at the summit as chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement for the next three years.

Why? Because Zimbabwe has publicly criticised the United States' aggressive policies in different parts of the world, and because Zimbabwe has given considerable support to national liberation struggles, including our own.

This move by the United States proved just how true the main Harare summit conference documents were. Both the political and economic declarations of the summit accused the capitalist countries of using economic aid as a way to force weaker countries to change their policies.

The Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, was not intimidated. He drew

widespread praise for his chairmanship of the summit. He argued successfully for the establishment by the Movement of a fund for the struggle in southern Africa. The fund will be used to help our national liberation movement and Swapo of Namibia take the struggle forward. It will also help soften the blow to the countries on our borders when the racist government in Pretoria destabilises their economies.

Delegates said that in Prime Minister Mugabe they had a chairman who was a man of action, not just words.

Although many other serious problems and conflicts were discussed at the meeting, the summit became a massive show of solidarity with our own national liberation struggle and that of our brothers and sisters in Namibia under Swapo's leadership.

The capitalist countries looked around for a way to discredit the summit meeting. They thought they had found it in the Western bourgeois press. Some journalists asked Mugabe at the end of the conference why the United States had been singled out for criticism? Why had the Soviet Union not been similarly criticised?

Robert Mugabe responded that it was the United States which was supporting reactionaries trying to overthrow the people's government in Nicaragua; it was the United States which had invaded Grenada; the United States was supporting and arming Unita bandits in Angola, and it was the United States which was protecting the racists in Pretoria from concerted international action to end apartheid and our oppression. It was not the Soviet Union or the socialist world doing these things, Prime Minister Mugabe added.



Prime Minister Mugabe welcomed the setting up of the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund, which aims to provide support for the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia and help the Front Line States resist Pretoria's aggression.

THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

IMF

MONEY WITH STRINGS

The IMF is an international body that controls the purse-strings of many countries in Africa (as well as Asia and Latin America). Through this control it imposes policies on them which worsen the suffering of masses in the towns and country.

IMF stands for International Monetary Fund. It was set up in 1944 mainly by the USA and Britain and with a large number of other countries joining it as members. When the majority of Asian, African and other countries won liberation from colonial rule between the 1940s and the 1970s, they joined the IMF as independent members.

Together with the Latin Americans these nations have a large majority in the IMF. But the IMF is dominated and controlled by the imperialist powers. In particular, the USA controls it and the IMF has, from the start, reflected US foreign policy interests. The Soviet Union is not a member and until recently almost no socialist country has been.

How does the IMF act as a tool of imperialism? How do its policies hurt the working class? And how can the working class and its allies struggle against it?

The main function of the IMF since the 1960s has been to lend dollars and other currencies to poorer countries when their shortage of foreign currency becomes acute. In the 1970s some countries, like Brazil, were able to borrow from private banks instead of the IMF, but now the banks will not lend without IMF protection.

When the IMF lends money it insists that the country's government takes actions which it lays down. These add up to a package which is imposed on each country with little variations. Time and again it forces cuts in government spending which then undermines medical and educational services and it abolishes food subsidies so that the working class pays more. It also reduces the exchange rate which raises the price of all goods, clothing and basic necessities from abroad.

The IMF's conditions, then, cut the living standards of the working class and other exploited people. They have often also required the government to impose controls over wages to ensure this.

By cutting workers' living standards, the IMF policies strengthen capitalists' profits. Their strongest attraction for capitalists is that the IMF requires governments to make conditions easier for private capital especially multinational corporations. Restrictions on their international trade have to be abolished together with restrictions on their scope



for investment.

The overall purpose of the IMF's policies is to make the world safe and profitable for multinational capital, especially American capital. It does this generally by forcing states in Africa, Asia and Latin America to open up their economies and hold down working class conditions. In some cases it actively destabilises and undermines governments which are socialist or anti-imperialist, such as in Jamaica before 1980.

While the IMF has destabilised anti-imperialist governments it has given credit to the South African regime. In 1982 it loaned the Boers about one billion dollars to help them get through their immediate economic difficulties.

The reaction to the IMF is an example of the general rule that imperialism provokes anti-imperialist struggles. In many countries the masses have taken to the streets in demonstrations and riots against IMF policies. These 'IMF riots' were common in Latin America and Asia in previous decades and are now increasingly common in Africa as IMF credit becomes more and more important to Africa.

Some socialist governments, such as Tanzania's under Nyerere, at first broke off contact with the IMF and refused to accept credit when it became clear that the IMF aimed to dismantle its socialist welfare programme.

Progressive governments and workers' organisations are increasingly joining together to co-ordinate the struggle against this imperialist agency. In 1980 politicians such as Nyerere and Manley of Jamaica met at Arusha in Tanzania to demand an end to the IMF's reactionary role. In 1985, the World Federation of Trade Unions organised a conference in Moscow to enable trade unionists from many countries to share their knowledge of IMF policies and discuss strategies against them. Similarly, the world anti-imperialist movement agitated against the IMF loan to South Africa.

The IMF's pressure is applied against one country after another when each is at its most vulnerable. It operates a divide and rule strategy. The greatest weapon against it is international solidarity between workers' organisations and progressive states.