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GmPl Omios51i 1
. I '/ Second Quarter 1385
SEIZE THE TIME!
'The enemy is in deep trouble. It is swaying with economic and political problems. The time is ripe to deliver some stunning blows. Let us seize the time! The economy is in its worst mess for hfty years. Price's axe out of control. The Rand is tumbling. Gold keeps going down. Unemployment is over four million. The wage packet buys less and less each week. Rents and fares keep rising. .
- Botha's political crisis grows. Divisions at the top are widening. All attempts to buy collaboration with so-called reform have struck the rock of people's resistance. Botha's bag of tricks to keep up white domination looks more soiled than ever.
.. V o The bantustans have remained comic-book countries.
:' "'fOfThe attempts to create a good-boy trade union movement has
2 The new minority cohstitiiti'on has fallen flat on its face.
" -:The constellation of states remains a still-bom idea.
Nkoman fever has hot spread- the African states have seen that
?a, mtwkeastame aad-l defiance: are spreadingr -The whole army is how.
. -- acting like a police force as we saw in Sebokeng. The people are inSpired by the example and leadership of our liberation front and
'_ ' 1 its armed wing. Umkhonto we Sizwe. The mass movement grows in
1 f strength. GUI youth cominue to hit out November' 5 stayaway strike showed .what enormous power lies in the E51 of the worker. The Workers lnf'actol'y. mine ancl farm can undoubtedly bring the ruling class teit-s knees ' 1 1
The economic ancl political crisis and the growing strength of the revolutionary forces have opened the way. as never before, to people' 5 advance. Capitalism and apartheid equal oppression and misery: both must be smashed.
Both: lll in trouble! Let us intensify the oHenxive on all. fronts!
Forward to Peeplo'l Powoxi
I . Tribalism
lWe must be on guard against the evils of tribalism. Those migrant
' - 13Workers who. are herded into their ethnic compounds must 'he'ar our
_'message t-h ' v
Thitd Quarter 1985 - . _ '
WATCH THE ENEMY! "
Brute force has always been, and continues to be, the racists' first answer to popular opposition. The hundreds of our men, women and children. whom we have already buried this year with bullet wounds in their bodies, bear witness to this truth. .
But each 'coifin covered with" an"P;N'C"'flag has become an heroic symbol inspiring thousands more 01' our people to greater struggle and greater sacrifice. in place of fear there is a growing contempt for death. In place of submission the e is a heightened thirst for hitting back and making them weep at funerals of their own kind. '
It is daily becoming more clear to Botha and his outside fn'ends that killing alone is not enough. This does not mean that the police and army killings will stop. It does, however, explain why our ruling class and its allies are trying so desperately to weaken us from the inside. The method they are using- divide and rule - is as old as the history of oppression itself. ""'""'7," '7'
Let us look at some of the danger spots. "
'x
a
'ey Should not allow themselves to be
aufeHow Africans: We mustlearnw agnise
' :Itnbahsm evenwhen it tries to disguise itself, as is the case widtChwf
'Gatsha Buthelezi.
Police Provocations ' H 1 ' i' I v V"! 2
We must be on the alert against police provocations In: recent periods false leanets have been issued aimed at creating and -1511'riden- ing the differences between those who oppose apartheid Qrgahused gangs of thugs and murderers have. been employed to 111131 the houses and to kill activists against the System pretending they, have been sent by one or another anti-regime organisation. lmpimpi's are

sent to join organisations in order to do this kind oi work from the
inside. - -

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Dividing the Workers - - . . -

We must be vigilant against all schemes to divide the trade union

- ' 2

movement, and to co-opt it into the system..We are already begin.
. capitalist system. A united trade union movement which uses its
power on the side of liberation is the greatest nightmare 'of the
bosses . , .

.We must also beware of some revolutionary- sounding trade
unionists who deny the vital connection between black liberation
and socialism. By trying to keep us away from the mainstream of the
struggle for people's power, they weaken the leading role of the
workers at all stages of the struggle. Only the racists benefit from
such a policy

The enemy will continue to work overtime in an attempt to divide
the popular forces and to sow confusion. No amount of force can,
in the end, defeat a united nation, a united working class and a united
liberation front!

Let us not become the victims'of the enemy's dirty tricks!

Brother must not fight brother!

Worker must not fight worker!

Take the fight into the Enemy Camp!

lrrro'urth Quarter, 1985

f3PE'OPLE S POWER NOT REFORM

u'numittff' 3-. M75.- 3.1...51. aguwa. -JLn.-_-. i... 4s::L-w'l-.c.u. angli-
up to mma there 15 llW W?uelhfied"

. splash about trying to find the answer to the question - how do
- they 'share power' and, at the same time, maintain control?

All these'ronps - from Bothe. to Bethelzi- who share a com-
mon fear 9! the revolutionary seizure of people' 3 power, talk their
"owe language of reform end change. The language they talk is a
class language.

'0 The Reagansdo not really mind if a black man sits at the top as
long as he' is a Bennie. a Muzorewa or a Buthelezi who will protect
, imperialism. and big business. t t

o Sections of our ruling capitalist class are even prepared to risk
_ allowing a black to put his cross on a ballot paper every five years
' . -- so long as there is a guarantee that our country' s riches remain
3 .

ning'to: heartaik of 'partn'ership' with black workers to save the '
Change isintheexr Even thoS'eWho sit oh top ofusare wakmg' " l l _,
' "kwmmmme end the SEC? ' 4' 7'an
in their hands.

0 Some black capitalists and sections of the black middle class
would prefer a solution which will givethem a few Crumbs from 7
the white man's business table and enable them to share in the
economic exploitation of the mass of their owrt people.

0 Many of the bantustan chiefs and sell-out Coloured and Indian
collaborators dig in to protect their fat salary cheques and
Mercedes Benz' 5 with which Botha has corrupted them.

What the Working People Want -

Race domination_is not just a political question. At the foundation
of race rule is the economic exploitation of the mass of the black
working people This is made possible by white control of nearly
all the means of production and the land. This set- -up is defended
by a state apparatus (parliament, courts etc.) and its institutions of
coercion and force (army. police etc .).

In the end, there can be no real liberation without social eman-
cipation. If tomorrow every black man had the vote, but the land,
mines and big industries remained in the same hands, race domina-
tion would continue to prosper. And to make sure that it does not
continue to prosper, political power must be placed in the hands
of the majority; the whole white state apparatus and its instruments
l of force must be dismantled and replaced by people' s powerr Since
the other side will never volunteer 3T6 hath?! over its privileges revolu-
' tionary violence is unavoidable.

Dmitg the transition period, there will be a continuing role for a
Eertairt amount of noh- monopoly private capital but it must be com-
: pletely cleansed of its racist content and. as the Freedom Charter
' 'themterests of the people

In order to defeat the class aims of our black working people'fBotha
would like the AN C to abandon its policies of revolutionary national-
ismr to give up armed struggle. and to break the alliahoewith the
Revolutionary violence will continue so long as there is no other path
to real people' 8 power. Those who dream of breaking the lllng

continue to march hand-in-hend in a liberation allience whichismade
up of completely independent organisations 'who share the common
immediate aim of destroying racism in all its iorms.

11.2.,1The1'
111986 -- A YEAR 01' DECISION
' j;'rlle egemy heft be given 110 reef! 1. - 1
1: gflzualdng the back 91- the zece happy. is 110 longer
" Ta dream'it ti be'" 'i' t0 16311? 011 the 110112011. 111'. people' I
-.-.0f_1'e13\$ve must be spxead to all fronts!
17Let all roads lead to ptee' i pewter!
:Let us make I986 3' la; of Deaulon'
What' 15 f0 be Done?
' vernabl1lty 10 1111' Cigahlsecl Offensive
1
rgahlsed and "disclpllned popular Organs. These omens can become
the Seeds Of peoplef s powel and the mass instruments for raiSing .
lathe Community' 5 Struggle 10, even higher levels.
F101n 'outb'urst t0 brgartised Offensive! 1
P1111111 ungovemabmtY 10 popular Olganisation!
' .F1'0111 the Towns t0 the Countryside
The flames of resistance and defiance must be spreac1 t0 the millions
in the countryside. When the countryside also catches me the enemy _ .
' ' will be 011 his last legs. Militants from the towns must go among their 1'
ountry b10thels, and sisters and help spread the message 0!
olganlsatioh 31161 11111111111121" the towns surround the couhh'yside!
' ilwoxkers the' commuruues anlalihe you 1
11151.. Together they age unconqueable
Spread the Mast OHensive
1111151 be like ne lenched';
The time has never been more ripe 101 the complete c1estnlcti0n of
111111111: control alld the hated pass laws. The censumer boyeott against
white busmess cal'1 me; weaken and dlnde the ruling class. Action
in the universities alld the Schools 13 a vital part oflhe \$00131 forces
in 0111 re'v0111t10na'ly upsurge. Teachers. patterns and the organised
Workers must become part 01' one coordinated offensive together
V 1 . wlth the youth. At the right moment a national general political strike
- can paralyse the enemy? .s grip on the economy Letus. 550m '110' to '
higher rent's.highe1 tlal1\$po1t costs. 111111111011 mthoutlepresentation
and all other methods by which the racist: 11111): the 0 re sed. ,The

4:115. mass '01 011lwath people. This message Was delivered 10110
 . and clear by the 20 000 pe0ple who risked life and limb when they
 gathered 1:1 P011 Elisabeth t0 honoiir the memory of Moses Mabhida.
 The racists' propaganda machine pours out an endless stream of
 they 'seek to Weaken its ver'y fduridation by att'em'pt's' '10 01110 a Wedge
 between the ANC and the SACP. It 15 clear why they do thls.it'ls.
 eqtially clear why the basic pdlicies of our Party a're fihding deeper
 . ,dwdeeper roots am011g the wor10hg pgople. '
 hes 350111031111111113515 arid what we stand f01.They1ryt0 discredit '. : .
 - 11101111112121.1011 311131100 by sthesQqurmuumst mampulanon and , ,
 a :evolunonaxy 5e121110 of p0we'r and 110tnegot13t10 011111111119 class:
 'i'L't'H'vM .-_ Aas g 0. -
 :0 ?' r'--
 A _ ts instrUments bf force whose existence Will only malte a sham 61
 'the exercise of demecracy.
 ' 'the white apartheid laage: as shown by the readiness 01 some group-
 .ings' t0 defy- government pressure and to exchange views with the
 w.--ule-w-um u -mwm-m..w,.
 , genuine majtihtymle There must be Vtgiance agamstquahhcanons
 ' . s'intended to prevent a radical transformati0n. 0 . 1
 .j' We stand 111' full suppon of the ANC as head 01 0111' liberation
 'aihance and believe that it is only under its umbrella that all the forces
 Which stand to: real change can move idrward. ".j'N
 This is what We c0nimjunists stahd fer. This is why'j the enemy
 Wingi
 3135:1111 intention whatsoever '0! dismanthng its state. apparatus ahd gr:
 We are encouraged by the growihg number 01 defecnons 110111 ' '
 ANS LBut the real test is whether these groupings are ready 10 accept . i '

Let us Consolidate on: Gains and Advance

I ' .5iIPopulaIr grassroots organisation - the second stage of ungovern-
tees which are multiplying at the level of the community and the
street are the seeds of future organs of, People' 5 Power.

Now, they must be spread to every, corner of on: land as grassroots
instruments of popular resistance and mobilisation. This is their
primary purpose and- ail administrative tasks must be subordinate
to this purpose. . A A

The flames of urban resistance and. IdeEahIce have spread to the
hatedbantustans. Names like Bophuthatswana. Lebowa, ,Transkei
KwaNdebele are being added to the list of nationwide flashpoints
of upsurge. A

Now. the urgent need is to intensify the offensive against an the
seli-out administrations and those at the top who .nse their positions
as ont-and-oiit puppets hf Pretoria. The bantugtans, and those who
have sold their souls to their racist paymasters, must suffer the
same fate as the community councils. It' is also time to begin to clean
out the countryside of the commando-organised racist farmers.

Paramilitary formations are sprouting in widespread areas as m-
I' 'amsed attacks on the enemy "

:w mrtigzignna grdWinIg'pE'I o' Iw' 22mm

Cosatu has provided the foundation for a trick union federation

. . which caii bind togethex all on: workexs into an unconquerable

..-. I. r inns; .weapon oi struggle. Atthis historic, moment there can, be no
differences between genuine trade; union leaders which ,ue hig

. II enough to stand in the way of coming together into one mighty
federation, _ , a

I The mam organised contingents of our revIoIllution-r- the workexs. the
Communities and the youth.-,- have begun to move in greater

harmony. The handling of. the education crisis by the NECC ts an
outstanding example of united decisionmaking involving all the mass
organisations and our liberation allianceh. -

'Ffability- ,. has taken root in most of the black ghettos. The commit- '

. struments of people' 5 selfdefence and as detachments which mount V

Now, the watchwords must be MARCH FORWARD IN UNITY! The henna onstituency for such suppor
t istoI be foitndambngthose :-

IthIe kuston bonds which have been cemented

V Now, moxe than ever, ail the forces on the side of the people must
act as one at local, regional and national leIirIel. 'lI'hIereII xniist be unity
in action within and betWeen ail patriotic oIig'anisations. Seeondaxy
differences between militants must not he allowed to paralyse our
common efforts against the enemy.

These are among the most important tasks facing us in the second
half of 1986 They will have to be carried 'out in a period in which
the enemy has unleashed an unprecedented wave of armed and
administrative terror,including the creation of a network of vigilante
death squads and Inkath'al inspired' mercenaries.

Effective underground leadership at all levels has become more
vital than at any other time in our history.

- In the second half of 1986 let us defeat the enemy's counter-
offensive!

Let us move from Ungovernability to PeOple's Power!

Fourth Quarter 1986

B91:151.;PROPAGANDAWAR; p

Itch always guided HitierIs pxopaganaa chief,

.lciosmg tInI on white South Ainca Ih6,I

'th moiIE desperate m its search for external support I

alliance headed by the African Natiohai 6hQress, and A

(tween our

iohs, more f_

stmgglmngxpedipie and the socialist community (

especially the Soviet Union. - . B

1.0: II

_ t_thie eyes bf'the dyerWhelming majority hot people. standslunchal-
. lenged as: the alternative power in our land.
Uet us enumerate some of the main categories of falsehoods which
Q ., are being spread with the purpose of dividing the liberation forces
and scaring away external support for our struggle.
. . . Big Lie Number One
-.:r-;'lq,a(the Party as an organisation controls the liberation movement
, andthattommunists use the ANC as a mere front for their own
objectives; ' ' t t i Mi ' i "t I '
The alliance between our-Party and the ANC has no secret clauses.
' alliance has survived and grown more firm. It has done so precisely
; for the reason that South African Communists have never sought to
u'ansfonn the national movement into a front for themselves. Participa-
tion in the ANC by communists has always been based on absolute
respect for the independence and integrity of its internal democratic
'9 I! 'v i&_ A. m3; ' 'i I
igLieNumb erTWb - .
but that he cannot talk to an organisation like the ANC because it
is comfnum'st controlled and relies on violence. l
4...: ' : -- ,,:- . '-.:t _-.l.;;, . ,i;,.v.4 . .',,. . .
' _ iy3i;AblsloluteihypGCIiSyliWe. now thattherexis no communist party in
3': - Namibia; anan-Dnehastsuggeaed that the I.ealcle.r,,sl,lip 9t Swaps), is
;. dominatedby commu_nists-..Yet the racists and their. allies have tmen-
i, . .dixtgly-Sabot'aged all proispects of movingtowarfds, independence and
democracy in Namibia by means short of bloodshed. The mcists' own
i xtrea,tion..-rr.'-the Turnhalle stooges - axe presented to the world as
?thej'tme representativesot the Namibian people; . , . , _
- Iii. the aCaSe qt South Attica itself Botha-has showniovelr and. over
;.',legein that he is only prepared to talk with sweetheart organisations
-11.
I Despite unending onslaughts against it from many quarters, this ,
The?! 30018 'is quite ready to talk to 'IeeHers" o! the black people, i:
and sweetheart polititrians like Buthelezi beastse'tn' 'i i - it
wants to talk about ts 'sharihg power' With fr: -.- ,7 , %,
domiation. . Q 91%; up Whlte
The demand that the ANC abandon violence has the same objec-l
twe. The SAC? and the AN C were dn'ven underground long before
they turned to the armed struggle as an irnpoztantjwehpoh in the Eght
for demfociailty. No amount of lying propaganda will hide the real
reason or e racists' hatred of the ANC an ' l" . ' ' l
they latpw that the liberation alliance 'w_l11 unigmfiggfegzwwg
o_ut whtte domination from every inch of our Sell. This lg what they
really fear -.i'eal democracy. '
Big Lie Number Three t i 3
That the support torourstmgggle by the socialist world; and especially.
the Soviet Union implies that the liberation alli t i l
_ . . ence headed b the
Airman Natzonal Congress is a puppet of an outside power.y
Qur mbvetnent has had a long experience of a warm, fraternal rela-
ttonshtp mth the socialist countries. This relationship was born and
?eentines to nourish within the framework of the most principled and
ero'uststt "tut by qduntn'es like the SovietUhi'oh for our libera-
-- ghig lies. Thereihre maniaqthFH. Words alone
_ ghswer them. The 93m? I, f, - , Kn the end,
i, struggles 0! the mimic! ddtgta' byteised peeplTe
: iMHeirhees-
iittxiyptauzjtmofthis
t d " thtmiee-edmhttgm' ?ng -:
' tart?
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'Fu'st Quarter 1981 ''

ST PEACE AMONG THE PEOPLE!

WAR AGAINST THE ENEMY!

Peace among the people' War against the enemy!

Unity of the oppressed! Hammer blow: against the oppressor!

. These are the intel-dependent watchwords which must guide and
; inspire us in 1987. To separate these watchwords is to risk the
revolution.

Without unity we can let the racists off the hook. With unity the
' way lies open to deliver the kind of hammer blows which could truly
make 1987 the Year of Advance to People's Power.

The racists have moved from one excess to another. They have
stopped pretending about so-called reform. They speak only with
the gun. And to hide their daily butcheries, the only 1111611166611
Wing 131885101: are emerging, _ ;

the youth stand ever poised to move to the offensive.

- Despite his blanket of silence Botha knows all this. He has seen
11116617661 writing on the wall. Force on its own will never be enough.
511116 1661515 have now correctly concluded that, at the end of the day,
' . -,lhgy6611_1161 hque to move with black 66116116566011 and without
' "EWW among the oppressed 11116 they work day and night to sow
,415111113' and to mobilise 5166965.:

.JIT'15I. 116tt66 difficulties it is to identify 561116 of the mercenaries and pup-
pets 11111511 the 16611119; 15' attempting to 1111165511 against the people
: wherever there are signs of organised liberation activity. We all know
'about the 161e 61 the 01655166115 Wit'doek'e and other vigilantes in-
giuqu some 611116 Ikhatha thugef But the Ieh'emy is 6156 Isexved Iby
- 31:14;- -r - .13'

. wa3'rI' 16 mobile harassment 61 the "

'- of the 1986 stayaways 1716111 their re-occupied base 111 the 56116615 I '_
; other acts of disunity, sometimes 6161.11 own rallying 6nd sometimes
because we do not do enough political work.'1 1'.

Tribal Fights

Those who take part in the costly tribal killings in parts of Natal and
on the mines are not supporters of white rule, which they hate as
much as the rest of us. They are the victims of a derhor61151ng rural
poverty, degrading migrant conditions. forced tribal 5666166611 and- .;
Pretoria's financed 'chiefs'. We are called upon to reach out to these
groups and to increasingly spread our political message among
them. There can be no doubt that the liberating, ideas of the
democratic revolution will find a healthy response in the mine com-
pounds, hostels-and among those manipulated by bahtustah stooges.

M655 Organisations -

One of the greatest achievements of our struggle in the field of mass
legal work has been the formation of the UDP. The assault by the
regime on 611 levels of its leadership demands more than ever a
cementing of unity both nationally and regionally. We must be more
vigilant against than ever against allowing petty. personalised and non-
' ' ' 65 to paralyse- our activity. 6611665 must rule.

ces with the 511161161 organis6ti6'115(such as
2111 the streets but in 66116661 work among
overwhelming surge 111 the direction of the
9111ng! course we must defend 6111 lives against
' 1T-shirts they happen to be wearing. But

'n their guard against 5116 .'

615d agents should divert 6 , , ,

toward6'1nt6rrledme'sm 61h; .

IN 2 _ ' asgorkers

paxI '1'1ts women,; 19161655161161 611 "1311116 strata
11nd together by 6 66111111611 urge 1611.111 6 j 6611. and
I . evtaceas'h'uggle to 65k5 linked to Some 15' \$1116 condi-
1 . ' . 11th each group. Yet. especially 1h today's 56mg con-
" 611111161611 involving a specific 91611611111661.1113 co-
onsultation with all'sectors 61 the co .; . , 1'3". Action
tude'hts 1111151 involve 61ke'rs and paid ' ' ' ' on by
" vohre y'o'nth and sthde-nts. 111156133111 ' 1

143'

- 'Second Quarter 1982
 , I WORKERS MUST LEAD!
 I' Mainline coordination consultation and united action by all sectors of the community!
 Ungevenability
 The African communities have shown the way. It is a matter of priority
 , , ' .- that they be joined more forcefully by the Coloured and Indian areas.
 LS Li'ijllii Ungovernability must be extended to the whole oppressed population. And its impact must be felt also in the White areas.
 The Trade Unions _
 1986 has once again shown the giant power of our militant working class. The successful political general strikes once again underline
 ' the historic truth that the very future of our revolution depends overwhelmingly on the political level and mass organised strength of our working people. And one of the key instruments of that organised strength is a united and militant trade union movement with a commitment to genuine national liberation. The formation of Cosatu was a major step in this direction. But the process is far from complete. The launching of Cosatu regions should not be impeded by parochial political differences. The process of Consolidating unions
 There have been intense anger in the last few years
 Those who believe in a socialist future
 Socialist ideas are being widely discussed and are spreading
 . It rapidly among advanced workers and revolutionary intellectuals.
 ' - There has been a dramatic growth of black industrial organisation.
 : 1985
 Industrial organisations must not be blocked by officials
 we - . . . 1
 This must be the union leaders' task 1981-1985 unionism. They must understand the link between the struggle on the factory floor and the struggle for national liberation and economic emancipation.
 The popularity and strength of our South African Communist Party has grown considerably both as an independent organisation and as an inseparable part of the liberation alliance headed by the C. i . 1981
 This surge in workers' organisation and socialist thinking has highlighted some important questions on the role of the working class. We hear a lot of talk about working class leadership. What does this really mean in practice? ' .
 How do workers lead?
 Do workers take a back seat when the struggle is for national liberation and not yet directly for socialism?
 What are the roles of the different organisations which claim to represent the workers?
 Our answer to these questions will depend on how we understand the main content of our immediate and longer term revolutionary objectives and the connection between them. , , 1981. I
 wimp. - . . . - . n . : , . . . r -
 It will only be complete in all its aspects when we
 I' State transformation. But the main immediate content
 : to win the aims of the national democratic revolution.
 . It also opens its role for the oppressed class
 in a democratic phase. It cannot play such a role
 , if then; It must be seen to be acting in the interests
 35: . 4 ' ' 1. ' 1 " I ! : u , 1 ; E V .
 It is the intellectuals; small traders in the rural
 6' White bourgeoisie
 The middle class
 I 'ests as a class
 , . ; . I Bah I of . a broad front to defend
 . ' tact independently to advance its? ; ,
 " laygfa (key; role in the history of ' 1
 . 1981: of all means . opp'ze
 ; sephy and practice : of Pogo-7 : We .
 , 1 democratic
 . : _ I . It is the con-
 text of the revolution to hand over its direction to the other class
 forces and to endanger future socialist advance in L
 : 16, v,

.... 11. -- 1 3 .. 1 . 3
 ; I - - - : '1 ' '1
 ng" INSTRUMENTS OF WORKER? LEADERSHIP - . The capitahst stat6 61161111611616 acts 111 661
 61166 91111-6 bosses. It
 , uses its pofver (police. army. courts etc. .) against the Workers and ;.
 :3 3 .-:" theiIr trade 11111011th (1663 61:61:11th to def6nd the 66131th system , .- I
 What are the m'ain' orgamsauonal instruments 333,0th which the .3 I It mak6s' and enlorce
 s 16ws to help increase th6 expltthanon of the :
 "wokag 561655 filays a 1616 both for itIseIlt and as a leading. force in" _ I f workers.
 This team has taught wbt'erg' in every Part of the world
 unfolding revolutieha'ry 'Imei-up? . . I I ' 'I 1. that it is i,mPOSSible IQII that trade
 QNOHSI I10 keep 0111. Of the broader
 41111 "general Workers must be active Wherever people come ' . " 3 90min! cohflct, . 1 1
 1
 "3310960161111 struggle. Whether "at 1161161161, regional. or loc_anevels Thea; . . , In o
 n: COj-mW where racism and capihilism are ton sides of the 7.
 -' UDF. -ybuth orgamsanons w'c'larnen s Organisations, Ctvius sneet 60111:" 1 I 3 " " :sa
 me coin it iseven 51W? crystal.-clear that 3 trade union C&MO! stand .
 'nunees'- student's;- e'tuir'lch gdexis etcz', qust 21111661 the influence of -- '- 11 65
 166119111 the hberauon 511119916311! the very fact; that conditions ,
 .worker-s' itdlitandy ahd dedicati'on .- -- 1 .. 1 66de that Workers engaged in economic
 struggle 'mus't also 111- .
 But the role of workers as a class and the way this class relates " volye m6mselves tint
 1339343! political questions thlpd 1013131 2
 ' to other classes in our society, tests on three main oxgamsed sec-w ' " the borderline
 between trade unionism and the political leadex- '
 1 ship of the working, class as a whole. This has helped some half-
 tors of our struggle - the N ational Movement, the Trade Union I
 os_ement and _net least- the political pm of the working I baked revolunonanes to Isprea
 d confusion about the role of trade
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 ,-,As'h6a'd 6f the hberatton alltance ahd prifr'te teprezentative of 1 3
 " oppressed, the ANC welcomes within its ranks all - from whatevef
 " ctass- they come -- 'who support 6116. are ready to flgIht for the: aims
 'cfithe Freedom Charter. 1. 1.x . . . 1
 "13th ls aievoluhonary nationalist organisation with p6pula1: 160\$: 11:.
 I scjntmgent 1.
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 6 WO 615 as a
 hing we have said about the basi 6-11 cter of a r
 ' 31,116! it cannot aet as the Wot I- gi-II 1111g political .
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 3 33331-333 33ft?! formally
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r&Ly_ra.-. .
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 of a mreifealistic linkage between the economic and political strug-
 - Mymm is 2a the mains
 Apresentphase. '
 ' ;
 , \$416? and the Working Class y a t y _
 Wothkhhpolitical leadership must. as Lenin said; represent the work-
 'uig' 913,5; Ehot just in economic struggle against'th'e b'osses but in its
 relation to all classes of society and to 'the state as- an organised force.
 Ftr'r'atle 1juniibu cannot carry out this" role, Only; political vanguard
 I I'lwo'rldng class can .do so. P f; l _' ' t
 '1' H e.td party. representing thehistoric aspirations of the work-
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 Wthetmqstjadvancedre x ' . . ; _ .- M
 _ setbresstonatirevaluaonariegmh . - '-
 ist'tl'lEnyia'hd ptjaCtice. ah unconditi l
 causeyand a readiness, if need be, tQ_, H ,
 cause offtheedoguahd.sooialism. Our A "
 ,: We have made a unique contrihtit'ibn th
 orgajhiSationaJ strengthening of then; hat e 'l
 theANC'. But asian indepelt "P e y y y
 intendmgly to strengtheri workers:l organza ,tospre'ad 4 l '
 iaWar'e'neEsi and to provide working class political leadership. .
 'Victory in the democratic revolution must find a working class
 equipped organisationally and ideologically to assett its historic role.
 A strong trade union movement and a workers' political vanguard
 are essential preconditions for such an outcome. There is both a har-
 mony and a distinction in_ the character and .roles of these two vital
 sectors. A failure tounderstand this will inevitably weaken the cause
 of worldng class leadership.
 ' The history of 011! struggle'has proven over and over again that
 hurZSKCP is the bedrock on which ourwozldngrclass assertsits
 historic role in all phases of Ouhrevolution. That is why the place
 of all committed socialist revolutionaries is in our ranks! __
 'L'LK .iJ itdlllpe'tli . .L .LE-
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 '"3P?Thi'rdouanehssi'" ' t
 ANDPWPLETTERigv"31; QT: 'h A 3
 ag'slicannot (like a trade mommy; a mgsl_ehatactet. It must '
 . a am amp mm w hg
 'w "'5:
 Dear Whitecbmpiatatbtpv' ' t
 T-h'e-tactthat-We? address yeuin this waytells its mint: storyflwefhhene
 a country but. Wel-ive tin differe nti worlds. Each .Ofryou # to.rvxihatelvett I
 class you beloth-venjoys economic; political; cultural attdls'oblhih?
 skin-privileges over every black. to whatever class they belong. This
 freedom-is the bath of mass struggle and revolutiohafy violencew
 We are truly sickened by the way in which your leaders wn'ng their
 blood-stained hands in complaint because at last the people have
 stopped turning the other cheek. Long before we picked up the gun
 you: regime closed all roads of non-violent advance to democracy.
 If we drop it now we would once again deliver up the people to your
 mercy, whose quality. they- have been able to measure correctly after
 three hundred and fifty years of 'guardianship' and unending domina-
 tion. You 'al'sofkfnowttas Well 'as we do that even the faint whispers
 we hear about 'dialogue' and 'negotiation' would die down ifthe beg-
 gmg bowloncevagain replaced the gun in the hands of the people.
 OnlyaBeginning . . , . P,
 But there is a Chink of hope. A minority a-monglyou has begun to see
 the writing on the wall. You. have begun to grope in the direction
 .of a non-racist South Africa. vThelregime-and its followershave called -
 you traitors. But history will. in the end. prove that you were the'xeal' 3- ..
 patnots m your community. - l '
 You have made a beginning. But -it is only a beginruhg: Younghtly
 see-that the source of violence in our country is racial domination . a '
 by force. Yet some of you are still worried by the ANC's resolve to "I'll .'
 20

. maintain and intensify the armed struggle. Show us another way which will not amount to a surrender and we will take it! Do you know of a precedent in history in which a liberation movement unilaterally abandoned the only weapon which has even the remotest chance of forcing the other side to the negotiating table? If the truth be told, even you own newly-found resolve to search for a real dialogue with the liberation movement has its source in our escalating armed struggle. . . . - .

Uncontrolled Violence'? ,

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

It is not uncontrolled violence when people on the ground take their own initiative to transform their street into a battlefield against the army and police. It is not uncontrolled violence when measures at the grassroots to remove from their midst collaborators are taken. It is not uncontrolled violence when measures are taken to remove from their midst collaborators.

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be followed by a false liberation; a 'liberation' which leaves undisturbed the white race monopoly 'over 99% of our country's riches. , These are the guarantees on which the majority insists) If, however you are looking for real democracy and the abolition of racism in all its forms - whether against white or black - you will find these guarantees not only in our documents and in our speeches but, more importantly, in our practices. : , . -- .

In any case. let us not get too confused about priorities. The first question is the destruction of race rule and apartheid. The obligation to act in this direction must be unconditional. The second question - your place in a post-apartheid society - will, we believe, depend less on entrenched clauses and Bill: of Rights than on what you do now to destroy racism and on how many of you really desert Botha's racist trench. A great deal, too, will depend on whether the map among you who are workers begin to move closer to your black class brothers and resist the lure of fascist organisations. If you seek examples of whites -,- communist and non-communist - who have become an accepted and unconditional part of our one nation then the making you will find them in various sectors of our liberation alliance. This is where the real future of race harmony is being forged. This is where more and more of you should find a place.

.9 gs to all who live in it!

-..._____.' ,_-.

A

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1; ' Ineltempolis and you condemn it as 'a pure act of terror. you cannot j 3 blame us for thinking that you still have some way to go.

7; , This is men's meto hold the line.

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Yehalsowomabom v92:91.%e9.'iwPQSt-idpartheid;\$smith Afriha- migw'fmeltll-Wp-up NW?" 39.31 31???, . ems 011.

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" ' 2:; eabhrsebothrelevantandpr-Qper-to' beginto'toss about ideas about t Th. ' :8 .t ot imw ew'toita'lkt . . t' .

5M. -. , ' lg. -, ' 3 ---1 . g . -, -. "t x.l V.;. H, .- 4. Aw .l h .I U h 3 . o t_ b 2 ' . ,a.,the:.&tt.urezdueqnqeoiovrcovnwm . ,_ a _ n , Roma and m 939?:"fzmmr

a t H .You must. however. remember that we. too. are concerned about No. W lefexkn , . , j t.

l i V the future. We .also need guarantees, although perhaps for a different

H: . 11995-953::W945R?A3Q.31_,ggarantee that the sacrifices of struggle will not be in vain

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throws otter eyemsingour countzyi ?the'post' : ' Z 4984 moinet'jttum' just won't
'ztn g'l

... course. cantmue t6 have 1116 111111131fyl and pohce 111115616 ,
9636 t1 11. 111163.11: Lhey. hav6 1165111111611 power. 'to govern 1116-: ' , - .
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" thy Bo111316 63111;. acceptance 101 1113 1716131611 6161171111, .- , '1
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stand 351131: d 131111163 :e dishonestly tries to hide ihe mm of grow- ' . ;
11119660116 15013111211. 1311.11 1161 6311110t silence the squ6315 6.11116 136151 . 11..
' 1- , 161.133.319.911 ,.
1' sancnons. '
'1 .6137. they 3:1e offering 115 the so-6311ed Natipnal Collhcil. '1'11115 '
m. .2313 :5: a.
Nothing to '1'311k Rboht ,
iW61 say this 15 not the time to 1311:. We say this 1101 136631156 we are
o'pptDSed' ln pnriCihle to a revqutibnary movement ever talking Q11" - '
51169611311119 with an enemy. N01 are we blind to the human c651 61 . ' .6;
\$1631an 661111161 which remains the only alternative. But if, as W6 '1 '1
1313:0366 the let century, they reject the very principle of maj6rity .
"11111113 democrauc (131661910111, what 15 there to talk about?
61: W33 61:11 3111165 113've contmuously 1' 1'
. 1 ' mg" wh16h 16'
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_e 16; ' 6 113516119 396 deaded 611 3 130116? 611111111616 611131111161
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. f 111816.19051615 the biggest threat to the 'sumval of race
11166! supporters of' powex-sharing' , th6y hop6 to nax-
-. 11:11:111563 of 60611166 1311!
'16 an enemy which #931
. .; boss-class who 351616611119 11119 painful. bite of 611311 the mfed -. 'rowl the' 133
66 011111- Innity by sowing confusioninthe minds of the
. . 1 . . ' more '6106613116' 60161311 force: 3111th the dominated ihaio'rity.
0 They 16161" that r113nd3tonj comprehensive sanctiOns would spell
" ' " . eid economy and seriouslyfgi' _ . _ . 'ne the
6mm: b10631 pretenifjng
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Miniccri'sil 1,11,..1.
911 We 1616111 111311111361
6.611 the k116ets to 111 1 ' . 6161112311011
W '66 eehs.

gbiack patrigts in order .w. spread the falsehood that the struggle .
 iis black against black.
 ' :Tiie pe'dple' 5 committees were suite badly mallled arid the sells
 1 lti fence squads became less active; _
 ' vi'I'iaie military launched its ceuntet-ofiensive against ungovem- ,
 Fability b'y greating their M05 as a Erst step towards reimpesing' .
 , :in re me 5 dlsc'redit'ed pllppet"collncillo'r,s".
 het'Joogieaclers an'd' actmsts were detained depriving the tracts
 ' 11: ost ex eriehCed and active militants;
 1 H H O agemfigieabrznndoneg all pretence of reform. State terrorism
 ' "at';1.alnst the people inside our country and against the harden'ng
 3 _ gbiack states became the sole order of the day. 3 3 .
 .. 1 8 was such a ear. . .
 i ' V" Yak? 1333 also a yea'rxiwhich showed that the people can no longer
 he hammered into submission, that they continue to be poised to.
 take the fight to the enemy and to advance tawaxds people' 5 power.
 1 .1 51.2!- N3 say that 1987 has shown all this precisely because the enemy' s
 ?savaging counter-offensive failed to eliminate the main ingredients.
 ' naxyhtransfortnation. .011 the contsary, th people ante
 ' istrgroti ' hntaisopo se
 "'dt- toge . 3 .
 0 (int continued and even increased its wounding blows agaiht
 -racist personnel and structures despite an enormous stepping-
 totc u tet-Wency measures . 3
 9 B ' Vang \$113115 of dtsaifectmn and 3veh mutiny amohg
 qes 101.1 whichthe rsgime relies to maistaih its power.
 P39215531! and expenenced by millions m the thki 9313.39.95 133.9:
 Wetting beheath the surface; At the :right moment. they will
 --hxgherlevel . .
 gpweT-r is 110.19ngez just an idea; its beginnings Were 39
 . 3211:13th; mar; mass democratic movement and the communities of i , , . .
 . st 6.111115 experience is itseyersible. 'I-hqse peaple' '5. cm ti ; 1 _ j; ;' : 3..
 ' 'tess and. self-defence units which are dpmant. at the moment are: 3 . t - . -
 1
 S 5:"..1' .
 emejw'e and mushroom as insti'uments of struggle st .2111 even . _ .
 0 The pep ., Vetshowed a readinessm zeshgn'd masswew at the fight
 moment even where ideal organs of struggle have been damag-
 ' ed byline "y terror For example the grassroots struttures' ln the
 Eastst' ca e'_ were among the hardest hit by enemy action. Yet
 3211 is presisely in this region that over 90% of the urban Communities
 answ 233th; ' " 3115.10: political general suikes on May 5111' and June
 1631.
 _ 1. , "toke all records. exceeditig the 1936 Egme
 form ' ' i 1 four times. In addition Workers displayed
 111181413 creativity antiastaymg powerithan eVer before; Victory ln the
 SATS smke Was partly assured by workers' action against railway
 property in the final stages of the dispute. The mine wcirkers strike
 in a' migrant-dommated sector is a dramatic pointer ii: the mood
 and potential 'of the; Working class as a whole. 2:35
 0 Political mdicalisation reached new heights. especially amng the
 working pebble The overwhelming adoption of the Freedom
 Charter by the CQSATU congless immeasurably reinforced this
 docume' tasts main massm of the immediate strugglta against
 ,3 e authentv and prestige of the ANC-led liberation
 .s; ' ' ything, grown iii the past ..';year.
 ' i' iti's 't'h'e Minister of Law and 0133 _was forced
 ?We are now 1110171119 into a 'mo're 3.1.3'icuk
 have been thinking of whatw -' 'gqing on
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 , sjsion. ag-
 111\$ lation.
 , W 313 crisis
 3 'Ye xefotm programme has r1111 0 110i steam.
 ftional Council seems uncenain ptha fears
 _13 g . artothe
 , 3:33 the'tri-can'ieral fiasco. And the abe ende of a
 '; . 1 3. '; strategy for emerging from this crisis is ileadmg to
 ' Wise and divisions within the 'pokve3 hide and
 ' ' "a (gal constituency. .. :1. '1
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59911 the people remain urtbowed. r71'1-1e1; com- .
513311 even though the search is; Mding newl- .. w- -- .
mess itself 15 not yet completeu - . ._ 3