

UMSEBENZU

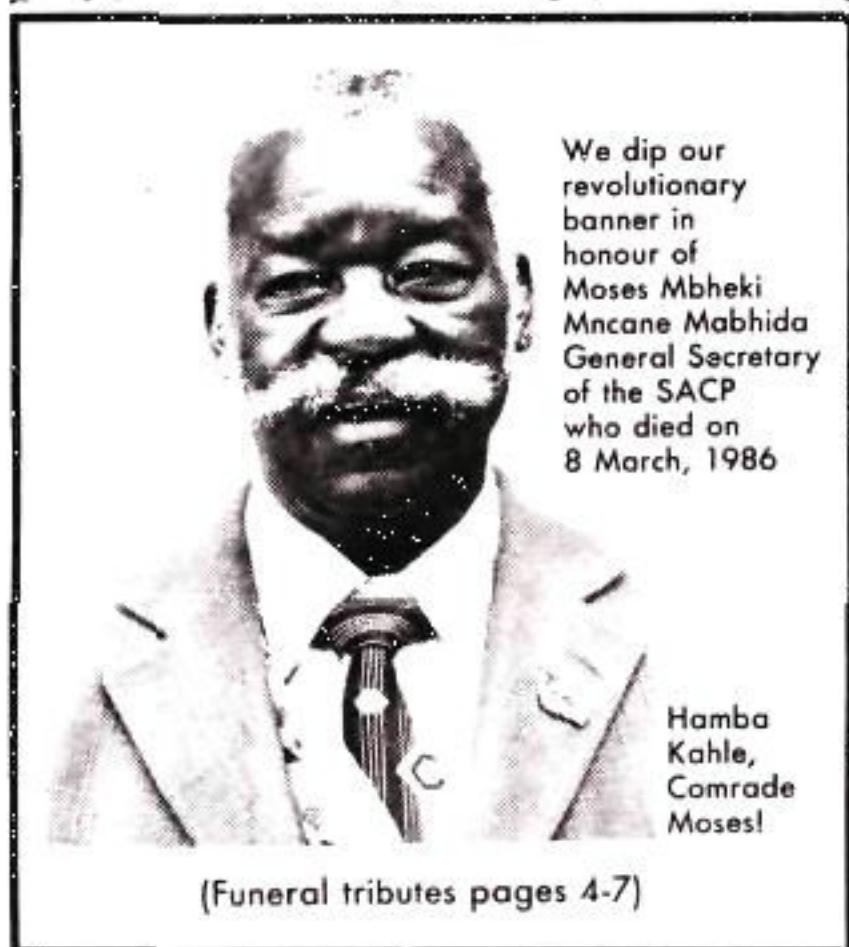
VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

WHERE WE STAND!

Botha and his gang are haunted by the spectre of communism and our South African Communist Party. Lately, their nightmares must have become even more frightening as they witness growing numbers of workers and youth everywhere defiantly raising the Red Flag of our Party beside the black, green and gold of the ANC.

Why is this happening? It is because the very policies of our Party that give our ruling class sleepless nights, are warmly applauded by the mass of our working people. This message was delivered loud and clear by the 20 000 people who risked life and limb when they gathered in Port Elizabeth to honour the memory of Moses Mabhida.

The racists' propaganda machine pours out an endless stream of lies about communists and what we stand for. They try to discredit the liberation alliance by stories of 'communist manipulation' and they seek to weaken its very foundation by attempts to drive a wedge between the ANC and the SACP. It is clear why they do this. It is equally clear why the basic policies of our Party are finding deeper and deeper roots among the working people.



We South African communists have never hidden our aims.

We are inspiring more and more people with the vision of a South Africa which has freed itself of national domination and its foundation, capitalist class exploitation.

We remain committed to the immediate struggle for the achievement of the aims of the national democratic revolution which are popularly defined in the Freedom Charter. We believe that the achievement of these aims is not only in the best interests of all classes and groups among the oppressed but will also create conditions for a democratic transformation towards a socialist South Africa. That is why we work

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to assure a dominant role for the working people in the class alliances which are demanded by the struggle for a democratic republic.

We reject the idea that there can be democracy and liberation without a radical redistribution of the nation's wealth. Any 'solution' which departs from this gives permanent legitimacy to continued minority control.

We stand four-square in support of a united South Africa which is run — economically, politically and socially — by the will of the majority exercised on the basis of one person, one vote. All schemes based on ethnic parity or 'minority protection' are schemes to perpetuate minority domination or to break up the cohesion of a South African nation.

We have never turned our backs on the possibility of principled negotiation and compromise with other forces in the course of a struggle. This could arise at a time of a major revolutionary climax involving the

transfer of power based on the strength of the people's offensive. But clearly the main thrust of our present strategy remains a revolutionary seizure of power and not negotiation. Our ruling class has no intention whatsoever of dismantling its state apparatus and its instruments of force whose existence will only make a sham of the exercise of democracy.

We are encouraged by the growing number of defections from the white apartheid laager as shown by the readiness of some groupings to defy government pressure and to exchange views with the ANC. But the real test is whether these groupings are ready to accept genuine majority rule. There must be vigilance against qualifications intended to prevent a radical transformation.

We stand in full support of the ANC as head of our liberation alliance and believe that it is only under its umbrella that all the forces which stand for real change can move forward.

This is what we communists stand for. This is why the enemy targets us for special attack. And this explains the growing popularity of our leaders and our policies, and why our Party's symbols are being spread more widely.

INTENSIFY THE OFFENSIVE IN THIS YEAR OF DECISION — THE YEAR OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE!



ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF MAY DAY

We Want to Feel the Sunshine!

It all began in the United States, citadel of so-called 'free' capitalism, where conditions for the workers have always been bad. In 1884 the congress of the trade union movement in the United States decided to fix May 1st, 1886, as the date on which the campaign for an 8-hour day would be launched. The campaign caught the imagination of the workers, and as May 1st, 1886 approached the congress newspaper declared: 'There is 8-hour agitation everywhere'. The workers smoked 'Eight-hour tobacco', wore 'Eight-hour shoes' and sang the Eight-hour Song:

*We mean to make things over;
we're tired of toil for nought
But bare enough to live on;
never an hour for thought
We want to feel the sunshine;
we want to smell the flowers
We're sure that God has willed it;
and we mean to have eight hours.
We're summoning our forces
from shipyard, shop and mill;
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest,
eight hours for what we will.*

On May 1st 1886 workers in every industry downed tools. True to tradition, the bosses resorted to violence to crush the campaign. A bomb was thrown into a Chicago trade union demonstration and the workers were blamed for the loss of life. Eight workers' leaders were convicted on framed up charges and four were hanged.

Nevertheless, the campaign was a success. More than half the workers who went on strike won their demand for an eight-hour day that very May Day or shortly afterwards, while the remainder had the length of their working day cut by 25% or more.

Three years later, in 1889, the International Working Men's Congress (the First International) decided to set aside May 1st as the day of working class unity. It has been celebrated as the workers' day ever since.

The first May Day was celebrated in South Africa, organised by the Johannesburg District Trades Council, in 1895. Cape Town held its first May Day celebration in 1896. In 1910 the Cape Town May Day procession was jointly headed by Tom Mann, the great British dockers' leader then visiting South Africa, and Bill Andrews, South African workers'

leader who was later one of the founders of the Communist Party of South Africa.

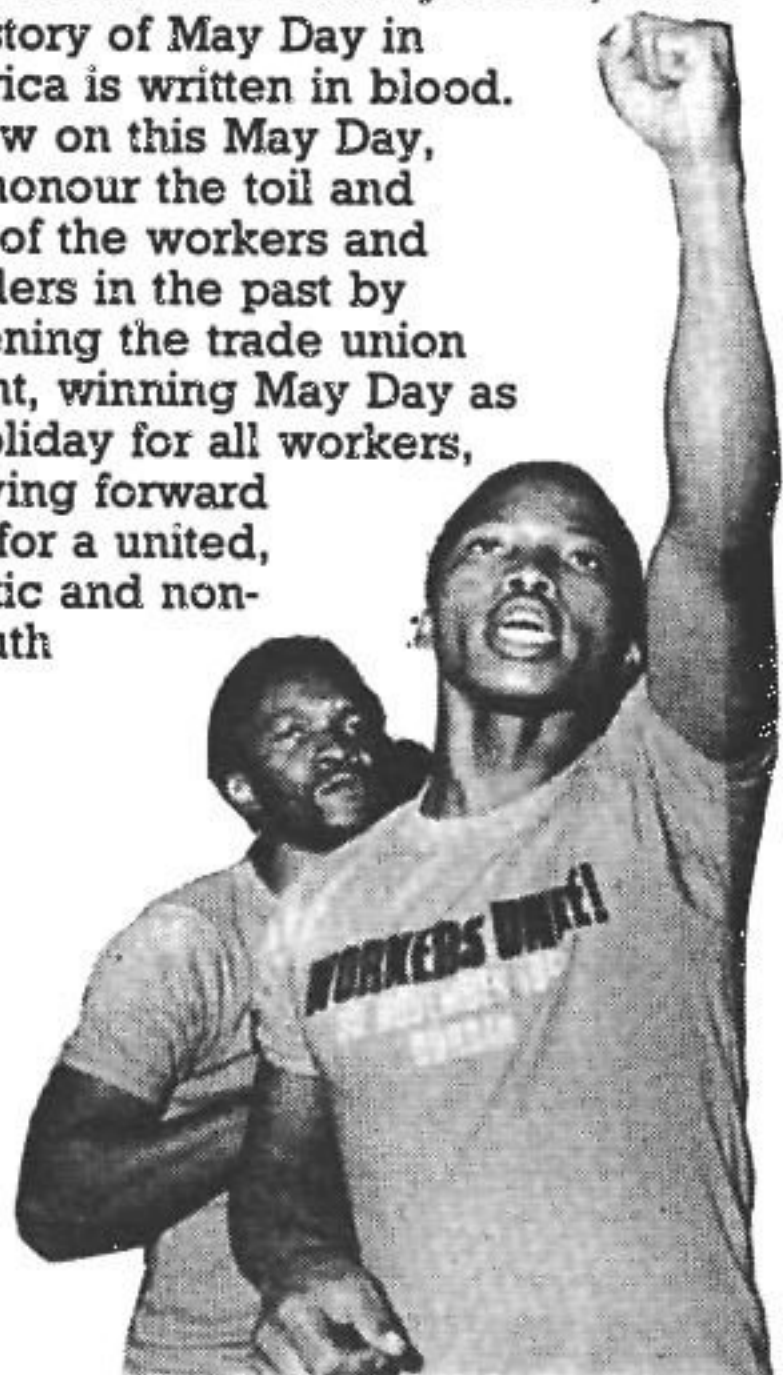
It was the Communist Party which organised the first non-colour-bar May Day celebrations in the 1920s which brought workers of all races together in their thousands.

In 1930, at the height of the great depression, black and white unemployed workers marched through the streets of Johannesburg on May Day shouting the slogan 'We want bread'. They clashed with the police outside the Carlton Hotel and the Rand Club and the leader of the demonstration, communist Issy Diamond, was sent to jail.

In 1950 May Day demonstrations were called in Johannesburg by the Transvaal ANC, the Indian Congress, the African People's Organisation and the Communist Party. Industry was brought to a halt with about 80% of the black workers supporting the strike call. But the police resorted to brutal reprisals, shooting dead 18 people in the townships.

It was in protest against this massacre, and the Suppression of Communism Bill being debated in Parliament, that our first Freedom Day stay-at-home was staged throughout South Africa on June 26, 1950.

The history of May Day in South Africa is written in blood. Let us vow on this May Day, 1986, to honour the toil and sacrifice of the workers and their leaders in the past by strengthening the trade union movement, winning May Day as a paid holiday for all workers, and carrying forward the fight for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.



RAISE THE RED FLAG ON MAY DAY!

HAMBA KAHLE, COMRADE MOSES MABHIDA

Comrade Mabhida passed away in Maputo on March 8th, 1986. The Frelimo Party gave him a state funeral with full military honours in Maputo's Lhanguene Cemetery. Gathered at the funeral were representatives of every section of the liberation alliance from inside and outside the country. The moment of mourning was also a moment of renewed dedication to the struggle for which Comrade Mabhida lived and died.

Extract from the Funeral Oration delivered by the Chairman of the SACP, Comrade Joe Slovo

The racists hate South African communists with a special venom. To discredit what we stand for they spread the myth that communists are a strange people from far away places who import foreign ideas from Europe which are dangerous for Africa.

The answer to all these outpourings lies before us in this coffin.

Comrade Baba Mabhida, the leader of South Africa's communists, personified the real essence of our land and its people. His search for a way to win back for the people the land and its riches began in early youth. At the age of 19 he decided upon the answer; for him it was the theoretical tools of Marxism-Leninism and the South African Communist Party which wielded it along the road of struggle towards national and social emancipation. He saw in our militant working class the key force in the alliance of classes facing the enemy. Comrade Mabidha's name has now been indelibly added to the list of revolu-

tionary giants like Albert Nzula, Johannes Nkosi, Moses Kotane, JB Marks, Yusuf Dadoo, Bram Fischer and many others who took the same path.

It is no accident that all these working class and communist leaders also became outstanding figures in a national movement. They stood for a simple truth which could be easily grasped by every worker and peasant and, indeed, by every national patriot. For them liberation was much more than the raising of a new flag, the singing of a new anthem and the allocation of fat political jobs to a small group of exploiters with black faces. They believed that there could be no real liberation without a return of our country's wealth to the people and without attacking racism at its roots — economic exploitation of the colonised working majority. It is this working majority which is the class core of the liberation forces. And they understood the indispensable role of the African National Congress as the mass revolutionary national movement which stands unchallenged at the head of our whole liberation front.

Like those who came before him, Comrade Mabhida could see no conflict between his



LAST FAREWELL. From right to left: Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO; Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC; Joe Slovo, Chairman of the SACP, Stephen Dlamini, President of SACTU; Archie Gumede, President of the UDF; Curnick Ndlovu, Chairman of the UDF and at the microphone veteran Dan Tloome

leadership of the Communist Party and his role as a top leader of the African National Congress. Those who worked with him from Luthuli to Tambo recognised in him the qualities of a most devoted and disciplined national figure who fought unswervingly to build the African National Congress, to protect its integrity and its independence and to ensure complete loyalty by its members, at whatever level, to its internal democratic processes. And it is this pattern, born and developed in our own South African conditions, which laid the indestructible foundation of the alliance between the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party. This alliance, which has been further cemented by the life-work of our departed leader, expresses the indivisible link in our conditions between the class and the national struggle.

More than anything else, the enemy would like to drive a wedge between the ANC and the SACP. The answer to the enemy's manoeuvres is being given by the masses in Cradock, in Mamelodi, in Guguletu, in Soweto, in Alexandra township and in other centres of conflict where, side by side with the ANC flag, the workers and youth are defiantly also raising the red flag of our Party. And the news of this filled Comrade Mabhida's eyes with tears of joy in the last days of his life.

He was respected even by political opponents because of the way he could honestly blend seemingly contradictory aspects of historic realities and the people's heritage without compromising his basic beliefs. We all know how passionately Comrade Mabhida loved the Zulu language, its folklore and the fighting traditions of the Zulu people. Yet he never allowed this passion to make him forget that he was part of the African nation whose

tribal divisions had facilitated the conquest and the three-and-a-half centuries of domination.

Nor did he allow his pride of being African to undermine his dedication to the task of creating a united South African people and, more especially, a united force of all workers whose organised strength would ensure that the fruit of the people's sacrifices will not be appropriated by yet another group of exploiters who might present themselves with faces of another colour.

And his love of our country and its people never stood in the way of his committed internationalism. He had a special place in his heart for the first workers' state and the Party which Lenin founded. Unending Soviet support of and solidarity with our struggling people had taught him the true meaning of proletarian internationalism, and he always equated anti-Sovietism with anti-people.

Although the political struggle was his whole life, those of us who had the privilege of working with him will also remember a human being with infinite charm, warmth and compassion. It was for the enemy that he reserved his unbending hatred and a mood of hard and cold determination.

Comrades, let the inspiration of Comrade Mabhida's life become a signal for driving the offensive home on all fronts against an enemy which is already swaying! Let us dedicate ourselves with even greater vigour to the building of the Party and the liberation front headed by the African National Congress so as to ensure the achievement of the true kind of liberation for which our departed comrade struggled all his life!

Let us carry him home soon to a free South Africa!
Hamba Kahle Comrade Mkhizel

Extracts from the Funeral Oration delivered by the President of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo

We who have walked with giants know that Moses Mbheki Mabhida belonged in that company too. We who have filed among the ranks know that he was proud to count himself as a foot soldier. A colossus because he was supremely human, Moses Mabhida has departed from our midst.

In the ANC, Moses Mabhida became a national leader who served on the National Executive Committee of the ANC, as a commander and commissar of the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, secretary to the Revolutionary Council, one of the chairpersons of the Political Military Council, as an international representative and as an underground



Comrade Mabhida with Henry Winston, Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States

Left to right
Alfred Nzo,
Moses Mabhida
and Yusuf Dadoo
at the 26th
Congress of the
CPSU, 1981



organiser. He became the General Secretary of the SACP. He also served as Vice President of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. This combination of functions sometimes surprised and puzzled our friends. For they wondered why Comrade Mabhida had to serve in so many senior positions in different organisations. But above all it was a combination of functions which enraged our enemies. This combination of functions in one leader of our people upset our adversaries because it reflected the permanence and acceptability among our people of the idea and the practice of the unity of the revolutionary democratic, the socialist and the trade union movements in the South African struggle for national liberation.

It was part of Comrade Mabhida's greatness that having quite early on understood the importance of the unity of these great movements, he succeeded in ably serving each one of them individually, and all of them together. He served them together as a collective front for national and social emancipation. Throughout Moses Mabhida's lifetime international reaction tried desperately hard and consistently to separate the three movements we have spoken of. It tried to separate the one from the other and to set them against one another. In this contemporary period we have seen determined efforts to separate the trade unions from the broad democratic movement and to persuade them to be nothing more than an agency to bring material benefits to a working class which remains enslaved. But Moses Mabhida knew that the very dignity of labour demands that those who toil should not only enjoy the fruit of their sweat, but should do so as free men and women. Accordingly, he fought against all attempts to turn the trade unions into appendages of the property owning classes and he resisted all efforts to emasculate the working class as a leading social force for political change in our country. Likewise, he was fiercely opposed to all manoeuvres which sought to educate the working class to repudiate its own history and to allow itself to be turned into a base for the creation of a new political formation separate

from and opposed to the ANC and the Communist Party.

Moses Mabhida knew that the durability of the alliance between the ANC, the Communist Party and the trade union movement lay in strengthening each as an independent formation and in securing their co-operation on an entirely voluntary basis. He therefore always worked to ensure that these formations respected one another and that they developed among them a deep seated feeling of revolutionary unity and interdependence.

Moses Mabhida saw in the ANC the unique and authentic vanguard to mobilise and lead our people to victory. None among us was more conscious than he that the African National Congress could only carry out its historic mission if it maintains the character it has come to assume. That character was that of a parliament of all the people of our country, representative of our future, the negation of the divisions and conflicts that racial arrogance and capitalist greed have imposed on our people. That is why Comrade Mabhida fought hard and long to ensure that nothing should turn the ANC into a rabble of black chauvinists or a clique of leftist demagogues. He battled against all conspiracies designed to weaken the ANC as a fighting organisation of the people, as a true national movement loyal to the great principles which inspired its creation and have guided it to this day.

The deep well from which he drew strength and courage enabled him to teach a whole generation not to fear the tyrants, however powerful they might seem.

Wherever Moses Mabhida is laid to rest, his grave shall be a place of pilgrimage to all those who love freedom as he did, a beacon to the future for all those who value liberty more than their own lives. Moses Mabhida will be there when the trumpets sound the salute to freedom.

Today Mabhida walks in the company of Magigwane and Ngungunyane. With these as our standard bearers, we can never be defeated. We cannot but be victorious.



Extract from the Funeral Oration delivered by Comrade John Nkadi-meng, General Secretary of SACTU

Comrade Moses Mabhida was a worker just like millions of our workers. He was a worker oppressed by racism, forced to carry a pass, cruelly exploited and unable to provide the necessities of life for his loved ones, because he was so poorly paid, because he was black in apartheid South Africa. He asked the question: 'Workers have built the wealth. They have made South Africa glitter with gold, but they have not a rag to cover their bodies. How does that happen?'

He began to understand why this was so and was determined to do something about it. These twin forces, the quest for knowledge and the need for action, raised him above ordinary men. Moses Mabhida recognised in particular the need to organise workers into trade unions as well as the essential unity of all workers irrespective of race, colour or creed.

Comrade Mabhida was instrumental in the initiation of Africa's trade union unity. In May 1961, he was present at the inauguration of the All African Trade Union Federation and again instrumental in the formation of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity. He was known by trade unionists from Scotland to New Zealand, from the USSR to America, as the fighter for peace, for trade union unity, for socialism.

Workers of our country will carry on his work. Already the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions has shown that the seeds he sowed throughout our land have germinated and grown strong.

Bearing the banners of the ANC, the SACP and Sactu which Comrade Mabhida carried aloft, they too will march along the same road to freedom for our people.



Comrade Mabhida's widow, Lena

Extract from the Funeral Oration delivered by President Samora Machel of Mozambique

Moses Mbheki Mncane Mabhida remains with us as a symbol of the highest values of the struggle of the African peoples, of workers of the world, and of the world revolution.

The whole of Africa, of progressive mankind and all revolutionaries bow in homage to the personality and exemplary life of Moses Mabhida. Moses Mabhida has bequeathed us his example as a determined fighter for the ideals of freedom, justice, equality, democracy, socialism and peace.

We know him thus since the start of our national liberation struggle. Moses Mabhida was an elder brother to us. Patiently and modestly he passed on to us his long experience of struggle. His advice was always valuable. In all his dealings with us he displayed his simple, modest and fraternal nature and showed his love of mankind.

Moses Mabhida, our brother, our comrade, felt as his own our freedom, our independence. He was an integral part of the Mozambican people. Moses Mabhida will remain as a symbol of the indestructible fraternity of the South African and Mozambican peoples, of the profound identity of our peoples' struggles.

He was denied his soil in life and it is denied to him after death. But he will not be buried in a foreign land. Mozambique is his country too. The Mozambican soil which he also loved, and of which the struggle made him a brother, will enfold him with love and respect. We shall be the guardians of his body, which is a banner of victories. Men who die fighting, who refuse to surrender, who serve the people and their ideals to the last breath, are the victors. Moses Mabhida is a victorious combatant. His immense personality rests in the heart of all Africans, in the heart of all revolutionaries and lovers of peace.

STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE!

Pen Pictures of South African Communists

The lives and deaths of Ruth First and Joe Gqabi were interlinked in many ways. Courageous investigative journalists, they worked on movement newspapers, exposing the atrocities of apartheid South Africa, particularly the brutal conditions endured by prison and farm labourers. Committed revolutionaries, they were militants of both the ANC and the SACP. Their outstanding contribution to our fight for freedom made them arch enemies of the South African regime. Both were assassinated by Pretoria's death squads.



Joe Nzingo Gqabi

Joe Gqabi, photographer and outstanding investigative journalist, veteran of many ANC campaigns of the Fifties, was among the first to answer the call of Umkhonto we Sizwe. In 1961 he left the country for military training. After returning to South Africa, he was captured and sentenced to two years imprisonment for leaving the country illegally. Upon completion of this sentence, he was charged under the Sabotage Act and served ten years on Robben Island. Released in 1975, he immediately set about working to strengthen the ANC underground apparatus, paying particular attention to mobilising the youth and students. After the Soweto Uprisings of 1976 Joe was Number One accused in the lengthy 'Pretoria 12' treason trial. After his acquittal, he escaped and joined the external mission of the ANC, becoming a member of the National Executive Committee. Joe was appointed as the ANC's first representative to Zimbabwe after independence. It was in Harare, on the night of July 31st, 1981, that he was assassinated by Pretoria's death squads.

Born in Aliwal North in 1929, a leader, a man of the people, Joe Gqabi's life of struggle and dedication is an inspiration to us all. We are proud of this gallant son of our soil, who symbolises our people's indomitable spirit of resistance.

Ruth First

Ruth First, born in Johannesburg in 1925, was a lifelong Communist and a formidable foe of the apartheid regime. Her parents were founder members of the Communist Party. Ruth joined the Young Communist League in her teens and soon proved to be a dynamic speaker and organiser. She carried on the underground work of the Party after its banning in 1950, became a prominent figure in the ANC-led liberation alliance, and made an outstanding contribution as a journalist, writer and theorist. She served on all the movement's newspapers from *The Guardian* to *New Age*, was instrumental in exposing the farm labour scandal, and edited *Fighting Talk*.

Together with her husband, Joe Slovo, she was a Treason Trialist (1956-60) and after a period of solitary confinement was forced into exile in 1964. She wrote and edited several books, including *117 Days*, an account of her detention. She became an international authority on South Africa, a leading campaigner for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the ANC. In 1979 she was appointed Director of Research in the Centre for African Studies in Maputo.

Loved and respected by our people, she was feared by the Pretoria regime who assassinated her in Maputo on 17 August 1982. Heroine of our Party and liberation movement, her life serves as an inspiration for all.



DESTROY BOTHA'S TERRORISTS!

FROM OUR READERS

Dear Editor,

From the first issue of your publication, I fought not to miss a single issue: I was, I am, enthusiastic! This is the paper which will give impetus to our struggle. Theory, analysis, information, all this, and much more, can be found in the *African Communist*. But a brief, simple, functional, powerful and action-oriented magazine, that is what you succeed to produce! I like its style, simple and direct; the size of each article: just one page that can be read easily during a short rest in our agitated life. I like the topics grouped into series, varied and all essential for us: 'trade unionism', 'Marxism and violence', etc. A lot of discussions are raised, a lot of ideas are clarified and deepened. Many of us, still learning in hard conditions and with little means, appreciate greatly the series on 'How to master secret work' and often we wish you would expand on it.

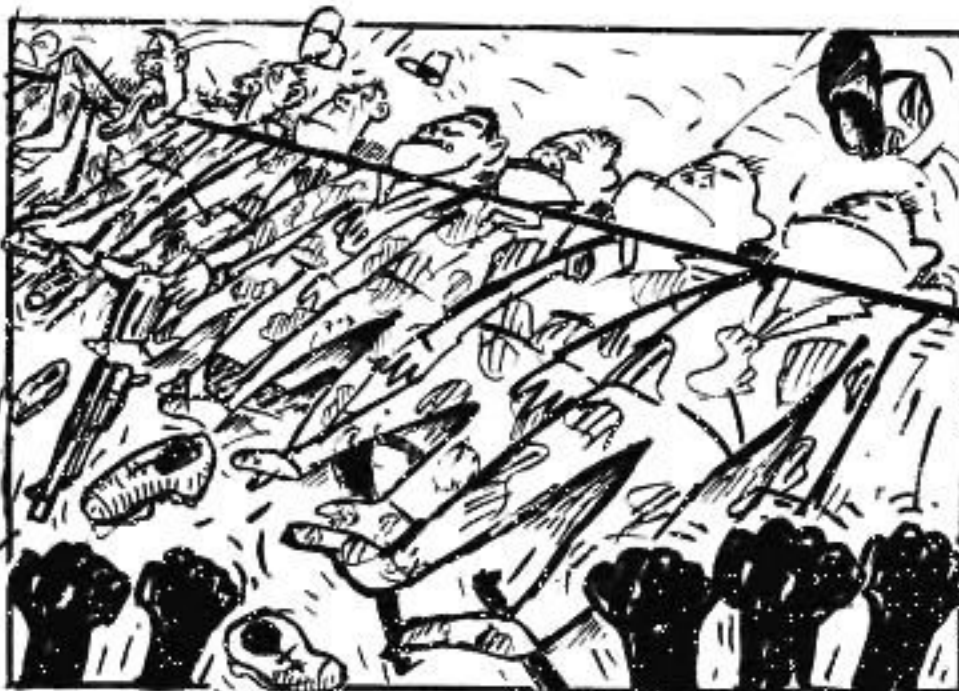
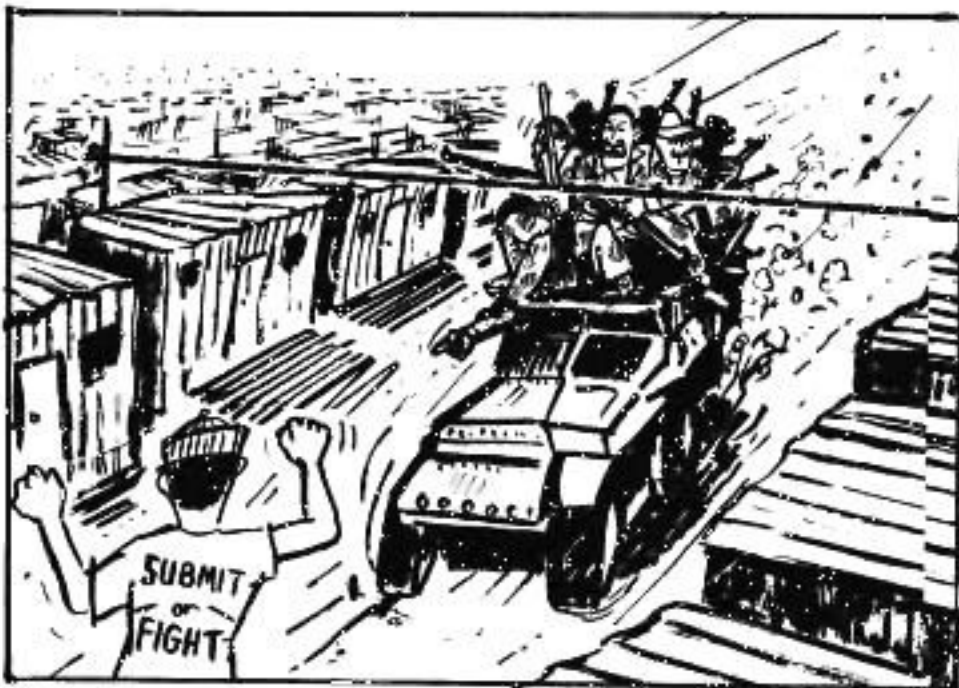
Umsebenzi should remain action-oriented, should guide us practically to develop our struggle. Each article should have a component of agitation and practice, so we feel. I would have liked the article 'The SADF — What can be expected?' (No 3, 1985) to present also some suggestions on how to infiltrate this institution. Your articles on People's Power are powerful!

Please, continue to inform us on the struggle of our comrades in other parts of the world: we learn so much from the failures and successes of revolutionaries of Nicaragua, Chile, Cuba, Philippines, Vietnam, etc. We need *Umsebenzi* and the guidance of the Communist Party. I hope to receive regularly a copy of *Umsebenzi* for me and my comrades. Victory is ours!

Dear Comrades,

The affiliation of the trade unions to Cosatu relies on the will of its members. Whatever move can be done by Cosatu to ANC will push the interest of the workers. The most exploited in the working fields of South Africa, the unions belong to their members. The top bosses of the unions shouldn't take decisions for the powered workers. Top members mustn't decide for us, mustn't decide when we are going to be tear-smoked and shot. We are not going to be delayed on our move by the term **political leanings** when we are dying day by day, sacked day and night, weekends and holidays.

Our enemy is one and there is no ways of being scared to be moved to the ANC. The ANC supports all the people including the union organisations, why can't we support it on the basis of the Freedom Charter. If one is scared of joining, that is he/she gives grounds to the laws and regulations that have been imposed without his/her consultation. We are tired of the organisations which exist on the side of the ruling class, that help to strangle the workers power against the management, that eliminate workers participation from their township problems. Workers must choose their path to freedom. I am one of the members of the trade unions in South Africa.



SPREAD UMSEBENZI!



THE WORKERS AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The article in *Umsebenzi* No 1, 1986, on 'Stages of our Revolution' shed more light on an issue that has generated heated debate among democratic forces within the country. In that article, the author makes the important point that the working class should play its leading role **now** and show in action that it can be the saviour of all the oppressed people.

How should this manifest itself in daily practice?

We say that black workers are the vanguard of the national democratic revolution because they are based in the field of production which is the foundation of the whole system. As a class both oppressed and exploited they are best able to express, and better poised to fight for, the true national interest. However, working class leadership does not come of its own; it must be won in the theatre of struggle against the oppressors and exploiters. The working class must act in such a way that the rest of the democratic forces come to accept it as their leader.

By taking strike action on the factory floor around their economic demands, workers advance their most immediate interests. They also show by means of practical example that only through struggle can we win our demands. They contribute their share in making the entire system unworkable. By organising and uniting in powerful trade unions they strengthen themselves as a class at the same time as they consolidate the democratic movement as a whole.

Workers themselves should be taught to view these economic struggles as battles within the bigger war for national and social emancipation. And they should advance broader political demands at their places of work in concert with the people as a whole. The general strike is one of the most important weapons in the hands of the people.

Current struggles abound with experiences of community solidarity with workers on strike. Such unity in action also shows that the mass of the people recognise the importance of struggles at the point of production in the general democratic struggle. This confidence is strengthened by workers' participation in community struggles, for example, against high rents, fares and prices.

But the workers would be far from playing their leading role if they did not act visibly as a defender of the interests of other groups and strata, as consistent fighters for democracy in general. They should actively take part in the struggle for democratic education and for the return of the land to the people; they should challenge exploitation in all its manifestations and at the same time support progressive demands of the oppressed businessmen, etc.

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Workers should be mobilised into the armed contingents — combat groups and professional guerrilla units — and participate actively in the formation of popular organisations and the rudimentary organs of people's power. As the struggle intensifies and the people impose popular legality everywhere — in the schools, seizing the land, etc — workers will also be faced with the task of forcibly returning the wealth of the country to its rightful owners. In brief, through action, the working class wins the confidence of the rest of the motive forces of the revolution as their practical leader. They participate in all these organisations and actions as individuals and as organised contingents, the highest representative of which is their vanguard movement, the SACP.

The working class champions also the interests of other groups and strata because their aspirations are its own short-term interests. On its own the working class cannot achieve national emancipation. It has to seek and win the alliance of all the forces which objectively stand to gain from the National Democratic Revolution, on the basis of our common denominator, the Freedom Charter. Working class participation and leadership **now** will guarantee that the Charter is implemented thoroughly, and that it serves as a basis for an uninterrupted advance to full social emancipation.

In this process they have to wage a relentless battle of ideas against those forces which seek to divert the struggle into the marshes of reformism and compromise, as well as those who want to launch them on an adventurous course and isolate them from the rest of the struggling people. Their tested vanguard, the SACP, plays the role of educator, organiser and mobiliser.



WORKERIST CONFUSION

The September 1985 issue of the South African Labour Bulletin published an article by Alec Erwin as part of the debate on the question of the stages of our revolution. There are quite a number of inaccurate formulations which need to be answered.

Erwin suggests that our movement is engaged in what he calls 'liberation politics' which 'is concerned to destroy the legitimacy

THE WORKING

ION REVOLUTION

of the ruling regime and its state apparatuses so that it cannot successfully govern and must abdicate'.

In the first place our objective is not to work for the regime's abdication but to bring about its revolutionary overthrow. But, it is necessary (from the point of view of the present discussion) to take issue with Erwin's description of what he calls the 'usual two-stage argument'. This he describes as follows: 'The first stage will deal with the oppressive and anti-democratic regime and the second stage can address itself to issues of economic equality, production and consumption'.

Whose 'usual two-stage argument' is Erwin referring to? As was made clear in Umsebenzi's last article, this is a vulgar way of describing the SACP approach to stages of revolution. We have never regarded the democratic and socialist stages of our revolution as completely separate from one another. Virtually every line in Umsebenzi places before our working class the perspective of a liberation **at this stage** involving a redistribution of wealth, of land and of the other means of production; a liberation which will be won by an alliance of classes in which the working class must emerge as the dominant force.

Erwin correctly draws attention to the need for maximum unity of purpose of all the classes among the oppressed people in the immediate struggle for liberation. But he expresses the fear that the need for such unity may divert revolutionaries from asserting the independent role of the working class, protecting its place in the alliance and inhibit necessary discussion on the transformation towards socialism after a people's victory. Of course such dangers could arise and we must be vigilant. But what is the mechanism for most effectively avoiding such dangers? Erwin's answer seems to be 'militant unionism' and 'shop floor based trade unions'.

Of course, shop floor organisation and militant trade unions are important ingredients in assuring workers short and long term interests. There is, however, no example in history of a trade union movement on its own leading the workers towards social emancipation. The real answer to Erwin's fears is the existence of a vanguard political party of the working class. The SACP is such a vanguard whose flag is being increasingly raised by the working people throughout the country. It is puzzling indeed that Erwin did not find space in his long article to even mention the ex-

istence of the SACP in connection with his discussion of what he calls 'transformation politics'. It is about time he woke up to reality, which is that the working class need both mass organisations and a revolutionary political vanguard.



RACE AND CLASS

I found your article on Two Stages very timely because some people are puzzled by the relationship between the national democratic struggle and the struggle to achieve socialism. We sometimes come across the questions: if we are socialists, why do we not simply set about achieving a socialist system? Are we not allowing ourselves to be diverted by talk of national struggle? Does such a strategy not reduce the working class content of our struggle? Does the notion of class alliances that it implies not make it easier for our struggle to take a non-socialist road, as has happened in most of Africa?

It took many decades for the Communist Party to arrive at its present strategy which, I believe, correctly balances the relationship between the national struggle and the struggle for social emancipation.

There are some people who dogmatically continue to assert the need for pure class struggle or some other variant of that. Such 'purity' can only be maintained in classrooms. Actual struggles teach us that the forces of the enemy, on the one hand, and the people, on the other, never line up in such pure forms. This is true of the Russian Revolution, the revolutions in Vietnam and in China.

We must remember that national oppression is a systematic phenomenon; it goes to the root of the special content of the South African capitalist system. It is not merely racism. It affects every aspect of peoples lives and conditions the way in which workers enter the labour market, the conditions of their struggle, etc. This is vital to stress because there is a tendency among 'left' intellectuals to deny the **systematic** character of national oppression and, by implication, to deny its class significance.

It is vital in the case of our country to understand the relationship between national oppression and class exploitation, between race and class. In the same way, when we stress the national democratic character of our revolution, we are not downgrading our socialist goals. We do not choose to struggle for national liberation instead of socialism. What we need to understand is how to struggle for the national democratic revolution as part of the process of achieving socialism. Your article in the last issue of Umsebenzi is stimulating because it throws some light on the answer to this vital question.

JUNE 16th

A New Chapter of Resistance

June 16th 1986 marks the 10th anniversary of the infamous 'Soweto Massacre'. To honour those butchered in Soweto, Guguletu, Mannenburg and other townships and to pay tribute to the thousands of our youth that continue to fight and, if necessary, die on the battle fields, the ANC has declared June 16 National Youth Day.

The '76 generation wrote a new chapter in our glorious history of resistance. In the early Seventies the regime was confidently proclaiming that they had destroyed the ANC and the SACP. Vorster's detente policy appeared to be succeeding, and with the help of his imperialist allies a concerted campaign was launched to gain acceptance for apartheid and to bring the regime 'in form the cold'. June 16 1976 shattered this myth. By their actions, our fighting youth and students helped to ensure that, within a short space of ten years, the strategic initiative shifted into the hands of the oppressed. Today the ANC, at the head of the liberation alliance, stands undisputed as the leader of our people.

June 16 was not a flash in the pan. It reflected the growing socio-economic and political crisis of the regime. The students' demonstrations were only one manifestation of the liberation movement's ability to recover from the setbacks of the Sixties. Already in early 1970 the black working class, increasingly impoverished because of the crisis of capitalism generally and apartheid specifically, began to stir. By 1973 they were once again confronting the bosses and the regime. The emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement, despite some of its negative features, mobilised many people. The never-ending efforts of the ANC and the SACP to re-establish and consolidate their internal structures and our efforts to establish contact with the broad democratic masses were beginning to bear fruit.

Internationally the balance of forces was also changing in favour of those fighting for peace, national liberation and socialism. The successes of PAIGC, Frelimo, MPLA as well as the changing attitudes of other countries in the region not only inspired our people but also opened up new possibilities for the development of the struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

These internal and external factors sharpened the enemy's contradictions. Faced with a growing crisis the enemy responded with naked terror. But, unlike the past, state terrorism failed to create a mood of defeatism or submission. On the contrary there was a new mood of militancy, and our people, especially the youth, showed that they were willing to fight and die for their freedom. The



continuing killing of unarmed demonstrators closed the debate about the legitimacy of the armed struggle. Also, through the crucible of fire, unity in action amongst all sections of the oppressed and a growing number of white democrats was forged. And, through their experience, the students quickly learnt and accepted the fact that the vanguard role had to be played by the black working class.

But, despite the advances and unprecedented militancy, there was a lack of coherent strategy; there was no unified programme of action; organisation and co-ordination both regionally and nationally were weak; student demands were not linked to broader demands; the rural areas were hardly affected and the students were in danger of being isolated.

In the years that followed efforts were made to tackle these problems. Today youth and student organisations exist in many parts of the country (urban and rural). The process of consolidating organisation and imposing greater accountability and discipline has not yet been fully achieved. However despite some weaknesses and problems our revolutionary youth and students continue to pose a serious challenge to the regime. The banning of Cosas, the continuing harassment, arrests and murder of student activists, the attempts to infiltrate and subvert the student movement cannot stop this.

Since 1976 the enemy has had no respite. Every year has witnessed a qualitative escalation of our struggle. In 1976 thousands joined the ANC and MK. Many returned. Some of them have made the supreme sacrifice. Many are in the forefront of our politico-military struggle. They must be joined by thousands more. The ANC's 1986 slogan '**Every patriot a combatant, every combatant a patriot**' must become a reality. To successfully achieve this we must have revolutionary consciousness, organisation and discipline. It is above all necessary for the youth and students to act as one with the organised working class. Together we will go forward to win national liberation and socialism.

HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK



5. SURVEILLANCE TECHNIQUES

In our last issue we defined **surveillance** as an organised form of observation in which the police put a close watch on suspected persons or places. Various types of surveillance and techniques of 'tailing' the suspect (subject) are used. A subject's home or place of work might be under observation from a stationary or 'fixed' position such as a neighbouring residence or vehicle. All comings and goings are recorded. When the subject leaves his or her home they may be followed by foot or car or combination of both. All the places they visit and people they meet are noted, photographed and followed too if necessary.

Foot Surveillance

At least two people will be used to follow the subject who we will call 'S'. They will communicate through hand-signals and 'walkie-talkie' radios so as to guide and assist each other. They will keep as close to S as 15 metres in crowded areas and hang well back, up to 100 metres, in quiet streets. They will try to be as inconspicuous as possible so as not to arouse S's suspicions. They will have a car to assist them, which keeps out of sight in the adjacent streets.

Two-Man or 'AB' Surveillance

The person following directly behind S is A. The second person is B, who follows on behind A, as if in a chain. A and B alternate positions, 'leap-frogging' over each other

(Figure 1). When S turns right at a corner A drops back out of sight and B takes the lead position. They continue in the chain formation. An alternative technique is for A to cross the road and then turn right. In this case A is not now following directly behind B as in a chain, but is parallel to B on the opposite side of the road to both B and S and slightly to their rear (Figure 2). A and B will avoid direct contact with S. If S now crosses the street to the left A will either fall back, enter a shop or walk swiftly ahead, whilst B will follow S from his side of the street (Figure 3).

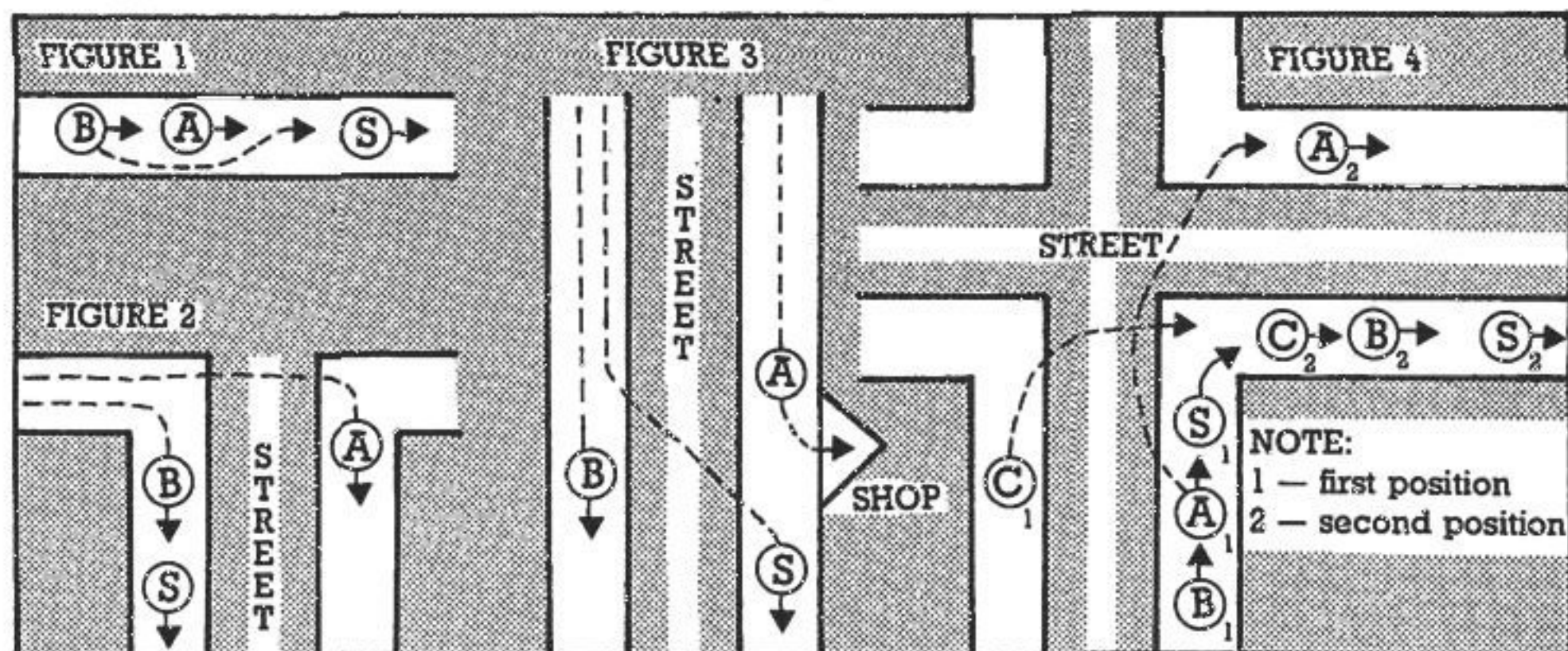
Three Man or 'ABC' Surveillance

Inclusion of the extra man makes tailing S easier. A follows S, B follows A and C operates across the street from S and to the rear. When S turns a corner, A may continue in the original direction, crossing the street instead of immediately turning. A thus takes the C position, whilst either B or C can take A's original position (Figure 4).

A variety of techniques can obviously be used. But the idea is generally the same. Those following must keep the subject under constant observation without arousing suspicion. The more persons used, the greater the scope and flexibility of the operation.

Remember: By knowing the methods of the enemy we can deal with him and defeat him!

Next Issue: Vehicle Surveillance



ROOT OUT ENEMY AGENTS!



POLITICAL ECONOMY

5. Capitalism Grew Through Robbery and Plunder

The settlers generally were white, so the land-owning class, soon to become a capitalist class, was generally white. The former occupants of the land had been black, so the dispossessed, soon to become the working class, were generally black. In the more than 300 years since the land seizures, only a handful of blacks, through good luck, special skills or sometimes successful crime — have managed to wriggle into the capitalist ranks. And a number of whites, arriving too late to grab land for themselves, have stayed to work for wages, usually in the specially favoured, skilled and well-paid jobs.

Other countries of course have different histories, often without sudden foreign invasion and settlement. And yet everywhere traditionally 'public' land has been seized and converted into private property. Everywhere the richest and most powerful people in the old societies — those with the patronage of great kings, those who were the most successful soldiers or the most ruthless tax-gatherers or robbers — turned the mass of the people off the land, and seized it for themselves. By itself, stealing the land did not turn them into capitalists. To turn land into 'capital', it has to be made to produce goods for sale at a profit. The land robbers needed propertyless workers who would work for wages. They recruited them from the peasants they had driven off the land and who now roamed the countryside, starving, stealing, suffering terribly. Those who survived the terrible times became the new class of wage workers.

In South Africa, the white settlers seized most of the land, but not all of it. Small pockets of land remained into which our people retreated — pockets where the soil was so poor or mountainous that it could not be farmed privately at a profit; or where our ancestors' armed resistance was so fierce that they could not be conquered. These pockets remained as overcrowded 'reserves', or unconquered tribal areas.

But the new capitalists needed all these people as wage workers, not only on their farms, but even more on the new gold and diamond mines they were establishing on land they had seized. Even the last survivors had to be driven out of these remaining pockets, to work for

wages. Some were driven out by war. Laws backed with threats of force and imprisonment forced out others. Every male was made liable to imprisonment if he did not pay a Poll Tax — in cash — every year. For people living on their own produce without trade, there had never been a need for money. With no cash to pay taxes they too were driven out to migrate to the mines and factories to earn the cash. The Poll Tax laws turned first men, later women and even many children into wage labourers.

Even after seizing the land, in most countries the new capitalist owners were not rich enough to provide all the implements, seed, fertiliser, transport and irrigation needed for full use of their vast tracts of land. Nor did they have sufficient accumulated cash to put up buildings and provide machines and power for large-scale factories and mines. How they acquired that wealth is another piece of history, which cannot be told in detail here.

But that history shows, in one way or another, that wealth also — like the land — was got by robbery and plunder. Military adventurers — mercenaries — invaded and laid waste other countries, especially Africa, India and Arabia, and looted their wealth; some hunted down men, especially in Africa, to be sold as slaves to foreign plantation owners. Some became pirates, or highwaymen and robbed the merchants and traders; and others brutalised and terrorised the poor as collectors of the king's taxes — for a large commission. Together, they stripped not only their own countrymen but they looted all the non-capitalist world or its treasures of gold or diamonds, of its art works and its carvings, and its sacred religious and tribal objects; and finally, they robbed those lands of their most active and vigorous young men and women, and turned them too into goods to be sold on the capitalist markets at a profit.

Thus, robbery on a grand, cruel, international scale laid the basis for the capitalist fortunes of yesterday. And the fruits of those robberies, multiplied many times over by being invested for profit, today still provide the basis not only for the wealth the capitalist class passed down from generation to generation, but also for the total impoverishment and misery of the mass of the working class.

14 SOCIALISM BRINGS REAL LIBERATION!



TRADE UNIONISM

5. Lessons of the ICU

The history of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) is not merely a story of the rise and fall of a trade union. Its development and the lessons from these experiences marked a turn in the growth of popular resistance and in the revolutionary organisation of the working class.

The ICU was formed in 1919 in a period where the militancy of black workers had begun to assert itself. The outbreak of the First World War in Europe had caused the cost of living in South

Africa to soar at a time of increasing black urbanisation.

Thousands of workers were drawn into struggles to increase wages. The then-existing South African trade unions were *craft unions* which had been formed under the influence of immigrant workers from Britain.

1919 was also a time when the process of bringing together the African people under the leadership of the ANC (then called the Native National Congress) to forge a united opposition against national oppression, was under way. In addition, the South African Labour Party had split and the genuine socialists had formed the International Socialist League (ISL), the fore-runner to the Communist Party of South Africa. One of the key points of the programme of the ISL was the establishment of non-racial trade unions.

The initiative to form the ICU came from a Cape Town parliamentary candidate A F Batty, who wanted the black workers to support him in the elections. Batty approached Clements Kadalie who, in January 1919, convened a meeting of Cape Town dockworkers who formed the union. The union led a strike for higher wages and secured increases of nearly 100% by 1920. It was this success that laid the basis for the ICU's rapid growth and popularity. By the mid-1920s, the ICU reached national membership figures of 100 000.

But the size of the ICU was not a measure of its strength. The leadership of the organisation was corrupt and under the influence of European (especially British) opportunists. Its composition, structure and the inexperience of its members, enabled the leadership to crush the union's revolutionary potential and the in-



"THERE IS FIRE HERE" I.C.U. Chiefs

fluence of communists who were working within it. In addition it suffered from the weakness of all general workers' unions.

Communist office-bearers like James la Guma, J Gomas and EJ Khaile had been trying to reorganise the ICU along industrial lines with proper structures at places of work in order to ensure democratic elections and control over funds. In 1926, all communists were expelled and the union rapidly disintegrated.

In 1927, the ICU leader from Natal, A W G Champion, challenged Kadalie's leadership. The competition between the individual ambitions of the two provincial leaders caused a crisis within the organisation. The ICU began to promote regionalism and tribalism and drained the workers of their militancy and their energy. Just as its formation was prompted by the individualist ambitions of Batty, so did the subsequent individualism and opportunism bring about the ICU's complete disintegration.

The emphasis on democracy and principle which was constantly advanced by the communists served as a vital lesson for the subsequent developments in our trade union movement. It was these communists who, using the experience of the ICU, laid the foundation of militant, industrial and non-racial genuine trade unionism which has posed an ever-increasing challenge to the apartheid regime and has multiplied the number and influence of the working class within the liberation movement as a whole. Historically speaking, the emergence of Cosatu is, in no small measure, the fruit of over six decades of genuine union building by communist workers.

TRADE UNION UNITY IS STRENGTH!

MARXISM AND VIOLENCE

4. THE ARMY IS RULED BY THE POLITICAL VANGUARD

In the last issue we concentrated on the importance of political mobilisation in all stages of people's war. We will now try to answer the question: who runs a people's military struggle, is it an army headquarters or a political leadership?

Communists have always rejected the view that there can be a separation between the military and political leadership, or if there is, that the military leadership should be primary.

Of course the art of military struggle needs special organs staffed by skilled and talented personnel who devote themselves almost exclusively to the creation of combat groups, co-ordinate their actions and generally supervise the many-sided implementation of the movement's military perspectives. But the political organisation must remain supreme.

It is of course true that once in the field the tactical tasks of the guerrilla band can only be advanced effectively by those engaged in actual fighting. No group of leaders sitting outside of the situation can hope to provide successful day to day leadership. But it is also true that the overall conduct of revolutionary strategy cannot be carried out effectively by the isolated armed band.

The complex art of revolution and the determination of its strategic tasks from time to time require an experienced political leadership. Such a leadership must provide the broad guidelines for the conduct of the military struggle itself and create military structures which are subordinate to the political movement at every level. This is necessary because the conduct of the military struggle depends (as we saw in the previous issue) on the political mobilisation of the people as a whole, the never-ceasing interplay and positioning of class forces both nationally and internationally, and so on.

It follows therefore that the army must at all stages remain the instrument of politics and the political movement and



ANC President OR Tambo with Chris Hani (right), Political Commissar of MK

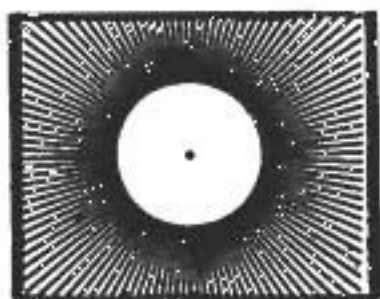
any tendency to the contrary will encourage all the unhealthy features of militarism. As Lenin said, an armed struggle which is not 'ennobled by the enlightened and organising influence' of the correct type of political leadership 'becomes frayed, corrupted and prostituted'.

The revolutionary armed struggle is no more and no less than a political struggle by means which include the use of political force.

The victory for which we are striving has as its aim the conquest of power by the people led by its political vanguard and not by an army. Of course, as the armed struggle begins to play a more important part in our overall strategy, the political leadership devotes itself more and more to the successful implementation of military objectives. But it remains a political leadership and not merely the high command of an army. The political organisation is primary, and the army, with all its command structures, is its instrument.

A political movement which is forced by objective conditions to work for the necessary social transformation by means of revolutionary violence, must always be on its guard to avoid unhealthy tendencies which may emerge because of the unavoidable and necessary separation (at some levels) between the military and political organs. Specialisation must serve politics and not the other way about.

LONG LIVE THE YEAR OF MK!



THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

4. Against Fascism and War

The Great Depression of the Hungry Thirties marked the beginning of a dangerous period. It included the temporary victory of German National Socialism, better known as Nazism, imperialist aggression against the democratic Spanish Republic, and the gigantic upheaval of World War II.

Though weakened by division in its leadership, the Communist Party responded magnificently to the challenge of widespread unemployment, on the one hand, and the growth of fascist movements among racists on the other hand.

In the pre-war decade the Party managed to form trade unions of factory workers, achieve united action between black and white unemployed, and gain a foothold in country towns.

As the war threat came to a head, communists gave increasing attention to campaigns in support of the Spanish Republic, opposition to Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, and more than anything else, the United Front against Fascism and War.

Johnny Gomas, the Party's leader in Western Cape, went to prison for insulting His Majesty George V; and issued a pamphlet denouncing the celebration of 100 years of emancipation from slavery. The Coloured knew only the freedom to starve, he wrote; there could be no freedom without land, bread and the equal right to work.

When war broke out in September 1939, the communists stood alone among the oppressed in denouncing the imperialist war. The treacherous invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 by Hitler's armed hordes changed the character of the war. Calling for the defence of the Workers' Fatherland, the Party urged the government to recruit, train and arm members of all colour groups on equal terms for the defeat of the German, Italian and Japanese Axis Powers.

The Party combined its campaign for an all-out war effort with a vigorous attack on colour bars in all areas of social life. Only strong labour unions would enable down-trodden, under-paid black workers to regain a sense of dignity, improve living standards, defeat racism and win the right to take part in collective bargaining pro-

cedures on equal terms with privileged white workers.

The Red Army's decisive victory at Stalingrad in 1943 turned the tide of war against the Axis powers, and brought hopes of deliverance from colonial oppression to millions of people in Asia and Africa.

A new spirit of militancy spread through South Africa's liberation movement, giving rise to the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1943 and joint action by the ANC and the Party against the pass laws. Dr Dadoo and six more Party members were elected to a National Anti-Pass Council formed in 1944 under the chairmanship of Dr Xuma. Their partnership in struggle began a process that was to result in the Congress Alliance of 1955.

Heroism, self-sacrifice, military skills and determination enabled the Red Army and Soviet people to defeat and expel Hitler's armies from Russian soil. The Axis Powers surrendered unconditionally in 1945. As the end of the war came in sight, South African racists brushed aside all pretence of reforms and reverted to familiar forms of repression.

Meeting in July 1945, the Party Central Committee warned that the 'united front' phase had come to an end. The war boom, it predicted, would give way to severe depression accompanied by attacks on living standards. White supremacists would resume the offensive against African, Coloured and Indian rights. A period of bitter class and national struggle lay ahead. 'The ultimate result of failure to raise the living standards of the poorest section and to extend democracy will be wage cuts and loss of democracy for all'.

It was a correct forecast. In the next five years African miners downed tools in the biggest industrial action yet taken in South Africa. The Party's Political Bureau went on trial for sedition. The Afrikaner National Party won a general election on a platform of apartheid and outlawed the Party in 1950.

READ THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST
Theoretical quarterly journal of the
South African Communist Party.
Available from Inkululeko Publications
39 Goadge Street, London W1P 1FD, UK

STRENGTHEN THE PARTY!

REAGAN, BOTHAS and SAVIMBI

Wits
Student
Protest



If ever the alliance between the racist oppressors in our own country and United States imperialism has been exposed it is now.

The United States government has decided to supply millions of dollars worth of military aid to the Unita bandits who are fighting our Angolan comrades led by the MPLA Workers Party. By doing so, the American government has shown more clearly than ever before whose side it is on. It fully supports the apartheid regime not only in its ruthless oppression and exploitation of us but also in its destabilisation of Angola and other neighbouring countries. America has shown it is our enemy, the enemy of national liberation, the enemy of Africa, of democracy and peace.

This is not something we have not known in the past. It is just that the imperialist offensive has reached new heights of aggression and crudity. Publicly, the amount the United States plans to give the Unita bandits led by Jonas Savimbi is \$13 million. But it is likely to be very much more.

The timing of this American aid to Unita is interesting. The Botha regime, which has been Savimbi's main paymaster since 1975, is suffering a serious economic crisis. Botha just does not have the kind of money he had three years ago to help Savimbi and his bandits murder, rape and loot in Angola.

Our rising popular revolt against oppression and exploitation has also stretched Botha's military forces. Our actions in the streets, factories, mines, schools, universities and in the countryside mean Botha cannot afford to send the same number of troops to terrorise Angolans as he used to.

What does the United States then do? It steps in to relieve the pressure on Botha. The United States decides to help pay and arm Savimbi. What also makes interesting reading is exactly how the Americans plan to pay Savimbi.

Some of the worst reactionaries in the American congress wanted to pass a law openly giving Savimbi money and arms. But President Reagan and his administration said they had a better way. Reagan said he would prefer to give Savimbi secret help (what he calls

'covert aid') through the infamous Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

There are two main reasons Reagan and his administration want to help Savimbi in this way. Firstly, they can do it secretly. The exact amount they give Savimbi and what it is used to buy for the bandits will be known only to a few warmongers in the CIA and government. It has been leaked to American newspapers that the amount they plan to give Savimbi is \$13 million. But the CIA and other American intelligence agencies have other huge funds they can dip into to give the Unita bandits much more — without the American congress, the public or the world knowing.

The second reason Reagan wants to give Savimbi 'covert aid' is because, in terms of the American lawmaking process, this way means the American public will have almost no control through their elected representatives over how much money is in fact given and how it is used.

If the money was given to Savimbi through a law passed by the American congress, then the situation would be different. Then, democratic people in the United States would be able to at least know how the money was being spent and, perhaps exercise some control over it, or even stop it. But Reagan and his advisors do not want this. They want total and secret control over their undermining of Angolan independence and of the liberation struggle in our own country and in Namibia.

The courageous people of Angola, under the leadership of the MPLA Workers Party, have proven themselves steadfast allies in our struggle. They have borne the full brunt of the Botha regime's military might and stood to fight again. **We have a new task: We must defend the people of Angola.**

More than ever before, their struggle is ours, and our struggle is theirs. We have a common enemy: the apartheid regime and world imperialism led by the United States. Our internationalism as workers and progressives, and our common commitment to Africa binds us together with the Angolan people.

BANDITS OUT OF ANGOLA!

SOVIET COMMUNISTS MEET

The 27th Congress of the CPSU will stand out in history as one of the most important gatherings of the Party founded by Lenin. For ten days from 25th February, 1986 the two great questions which dominated the proceedings were the safeguarding of world peace and the flowering of advanced socialist construction.

Fresh and exciting initiatives had already been taken in the period immediately preceding the Congress. The April 1985 Plenum of the Central Committee had already laid down new guidelines to speed up the

Soviet Union's social and economic development. Internationally, the CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev had already spread a ripple of hope to every corner of our world with his vision of humanity entering the 21st Century without nuclear weapons.

The Central Committee report was extremely rich in content with many levels of innovations and many layers of deep thought. Here was a demonstration of the way Marxism-Leninism should be used as a tool of analysis and not as 'mere memorising and repetition of "formulas".'

No attempt was made in the Central Committee report to sweep mistakes or weaknesses under the carpet. A frontal assault was made on red tape, bureaucracy, corrupt practices, old-fashioned economic approaches, departures from socialist legality and so on. The fact that a party can so openly expose some of its weaknesses is a sign of enormous strength. The achievements of the past had created a strong enough foundation for an all-out offensive against practices which had stood in the way of socialism achieving its full potential.

A large part of the Central Committee report discussed the need to democratise all levels of society. 'Democracy', said Comrade Gorbachev, 'is the wholesome and pure air without which a socialist public organism cannot live a full-blooded life' and that real advance in the Soviet Union cannot take place 'without a further development of all the aspects and manifestations of socialist democracy'.

Within the Party this called for the effective application of the principles of collective leadership at all levels and the promotion of criticism and self-criticism. New problems can only be successfully resolved if the Party frees itself of the 'infallibility complex'.

The Congress, attended by over 5 000 delegates, was not the beginning of the debate; it was one of the climaxes of a discussion which touched every level of Soviet society. For example, since the beginning of the discussion on the new edition of the Party programme, over six million responses had been



received and taken into account.

The programme contains some very important new formulations, particularly on the question of the transition from socialism to communism. The building of the communist society remained the beacon towards which the CPSU would guide society. The Soviet Union had clearly entered the stage of 'developed socialism'. Comrade Gorbachev drew attention to the fact that the thesis on developed socialism had emerged as a reaction to the previous 'simplistic ideas about the ways and terms of carrying out the tasks of communist construction', which was quite often 'reduced to just registering success while many of the urgent problems ... of the economy ... were not given due attention'. Now the important aim was to concentrate not so much on recording what has been achieved but on finding ways and methods of speeding up socio-economic progress.

Two million comments were received prior to the Congress on the draft CPSU rules which had been circulated for discussion. As a result many important additions and clarifications were contained in the document which finally came before the delegates.

The Central Committee report merits deep study by revolutionaries everywhere. It is indeed a rich addition to the storehouse of Marxist-Leninist thought. Comrade Gorbachev defines the spirit of the Central Committee report:

'The surging tide of history is now speeding towards the shallows that divide the second and third millenia. What lies ahead, beyond the shallows? Let us not prophesy. We do know, however, that the plans we are putting forward today are daring, and that our daily affairs are permeated with a spirit of socialist ethics and justice. In this troublesome age the thrust of our social, and I would add, vital strategy is that people should cherish our planet, the skies above and outer space, exploring it as the pioneers of a peaceful civilisation, ridding life of nuclear nightmares and completely emancipating all the finest qualities of man, that unique inhabitant of the universe, for constructive effort only'.

LONG LIVE THE CPSU!



WHY WORRY ABOUT WORLD PEACE?

'We are fighting a People's War. Why should we be interested in world peace?' This is a question which participants in the South African people's movement sometimes ask. It sounds a good question but in fact it shows a lack of understanding. There are two strong reasons why the South African people should take part, with the peoples the world over, in the struggle for peace.

First, we must think about the dangers of a world war, fraught with atomic bombs. It could destroy the whole human race. The fact that the bombs would kill millions is only part of the danger. They could also change the climate of the whole world. People in countries where no bombs had actually exploded could still be doomed to die from their effects. Clouds of deadly dust would circle the world, spreading incurable diseases. These clouds would shut out the light of the sun, causing an endless winter in which people would starve to death.

In that case, what use would it be for the South African people to have won their freedom? If our children are to have the happy future for which we all hope, two things are necessary. One is that apartheid must go and freedom and socialism come in its place. The other is that world war must be avoided. These two things go together. Neither will do by itself.

The second reason is this. **The enemies of peace and the enemies of Freedom are the same people. The friends of peace and the friends of freedom are also the same people.** Great South Africans such as Yusuf Dadoo and Bram Fischer, who spent their lives fighting for freedom, were also founders of the South African Peace Council. Leaders of the ANC such as Oliver Tambo and Alfred Nzo are members of the World Peace Council. They stand for peace alongside the governments of the socialist countries. Those same countries stand for freedom in South Africa and give help in many ways to the struggle of the ANC.

On the other side, the government of Verwoerd gagged the South African Peace Council, jailed its members or drove them into exile. The government of Botha stands in the

same place — against the cause of peace. Its soldiers kill our people today but are also ready to take part tomorrow, if they are needed, in the war plans of Botha's allies. The South African government has tried, more than once, to form a 'South Atlantic Treaty Organisation' in which South Africa, America, Britain, France and others would prepare for joint military action against the socialist countries. Because South Africa's name stinks too much, the Americans and others will not openly reveal such plans. The plans exist, all the same.

Ever since the days of General Smuts, the South African army has been in close contact with the armies of the Western powers. All these armies work on the understanding that they would be allies in the event of a world war.

This is one of the main reasons why the Western countries will never take real action against apartheid. There is the closest possible link between the Western powers' preparations for world war and their soft attitude towards South African racism.

The South African people must make the same link between the struggle for peace and the struggle against racism.



END US NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL!