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 EDITORIAL NbTEg. i ., .1
 THEiACO'NTROVE-RSY
 AROUND TROTSKYISM .p
 . n'ti. it i ',vl ..
 i ii I i I i l
 in INo. '1 15 of this journal we published an article by Dialego analysing
 Trotskyilm and the role it'plays in the struggle against apartheid: Since then'
 we have received a numbcrofcontributions from readers examining, at same
 considerable length the rolc'of'l'rotsky before, during and after the Russian
 Revolution. and evaluating his strengthsand weaknesses in rclationto those
 of Stalin and other Bolshevik leaders. ; ' ' ' " ,,
 We are grateful to comrades who Mve taken the trouble to respond toI
 Dialcgo's piece since we welcome controversy and comment. Reluctantly
 however we have decided not to publish the contributions we hm received
 and a word oi'cxplanation is necessary as to why we have taken this decision. '
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The Cndock Letter anti Affican C'opununism . ' t"
 in his hmom Wochletter in 1934. Moses Kotatie, general secretary of our
 party until hi; death (n 978x made an eloquent ecaSe for erigenisingl the
 theoretical andnpqwtwoqxutsouth African communistsmic CPSAga
 wasshai)mm3iKodied . ed, lpayspecial attmtiontoStNriCa,studythe
 con iuonsin . .00 d 'ncretise dwndl s e ili i '3:
 lmmhnt handliwufieqidw 31! i i, .1 :9me u? .38,qu cs
 t While heacltnowlqiged thht the party must not 'IOse its internationel
 meg, he emphn'aed that it should be a party Working in maimc'mu
 and lot the totltng people in S Africa Mum a party of Eumpeans who are
 merdyintefued in European aliaiu'. 'Too many party "1.501%:
 mwtwywzmdmm': thtmbm mail
 German utmuon' an the comitem, Stalin and lthe errors of various
 communist parties'. (Saudi Afn'can Communist: Speak, pp. 120-122).
 Of coune the character of our party has changed dramatically since
 Kome': letter. But if we have succeeded in translon'ning ourselves into an
 authentically South Wan Communist Party, this is precisely because
 Kotane's plea for an 'Alricanited' party has been taken seriously and
 constitutes one of the central strands of our political heritage. We take the
 view that gmaidisquiuition on Stalin and Trotsky andlthe errors ofvan'ous
 communist parties' would not serve our readers well. There are other
 journals in which it would be far more appropriate to pursue these kinds of
 debates. t . . . - .u a
 ' . ' U (if, if t. . ,r . u, '4:
 l ho'i l..... D A i : .J ' .r.'L ,
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V , 3 n
 o h: l - ..Ii M -. l, . ' I l '1
 Trmuiwlhmmm i M-vh :lem/ 31.."
 Dialego's intention in lWhat is Tmtslyism?' was to analyse a general '
 political mend in relationship to the particular circumstances of the South
 Afn'can revolution. Readers may well feel that in doing so he was either too
 harsh ot'too lenient about Trotsky't life and ideas; one contributor, for
 mph, takes the view that Dialego should not simply have mlcrred to
 Trotsky's death, but to the ltngnner pl his death' .and who bore the
 mpomibtlt'tyfotit. -. e . t .t I . .
 . Bu: what it Mwmtng about all the rcspnnsca we have received is their,
 preoccupation with Tmtlly and Trotskyiam in general terms. andutheir
 Wm to engage the quevion OI Tmtlyiun in Saudi 4lm - the real
 concern of Dialego't snide. Only in one at the contribution: is then: any
 Enema: mm In the South Attica: Cpmcxt and we are happy to quote thin in.
 I. t,
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 . In South Africa we have had our lair share of ultrn-leltiim. In the urlier year: this
 ,-, pinnil'eawd itself in arbitrary calls (or boycotts. fl'he Unity Movement mtti Mll
 Mllcflll Convention to it degree 19llowcd some 9 "lltotskylit theorieii' Hy ligating litt
 le
 de'i ngwith the maps liberatoty movement. lh t e past these elements attacked the
 lAN Edd Cbtnmunist Party'as ttlo' broad and not sulliciently lpurel'fln the 1960:
 many olthese elements resisted the government and want tojttil! People like Neville
 ht tMMndorleunt a great deal lromouneonmldes injnil. Although ethical, they are
 notcncmien oi the moment and have a greater respect to; the people and waded
 i . the lihg-atyry. movement. Nevqnthclcsu tuttm-lcftismmmius intfwwkmu' Ind
 Azapo circles. No doubt some continue to sympathise with Tmtsky'u theories on
 , the stat ill the revolutipn 3W, the narrowness or htoitdlncqs that the gtrugglc need
 . adopt. hey continue to deny the Nntiohal Democratic character of our tevolution
 and'direct their ellorts for a proletarian struggle for Iocialism onlytnow. They have
 ' i llttlcls'cnse of ppllllltlitlland historic replities. They are tcxt-bookidhland have
 little
 ,idetld the completllly 'of the transitioqlrom National Liberation to Shcialism. We
 'shoxll ' howetler not dismiss them Out' all hand and' lreject them In Manly
 'htotttkylut's'. Patienceiln unalysing-their errors will nchievd much. n
 This would seem to be Dialegols conclusion As wellnlw: need to drawl into
 our mnlu all who cunamtrlbuto positively to the struggle againtt apartheid'i
 (AC'115,p.77).t wr'riiii mi .14 '- " l I 4., H m i t

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 it'l ll
 Trotsky, Trotskyism and Glasnont A
 M uch was made in one contribution of the renewed concerh in'thp USSR at
 the moment with the crimes of the Stali era. As read'er's'lwilli rlbw, t'm'tf

journal has warmly welcomed pmxtroi'ka' and gla'sntitt land the new Istell-
confidence these policies embody. We are atlso cbnsclotts ofthe' considerable
work ol'reappraisal and rediscovery which isgnow being undertaken by Sovie
historians as a rcitult of the new 'climate olotiinion which exists in the USSR.
Doubtleas the role of 'l'rotslty will leatumprominontly in this work'and it
may'well be that some of our tmditional criticisms offprotsky will needcto be
retlmd and reassessed- as a relult.ButMe can only reiterate: undertaking a
general reapprlihl ol'Tmtsh/ and Trotsltyilm is not thoaaslt of our journal.
Wethhvc the special .retponslbilityalbr developing Marint-Leninib thought
in an African and South African context and thistle thetcontcxtttin which
Dialego sought to judge 'l'mtsky's political ideas. We can only encourage
those comrades critical of the article to do likewise. ru' ' "

til rmlwwl i :t t .m 4 mm. i

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Q l' r H l'l . ' '-l il-lll mirl' il'N 'Mt. V -

On the 4th enthhth ol' Munch. 1.989. a ve 700 delegates, nepretenting more
then N.Imle union Indim than one million worken. help In hiltodc

worken' summit. The trade unions comprimd all of COSA'ITU'II aililiales, eleven important unions from NACTU end 17 non-ailiiliated trade unions. The very act ofcpming together, underconditions of a State of Emergsericy, Mm much. bansamcmm inIIIinidation of wprItem 3nd tr'ade WWIEMICMmcnI.. I f .i

. Ill. hu opening address -to the summit. Elijah Meyi. pmideiiiX oi 00mm in making III impaqued plea for working cInu unin,II laid: I 'Our diligence: are nothing epmpued Io our commitment to the principle qI working clue WY'M' " , : - : ,

This wn aigo emphasised By Phat: speaking on behalf oi" the' independent I mopi. 9Hcmd UH III . I H'II

"Dip summit is indeed a challenge to all of us. II II II time IIIlaI has arrived III our live! when we mutt hm or IubmiI. And we cannot Iubmit We must fghi ' The summit, in the word; of Mbulelu Rakwena a leader of NAC'IU represented" one of the most significant demonstrations of worker unin in outhinwty'UThe delegates adopted a-programme III acIIonIWhieh could meal in - nationalnriko IgnimhcthbounnReIationAmendmemAm (LRA). In negotiations with the employers, workers are called uponto demand:

i .(II....I.Au II'.1 .IM .II/H, i .v. I II .mqghw alike unum I l IZI II, ,III I I . ". il ..

OTheNht to picket x . NJ -. , . h "I U (M

The right to engage In sytngatiw strike; l J 1-,... . : ' h ' hm. H : Recognition of majority unions ,I N . 4 ' ' 0 No dismissals without mper heai'ilng s ' i _ 1

O Apglicatigin oi the. pfinciplehi first to be hired last 50 he fired. ' lneddiIion The summitmqtme-ded that worker: sock Io avoid using the W court md Irvin existing mmmmmminh employem In ordu: III circumvul the oiuiuve Wot the mam pmohhe campaign mimt IthRA. workers": celled upan to dI'aw up their own UM. in which made unIon dghu would be extendedin wallow: In the domestic. Ismcultuml. Wwdbmuymm I. iui. I'u. m

I III , (II i . . I I . I A III. v I ii .Iim, 'I'Il m UnityillheKey m, .I .I m.

The more strongly the working class movement develops, The more desperate m the auempu ofthe ttate and employers to suppress it or destroy it. As the mnlmnuu'on between dmcmgoniatic fumes deepem The trade union become even mane significant. It It therefore regrettabie thIIIt- dome Index! of NACFU had decided, at the last moment, to withdmw froth the ummit. Exploration: and .discuuionIof dicmoetam important and I III, .n..'II:I:i..I

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necemcy.IbuI unityqt the gruIII-roota, on. the factouy Ilaor And III leadership levels can and must ememhmn unilyinJuinhactiunh'lihiawas Clearly demonstrated duning the mighty three day strike in June, 1988. Joint action to defend and cxicnd the working paupie's ecpnomic and political nighta Iseq uimnm III. spilt of .theomiicai. thicalmnd personal diieneIIqu..AIIeIIIpIuIIu IIIvyu'I allddiil'upl Iheuuin and wiIIIII'IIIe IIIIIjorin ol'.wm;kmhuv N be dcleawnl'hum II in human wit than an Iowa lighting I'm libelatimi. including Um MIN 1 U aid indepeudnu trade unianu missing (tom the sumnm. bi: an. IIIIcuIIIIuIII oi the struggle aguimtaparthoid. Out watuiiwumhuuldnbu unity in deed: and nut in men: winds. I I I ..

.IIJIIInIuICIIE. wurkcmxwithina particuIIw industry is also precious and important. In this respect theagrcquwnl pI'IJIE Amalgamated Clothing mid 'l'cutilc.WuI'k&Wi .UIIIQII (Auwusa).mid the UIII'IIIeIII md.AIIId Wunkmi' Uniqn (GMU) Iuwmuniniighly siguiiiuam. The combination of Uwu's 1 12,000 members and Actwusa's 73,000llemhem will make it the accond blunt trade mum unum- the National Union of Minewunkers IN UM).

, Tlie IIIII'MILN LJMqualene-Ic highlighted Iht: need to step up resittanoe Io IweprcusionM Ieyitaliae. and extend ,IIIe- Living Wage (lampaigh and to reconvene the wizapmhcideoniemnce banned last year. T but konkrenc aIso pledged support and solidarity M) SWARQIIIIId the National. Uninuiuf Namibian Workers, agreed to sum discussing the ANUS constiIudonal guidelines, and (o.campaign I'qr the unconditionalielense of all political puispnei-a and the unbanning of the ANC.

il' Ix um... . . I ,x i I II. .,1 Nil. I I

Women Workers

Women workel 5 now constitute aboiII 33 pm cent oi the economically active black population: they are primarily employed' In lbe processing and service sector, In domesiimewice. scmi-skilled ur. unIkilch occupations in industry and as unskilladlwrkers in agriculture. African women. are the worst paid

workers with little and no job security or protection from labour legislation.
For one-third of the labour force to play its full and active part in the struggle,
the trade unions and the rest of the mass democratic movement have to
prioritise the organising and mobilisation of women workers. Male workers
have to be reeducated and their consciousness raised, so that space and
opportunities are created to enable women workers to develop experience of
independence and assume positions of leadership at all levels! III the mass
democratic movement. . I I ' .I

III here III also an urgent need to combat the gross racist wage differentiation.
In 1986, average African monthly wages amounted to 27.8 per cent of wages

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paid tom Cabana! women wagger wae 35 Upemeent and Indian
 what' use: 52meentof.thatpudwwhhu:... .I.. I- I
 .I. MIN ., '- III III. I II '
 TheSuuggleCominueeI-II ' "I . W I. -u-I
 The ducu-Iom, debates and recommendations of the worlIIeI-s' summit are
 bound to em! I pnfound Innume on developmente- tn apieheld South
 Akita. Thooc unplyen-thailedtlmlexphit the MIRA to homemade unions
 and fun workers WM dusted but fdr'II sustained boycott cantpaign;
 nationmuyend Intenmioneuy. Tfhe maleima-t employers must feel the wrath
 not only of the man democratic movement but of the entire community. If- n
 ' The apanheid' stale Itend-I monopoly capital will? IcontInuei to -utIhse
 unemployment and retrenchment -In the mines, textile, IIbod and other
 Industries to what the negotiating and bargaining positions of the'trede
 uNion movement. DIvIIIIom'wIthIn the labour movement are bound to be
 euggented and exploIted by the enemy. ., I I . u h" I I
 DunnIted. the worker: are weak and powerleu. UIIIIted they are a powernd
 a tome (or change. U nIvy tn antioh'hu far greater potende And Impact II we
 have one trade union In one jndustty and one trade union- Iederation In one
 oountry.- Trade union unity can be optimally eIIeoted by a- united organisation
 whose decisions are conscientiously IMpIemehted' and eauiei out by Its
 m .I II.'V :I .I: HA -I. .w
 . The summit demomuated dttatthe truth: union movement In- our country I!
 growing In scope and strength and' rapidly maturing. It also tentedr Ito
 emphasise that the black working class can never be subdued or defeated.
 . t I l I llll I
 V 4 AI' l- H
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 W .
 Undenemenely dIHieuIt conditions olmegah'ty and n Iatu'ltreIgn ofterror the
 SACP hes IteadIIy buIIItup Ito undetglnd Itruaures and polItIaI InIlfluence.
 Simthe Party welbanned In 1950, Communists have been heundedsmmsted,
 termed end IttlIedtINevertheleu, the Ideal MMantIImienInIIm continue to
 mut-edhetenu and prove theIr viebIIIIyIIInIactIon I'or IOdIII'ChaneJ Our
 working people are becoming more and more convinced that IoeIaIism III the
 enlyehemetive to the degradation, oppreun and exploitatibn oI'mIpt'taIItm;I
 The m popuhn'tya ol the SACP end the Ideas of sociahzmtwithin the
 belly of the apartheid beast tendered the atmosphere of theI7th Qongness even
 mote poignant. Congres- was convened under the slogan, "Fore Democratic
 VicIolyandhdvanoeteSoeuhm'n uIWII . .l . ,
 10
 Delegatett to Congress were elected by their units and regional
 committees. I here were leading activists Irom the ANC. SAC'I U and mm
 people I army, Umkhonto We SIzwc. Veterans and younger memberq were
 united by the common bond at Party membershIp and the sachet: pf
 Marxism-LcnInIsm We were an equals. young and ukh wumennd menr
 leaders and actIvIBts. : I I
 The opening address by the chairman, commie Dan. Tloeme, was
 received with warmth and enthusiasm l he report of the Central Committee,
 delivered by the GenerahSecretary comrade joe Slovo, was a sober and
 honest assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of Party organisation and
 structures. AvoIdIng the use 9l rhetoric or pious declarations, It outlined the
 gains made by the Party since the last Congresah as well as the weakneases and
 shortcomings that still have to be overcome. The dIscuasIons on the Ieport
 reheated the muItI-I'aceted nature of actIvItIes undemken by members at
 well II: the wealth of revolutionaty experIence thus htr accumulated. I,
 Inner Party work and relations are guIded by the Leninist norms of
 deOClalIC ceIIItIaIIsm. Own the past three decades the loademhip has
 sought to develop a proper balance between centralism and democracy. It
 has endeavored Io ensute that all members, through their base units. We
 given wide opportunities to panicipate in decision'makIng and ppIicy-
 making. Wherever posmble, responsible posts are Iilled by election batted on
 secret ballots lhlS correct approach was endorsed by the delegates
 However, the Incoming Central Committee and Political Bureauwerc called
 upon to ImpIove the lines oI communIcetign between the higher and lower
 Party organs. Congress reaIIIrmed that at IIIIs juncture of our struggle. the
 SACP should remain a workIng class party composed primarIIy of
 prolessional revolutionaI Ies
 I In. I IIIIIIIH
 MII
 PARTY PBOQRAMME
 'l he previouu progt amme of the SACP, The Road to South African Freedom was

adopted at the 11th session of the conference in 1962. It has programme has, played a very important role in characterising the nature of South African society and in helping to build the Party. But since its adoption the face of South Africa, southern Africa, the African continent and indeed the world has changed in many important respects. It has therefore become necessary to adopt a new programme which reflects all the new developments as well as 'indicating the path to power'. I I

.. The debate: and discussions relating to the draft programme, though held in teem. mete extensive land eubetlntial. Prior to Congneu the draft progmnme had been circulated to all region: and - units. Numeroun cn'ticiemn, luggatiom end amendments were submitted to the PB. There in no doubuhllthie input helped considerably to change the scope, form and content of the draft programme. Thus the revised document before Congreu wet I distinu improvement on the on'ginal. But it was not yet utinfactmy; Sentence by nentenoe; paragraph by' paragraph delegates scrutinized the draft programme. Diecuuions, debates and controversies ensued over'our undennaming and perception of the nature and character of apartheid South Atria end of the way forward. Yet, throughout these intensive, highly theonetical, and eminently practical political discussions, (there was no personal acrimony and no word said in anger) one could almost feel the steel-lllte determination of the delegates to adopt a programme which would attract themrking people of our country and chart the way ahead. The depth of political and theoretical maturity demonstrated by delegates who had been recruited into the SACP since 1976 was a testimony to the political-calibne of the revolutionary alliance headed by the ANC. The dichssions saved to emphasise that none of the delegates were arm-chair Theoreticians,- but that all of them wene'heedom lighten deeply involved in the work of the nvolutionuy alliance.

The new programme represents the collective wtdom of practising revolutionaries. It is a programme - drawn up and adopted by the Barty as a whole dwhich can become a material force in organising and mobilising our working class for the final revolutionary onslaught on the apartheid regime and for national democracy and socialism.

Internationalism

Congress nealfu'med the intemationalist position of the SACP. Solidarity was expteued with all the people. parties and movements fighting against imperialist and neo-colonial domination and aggression: In particular, Congmu condemned the racist aggression against the llom-line states, and expreued profound suppon and solidarity with the people olour region and SW-APO.- h" . . .

Delegates'expressedltheir appreciation for the unstinting and principled suppon and solidarity of the Socialist countries. The SACP shall continue to fight against the ideology and political practlce of anti-Sovietism. Special tribute was paid to the peace policies and initiatives of the Soviet Union and to the Cuban imemationalist forces who paid such a high price to ensure the p

defeat ol'thc racist military machine in Angola as well as helping to pave the way for Namibian independence. Messages of support and solidarity wtm received lrom the world communint movement.

l he leasiom ol Congress were enlivened by the singing of revolhtionaw songs. One particular song that Is my popular amongst our peegle and sung in many meeting. was sung bcautilully and enthusiastically many times over. 'lhe wards ol the song are: . . , lI I I I.

SASISHILONOO 6i a'U TAMBO UTABUTAT , . I

KOKHALA MAXOKI KU TAMBO UTABUTA" . l .'

U BOTIIA MAKEHLE l'U TAMBO UTABUTA "

U TAMBO UTABUTA "U TAMBO UTABUTA"

SASISHILEMGUJVGUNDLOVU TU TAMBO UTABUYA'

IleTONGEZla/TO "U TAMBO UTABUTA " "

IAKA NGE AKA "U TAMBO UTABUTA ' '

U BOTHA MAKEIILE uU TAMBO UTABUTA"

TU TAMBO UYABUTA ' TU TAMBO UTABUTAT

The English translation is:

W: said In 7961 Tambo I: nluming

TIM Ituugu null regret II Tumbo II Mummy

Bot/m mutt mp dowel Tambo II returning

Tambo II' mummy Tambo II uturnmg . l. , ,

I I . . I. Cl.

W: stud In Hahrmanlzburg Tambo II returning

Tooth by tooth Tambo u returning

AK by AK. Tambo Is mumtng . , _

Batha must step down Tambo It ulummg . , I .

Tambo I: mummy Tambo II returning

The value ol'this Congress did not stop at its formal achievements. Outside the formal Congress sessions, delegates had a man'ellous time chatting with old friends, making new ones, playing indoor games, singing and continuing to debate! and discuss issues confronting our revolutionary alliance. By exchanging experiences each delegate learntwmmelhingflrom another. We

truly felt like one happy family united! (In our firm commitment and determination to help liberate our motherland from the evils of apartheid and to create the conditions for the building of a socialist society.

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Elkad ' . MP . ' '3 rl .i V . ,

313m: unanimously reelected Joe Slovo, General Secretary, and Dan Thoma, Ghannnn, oithe SACP. A new central committee was also elected by wet ballot. After the election songs were sung in praise oer blevo, Dan Theme and 0.11. Tambo. Pmident of the ANC. After: the. Generaie Secretuy had claw the Congress the hall erupted with the song: n ;.

USiovo no Tambo Makomando - . i ' .

\$10th and Tambo me our commandeem' l , I- i e

Delegate: filed out of the hall singing this song. Ono: buttide, led by the youth, delegates danced the Toyi! Toyi! This is a marehing dance that Is a regular feature af mass demonstrations in South Africa. Young and 9ld comradesjoined in singing and dancing with joy, full ofanotion to be part 9f such an organisation. . t. ,d OR

A highlight of the Congress was the insplnng message from comm c; . ' .

Tambo which emphasised the tmity of interests which isthe keystohe. ogthe two pillars of our revolution. Delegates expressed their appreeiation by enthusiastic and sustained applause and by singing the songmU jembp intzllz truly historic and remarkable occasion. For the delegates-it was an unforgettable event. Participam were lifted and strengthened to newcommit themselves to work even harder. Congress tiecisions and the-new pmgranime impose additional teapensibilitiee; on all South African communists.

'Id and strengthen the

Congress called upon all party members to help bUI .

ANC; help build and strengthen SACTU; help build and-strengthen

Umkhonto we Sizwe; help build and strengthen the undergrotmd. Co'ngress insisted that at all times party members must demonstrate in practice the highest form ofcommunilt moralityi-nd discipline. t w

- - . .v nnlu -

OSCAR MPETHA: A SYMBOL OF RESISTANCE ; .. , - .

A regimethat peniusin imprisoning an B0yearold person,whooe onlyei-une ish his love (or Wald democraayt daavu the contemptand hostility of the wodd. OsanMpdhm ham on Augustli, mm, is ammileader of the

' iibontionand tndemiommmovement. . . r mu , ii , . , , ,

rrifrihe IWhe waamvictewhmmnumzmd sentencedtnliue years

impiisonme-tt. Wh'luton bi! he was electedtPcuidont nf'tbCIUnmd

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Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Committee. Both organisations are now banned. After his appeal had failed he began his sentence from August, 1985. Despite his suffering from diabetes and losing a leg through gangrene, the apartheid regime refused to free him unconditionally.

Since 1925 Oscar Mpelha has been involved in the work of the progressive trade union movement. In December 1949 he was elected General Secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU) in recognition of his tireless work to build the union and to defend its members from the bosses and the ntqtex'. r- v e w. .4 3n; 3, w w- . t 'I .

In this capacity '15 wiellm in hit wotlt lbrSAHIUIOSchUymhtis\$ and energy were legeiitprygont'omitmitly hewus deeply involved in the national liberation movementM mem'ber ol'theANE time 1951, th President of the ANC in the Cat eat the time the qtganisntipmus bann tin p960 ' 9 Over tho-pasuh' e'iedadel he has been banned, kitlictej, nested arid continuously harassed. But his indomitable spirit was and can never be subdued.

At the age of 69 he was appointed national organiser of the Food and Canning .Workerti Union which had begun to regroup. Once more he helped to build up its structures and extend its iniluce. He was at that time actively involved in some of the major strikes such asthe Fania and Morris strike in Bellvilie, Cape Towm His trade 'unionaworkonly stopped when he was arrested in 1980, at theage OW 1: . Throughout his trial and impriscnmt Oscar has remained faithful to the ideals for which he is prepared to die.' By its act of terror and vindictiveness the apartheid regime thought it could compel the people's warrior to lay down his spent; When this failedthey tried .anmhar ploy. In Juivy, 1988, theyoiTcred to-release himifhevretiounced the unmed :truggieJie-rejectqd with contempt this conditional offer.

A .Oscat Mafakafaka Mpetha. one of the oldest political prisonean the wodd, is-paying a. high price for refusing to succumb to the blandishmenta, violence undarumbs altemuttely offered by Pretorim u . . .

On 5 August he celebrates his 80th birthday. We call on all our allies and friends to munk this occasion and to use it to demand the unconditional relcnnnf Oscar Mpetha. Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees. .n t

tenths of the population, the growing of cotton had come to a standstill because the soil had lost its fertility. The state therefore bled slaves for export to the deeper South. For this reason, and to keep up its balance of power in the W, the South required a continual formation of new slave states.

"The principal struggle between the South and North is, therefore, nothing but a struggle between two social systems, between the system of slavery and the system of free labour. The struggle has broken out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only be ended by the victory of one system or the other. Two questions arise: how could two such antagonistic systems live peacefully side by side on the same territory?; and why did they finally pull apart in the most bitter, bloody, costly and ruinous war of the century? They waited because of economic benefits obtained from trade. The sale of plantation crops, notably cotton, sugar and tobacco, to the 'free labour market' of the Northeastern states gave a big boost to their manufacturing industries, while at the same time favouring the spread of family farms in the West.

Up to about 1830, cotton was the most important product for the growth of manufacturing in the USA. By 1849, however, 64% of the crop went abroad, mainly to Great Britain. At the time of the civil war, she drew from the Southern states four-fifths of all her cotton imports. The cotton monopoly of the slave states on the British market went hand in hand with Britain's monopoly of cotton manufacturing on the world market.

The Civil War endangered "this great pillar of English industry", wrote Men in November 1861. The Union imposed a blockade on the export of cotton; the Confederacy responded with its counter-blockade, to compel England to fetch and carry her cotton from the Southern harbours. Sanctions busting, the Confederacy thought, would drag Britain into the war on the side of the slave states.

On January 1863 President Abraham Lincoln proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves in all the states in rebellion. From then on the North began fighting in revolutionary ways, as for instance by recruiting Afro-Americans as soldiers and labourers. About 186,000 blacks served in the northern armies, losing some 68,000 killed in battle and dying on active service without previous military experience. Some fighters rose from ranks to become commissioned officers, even reaching the rank of Lt Colonel.

The war took a new turn in favour of the Union, and ended with the surrender on 9 April 1865 of Robert Lee, the greatest of the Confederate

generals. Lincoln was shot through the brain on the night of 14 April and died on the morning of the 15th. His place was taken by Andrew Johnson, the vice-president, a former poor white like Abraham Lincoln. Marx wrote to Engels on 1st May 1865 that the South had committed a great piece of folly by plotting the assassination. It made people realise that great danger still lay in the institution of slavery - which in fact continued for many generations in a concealed form. The 14th amendment, adopted in 1868, to the USA constitution of 1787, came out of the Civil War. The amendment prohibited slavery and guaranteed freedom of speech and religion. Afro-Americans however, are still struggling to make the promise of freedom, equal rights and democracy an irreversible reality.

The Great French Revolution of 1789

France had scored several points over her hated English rivals by helping the American rebel colonies with ships, arms and soldiers in their war of independence. Prestige was not enough, however, to cure Louis XVI's court at Versailles of corruption, vice and mismanagement. The regime was bankrupt, unable to pay its soldiers and creditors, unite the many competing factions in the social system, or satisfy the demand of peasant farmers who made up 90% of the population.

The nobility were parasites, hangers-on at the royal court, who held high office in the army and church, and lived by squeezing a surplus out of peasants. The sale of office gave the king some independence from both the aristocracy and parliament, thereby contributing to the maintenance of the royal authority which blocked the way to reform and helped to bring about the downfall of the old regime.

The regime admitted in August 1788 to being in big financial difficulties. It looked to the rich bourgeoisie - the bankers, merchants and landlords - for funds to mend its financial fences; and summoned parliament, known as the Estates-General (which had not met since 1614!) to vote the money needed to stave off national bankruptcy.

The Estates-General was divided into three parts: one for the nobility, one

for the church. and a third (the tiers ') for the commonen- the poor. the peasants. labourers, artisans, iandlords, lawyers. merchant! and bankers. When they met on 5 May 1789, the Third Estate demanded theta" three lhouses" should meet together in a tingle assembly. The king opposed the joint meeting, but could not stop the tide that ilowed in favour of the utiers etat". actually of the bourgeoisie, who wanted to destroy feudal lam and practices that held back the growth of trade and industry.

On 17 June the commoner: proclaimed the transforming of the Estates-Genutl into I National Auembly; on the 20th they banded themselves togetha' by en oath to make a new constitution; on the 27th the king himself ordered the loyal clergy and nobles to take their place in the assembl , which on 9thde declared itaetl'to be a Constituent Assembly, pledged to ammer out a new constitution: . - .

'The loyalist: in Versailles plotted a coup, surmunded the capital with French and foreign troops and refused to obey the constituentis demand for their withdrawal. The citizens of Paris took to the streets on 13 July, built banicadee, leined musket: and organised a civic militia. It was transformed into a national guard after the taking of the BittitilleI3 on 14thjuly. Since then this day is regarded as the beginning of the revolution and celebrated yearly as the republic't national day.

Many provincial towns followed Parish example, formed new municipalities, and turned their militia into units of the National Guard. Peannu'refused their feudal dues or nose in revolt, thnew themselves on the enticed their (aide! lath: hand destroyed the deed: which laid down feudal right: in the purifying flame: ofim'."

111i: show of force shocked uittomtic deputies into making reforms. On 4 August the assembly adopted a number of decree: that put an end to the legal structure 01 the old regime. They introduced equality before the law, nbafnhed personal feudal duel, opened the public services to all citizens, and did away with the tale of oilices. On 26 August the assembly voted the 'Declmion of the Right: ofth and the Citizen" - the equivalent of the English Bill of Rights of 1639 and the American Declaration of Independence of 1776.

The hRighu of Man" pmmiled Liberty, Equality and F raternity for all, but divided citizens into two groups: those who paid a specified tax, and the walled Mpassive? people who paid no tax, had no vote, were excluded from the assembly and could not serve in the National Guard. They were, at ooune, the great majority of the population.

The nobility agreed under pressure to exchange their feudal claims for bourgeois property. but insisted on retaining control of the army, the state machine and a monopoly of profitable jobs. Rather than submit to the bourgeois democratic revolution, waves ofan'stocrats went into exile, formed a "pmvitionel government". and prepared for a counter-revolutionary invasion of France. Prielu were told to refute the oath binding them to uphold the eonltitution and to join the passive resistance movement against the gouvemntu. 1

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On 20June, 1791 the king iled in disguise to join the lemigresi. but want captured at Varennes. brought back under guard and Itupended from the throne. His night ruled out theprospect 01' a transitionto a comtitutionmii monarchy of the English kind, and brought closer the danger of an invasion by the Kings of Europe under the leadership of the Austrian emperor. brother of Marie Antoinette, the. French queen. -

There was a real threat 01a counter-revolutionmy coup during a period of much unrest in the towns and countryside, where people pmteuted against the export of grain, food shortages and inflation. The war began in April 1792. It laid bare the queenis treachery and the Courts secret dealings with the invaders, who had the backing of the aristocrats, price" and black marketeers. On 25 July the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia published a manifesto threatening Paris with military reprisals and total submission if the least violence was committed against any member of the royal family.

This threat spurred the people into an outburst ofpassion that broke out in an insurrection on 10 August, 1792. They stormed the palace, unseated the king, and demanded a republic. This, wrote Lenin. was a popular democratic revolution in which "the mass of the people, its lowest and most profound social strata. . . stamped on the course of the revolution the seal of their demands . . . to construct in their own manner a new society in place of the old one they were destroyingMK .

Artisans, joumeymenrlabourers, supported by revolutionaries from the provinces, took the lead, attacked the palace, killed the Swiss guards, and sacked the monarchy. T hat the insurrection was more of a national uprising than a Paris revolt was seen in the arrival ofJacobins from Marseilles who sang the Marseillaise", the national anthem, as they entered Paris in July and at the storming of the Tuilerics in August.

(The Legislative Assembly, which had taken the place of the Constituent in October 1791, gave way in 1792 to the Convention. France's third national assembly, elected by universal male adult suifrage in two stages". This was

the first time in France's history that workers and landless peasants took part in elections to the highest legislature. .

Elections to the convention were held in August and September 1792. It upheld the sacred rights of private property, completed the business of doing away with feudal structures, took a hardline against counter-revolutionaries, and mobilized the people against foreign intervention. On 21-22 September the Convention abolished the royal power and proclaimed France a republic.

Louis XVI (1754-1793) was brought to trial in December 1792 for treason against the republic. He was sentenced to death and guillotined on 21 January 1793. Marie Antoinette too shared the same fate.

Revolutionary-Terror

The simmering pot of the revolution came to the boil in September 1792 when the committee mainly executed a batch of prisoners under escort. This became an example followed in the jails. Of the estimated number of 1,250 who lost their lives in this way, only a quarter were nobles, priests or 'political enemies' of any kind; the rest were persecuted of common law crimes.

The September massacre was a prelude to the official, organized Terror of 1793 in which some 37,541 people died during revolutionary repression, of whom 84% belonged to the Third Estate. Those executed were only a minority of the victims, the majority being killed during the repression of the counter-revolution.

John Banington Moore, who compiled and examined the statistics, considers that the revolution was pushed to the left by radicals, who forced the dominant faction of the Constituent Assembly to overthrow the moderates, such as the Girondins. He concludes that the reign of terror and the so-called dictatorship of the Committee of Public Safety, the creation of a new army, the driving of those allied against France back across the Rhine, were made possible by the popular upsurge.

His verdict is much the same as the observation made by Maurice Thorez, the then general secretary of the French Communist Party, in a speech delivered in Paris on 25 June 1939. The role of revolution, he said, it is difficult to deny of a new society. "The bourgeoisie no longer wishes to admit, and, indeed, cannot admit, that without the July 14, 1789, without the Committee of Public Safety, without the Revolutionary Terror, the old order of things, the feudal system, could not have been demolished and swept away to make way (or the new regime, the capitalist regime'.

What attracts most attention in the infighting that took place between members of the Committee or parties that sat in the Assembly. The most economical way of describing them is to give thumbnail sketches of the leading personalities. As will be seen, most died on the guillotine in the days of the Terror. - -

0 Hanan Mirabeau (1749-1793): aristocrat by birth, a Third Estate deputy, himself a lot his moderation. attempts to reform the monarchy and the opposition to him by the queen and Louis XVI. When Mirabeau died from natural causes, he was being threatened by the radical section in the Assembly.

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0 Jean Paul Marat (1743-93): medical doctor, writer and publisher; unyielding enemy of the king. His trial and acquittal by the Girondin government added to his popularity with the left-wing. The skin disease which he picked up while hiding in the sewer: of Paris was so painful that he could obtain relief only by sitting in a hot bath, where he wrote his journal. He was stabbed to death by Charlotte Corday (1768-93), a Girondin noble birth, who was sentenced to the crime and guillotined on 17 July, 1793.

0 Georges-Jacques Danton (1759-94): advocate, minister of justice in 1792, he justified the September massacres as an 'inevitable excess'; a founding member of the Committee of Public Safety and leader of the 'Mountain', so named because it sat on the top benches of the Assembly. He joined Marat in overthrowing the Girondin government which tried to save the king's life and fell in 1793. Danton then tried to end the "Terror" but his enemies persuaded Robespierre to impeach him. He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal which he had created a year before, sentenced to death without further hearing, and executed on 5 April 1794 with 14 other members of his party.

0 Camille Desmoulins (1760-94): journalist and orator took an extreme radical view. An associate of Mirabeau and Danton, he was partly responsible for the killing of the Girondins. Later he joined Danton in urging a moderation of the Terror. Robespierre had him guillotined on 5 April 1794. His young wife was executed a few days later.

0 Jacques Hebert (1757-94): of working class origin. he came to Paris at a servant, threw himself into the revolution, wrote pamphlets, became a member of the Commune in 1792, took part in the September massacre. and sat on the commission which judged Marie Antoinette. Robespierre had him arrested and guillotined.

0 Louis Antoine Saint-Just (1767-94): member of the National Guard, the National Convention (1792), and Committee of Public Safety (1793), he drew up the report calling for the overthrow of the Girondins and Hebertism, and the accusation that caused Danton's overthrow. He was put in charge of military operations in the Rhine and Moselle, and on his triumphant return

was elected to the presidency of the Convention (February 1794). A close associate of Robespierre, he went with him to the guillotine on 28 July 1794.

0 Maximilian Robespierre (1758-94): an advocate, 1 third Estate deputy (1789) he worked closely with Mirabeau in the early days and soon became a leader of the Jacobins, the most important of the many clubs and societies that rallied to the cause during the revolution". 1 The present-day bourgeois legend is that he used the Marat-Danton group to gain an ascendancy, and then brought about their destruction; helped to create the Revolutionary Tribunal, was elected to the National Convention and became a member of the Committee of Public Safety, the body which exercised supreme power. He was accused of instituting the "reign of terror" and this resulted in a plot to destroy him. He absented himself from the meeting of the Convention on 27 July, 1794 at which he was accused of despotism. A decree of arrest was sent out against him; he fled but was captured and guillotined on 28th July. After his death the "Termidor" died away.

That is the approved bourgeois version. The communist verdict is that the Committee of Public Safety, led by the Jacobins, Robespierre and Louis - just (1767-94) had to take extreme measures to defend the Republic against the coalition of kings' and the royalists who rose in rebellion in the Vendée. The Republic's general, Dumouriez, routed by the Austrian army on 18 March, deserted to the enemy. The Republic suffered other serious reverses. It was in this feverish atmosphere that Robespierre and the Jacobins acted to save the revolution.

Lenin wrote that they gave France the best models of a democratic revolution. They repelled the coalition of monarchies, and achieved "great, inextinguishable, unforgettable thing". The essence of Jacobinism is the transfer of power to the revolutionarily oppressed class. This is natural for the bourgeoisie to fear and hate it; but the class-conscious workers and toilers have faith in the transfer of power to the revolutionary oppressed class". Ringed by enemies, France declared, through the Constituent Assembly, on 22 May, 1790 that it had no intention of starting wars of conquest or using force against the liberties of any people. On 18 November, 1793, Robespierre protested strongly against the declaration of war in 1792 on Austria and Prussia. He preferred diplomacy to war, liberalism and realism to aggression. The unratified treaties of 1795 were the work of the bourgeois government that came to power after the fall of Robespierre. Under the treaties of Bale and the Hague, France regained possession of Flanders, pushed her frontier to the Rhine, reduced Holland (renamed the Batavian Republic) to a dependency and gained part of the West Indian island of St. Domingue, better known as Haiti.

24

Royalist uprising in Paris in 1795 were put down by republican troops, including an artillery battalion commanded by Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) who cleared the street with a "whiff of grape shot". This prepared the way for his rise to fame and policy of aggressive expansion. In 1804 he declared himself the emperor of France and by wars of conquest became something of a dictator of the European continent.

His downfall began with defeats in Spain and the invasion of Russia in 1812. The allies at Moscow reached Moscow but its scorched earth strategy forced him to retreat in shambles, losing 80% of their original number.

Russia, Prussia and Austria entered into an alliance, defeated the French army in 1813, invaded France and forced Napoleon to give up the throne. Exiled to Elba in 1814, he escaped in 1815 to France, raised a new army and suffered a disastrous defeat at Waterloo by the combined armies of Britain, Prussia and Holland under Wellington and Blücher. Napoleon surrendered to the British, who exiled him to St. Helena where he died in 1821.

The Rise and Fall of the French Monarchies

The allies restored the Bourbon monarchy by putting Louis XVIII, the brother of Louis XVI, on the throne. He died in 1824, and was succeeded by his brother Charles. A revolution in July 1830 toppled the Bourbon dynasty. Charles abdicated, his place on the throne being taken by Louis Philippe, who in turn was overthrown in 1848. The second Republic was formally declared on 27 February, and a new constitution adopted. On 10 December, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I, was elected president of the republic. He carried out a coup in 1851, dissolved the Legislative Assembly, and in December 1852 was proclaimed emperor, with the title Napoleon III.

Marx and Engels followed these events closely, using them for brilliant generalisations that were to become leading principles of historical materialism. One of Marx's famous sayings appears in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, in 1852. It reads: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances

directly still unaltered given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living".

The French Civil War

An even more urgent reason inspired the writing of the *Civil War in France*, an address by the General Council of the International Working

Men's Association (the first International), on the Franco-Prussian War of 1W.

It was Bismarck's war, long foreseen and carefully planned, not for territorial expansion. but for power and to secure the establishment of Prussian hegemony in a united Germany?

To overcome the strong German opposition to the war, he promised sweeping reforms, including a parliament elected by universal male suffrage. Introduced in 1866. it became, Engels⁷ claimed, "an entirely new method of proletarian struggle". as shown by the 'astonishing growth' of the Social Democratic party and of the votes it obtained in general elections, rising from a mere 1020K in 1871 to 1,800.01 in 1894. "The irony of world history", jubilated Engels in his controversial essay. "turns everything upside down. We the 'molluscists', the 'loverthrowers' we are: thriving far better on legal methods than on illegal methods and overthrow".

It was another historical irony that German social democracy should have climbed high by means of a deal between Bismarck and the French bourgeoisie that would lead to a civil war against the Paris Commune of 1871 and the massacre of its defenders". —

The man who ordered these atrocities under the protective shield of Bismarck's troops was Louis Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877)²⁹. He rose to the top in an upheaval that followed the defeat of the French army in the battle of Sedan on 2 September 1870, the capture and imprisonment of the emperor Napoleon III. the collapse of the French empire and the proclamation of the Third Republic on 4 September.

The end of the Bonaparte era was a great blow to French national pride. The first Napoleon had united nearly all Europe under the tricolour; the last one abdicated after a humiliating defeat that left France with little prestige and no foreign territory to speak of in Europe.

Paris tasted the bitterness of defeat when Prussian troops surrounded the capital, turned their guns on houses and forts alike, and stared the people into surrender on January, 1871. Thiers and Bismarck signed a provisional treaty on 26 February which forced France to cede Alsace and Eastern Lorraine, and pay an indemnity of five thousand million francs.

The Paris Commune

Thiers. France's executive president, had the powers of a dictator, which he used to carry out Bismarck's instructions in the name of law and order.

Armed Paris stood in his way. He ordered it to lay down arms, but the National Guard refused. It reorganised and elected a central committee

26

headed by Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-81)? He was appointed president of provisional government, which formed the Paris Commune, the world's first Workers' State, against which Thiers launched a civil war.

The Commune issued an amazing number of innovative reforms in its short life between 18 March and 5 May. Thiers' soldiers forced their way into the city on 11 May, and continued the massacre of citizens, prisoners and members of the Commune. Its last defenders were mowed down after eight days of bloody fighting. —

A Paris correspondent of a right-wing London paper described them as "untended wounded wretches dying amid the tombstones — with 6,000 terror-stricken insurgents wandering in an agony of despair. ... to be shot down in scores by machine-gun fire". Engels^{3M} gave details of the massacres and a day by day account of the Commune's innovations, which ended with a rebuke to social democrats who questioned the soundness of the concept of a working class dictatorship. "Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat". Marx also paid a tribute. "Working men's Paris, with its Commune, he wrote, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working people.

Perspectives

The Commune's word became flesh, its vision a reality, not in theowering culture of bourgeois France that followed her last revolution, and not in the aggressive militarism of Germany's expanding imperialism, but in revolutionary insurrections of the 1870s and 1880s against Russia's Tsarist autocracy.

There were Jacobin-Blanquists among the strains of radical popularism represented by Nikolay Chernyshevsky (1828-1900), Peter Nikitich 'Ilytachev (1844-86) and Peter Lavrov (1823-1900). The second Peter, who had actually experienced the Commune, and talked it over with Marx in London, thought that it pointed the way to a new kind of state with a working class government, while Tkachev, the chief advocate of Jacobin-Blanquist ideas,

"furnished Lenin with his organisational model'³

The Commune was a rich store-house of ideas and information from which different strains of radicals could draw material for opposing points of view. The controversies between social democrats and Russian Bolsheviks sharpened after the October 1917 revolution Over questions of the state, government, parliament, elections, armed insurrection and dictatorship of

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the proletarian. Karl Kautsky (1854-1938) crossed swords with Lenin on the issue of parliamentary democracy versus the dictatorship, each side quoting the Comintern record in support of its standpoint. Lenin relied heavily on a famous passage in Engels' "Critique of the Gotha Programme": written in April-May 1875, with the experiences of the Commune (1871) in mind. Between capitalist and communist society', Marx wrote. 'The period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat'.

Examined and discussed at length by Soviet theorists the statement was to guide the thinking of future revolutionaries about the nature of the state. the seizure of power. and the formation of government in a people's republic. The great French revolution of 1789 left an imperishable legacy that belongs to all humanity: the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the Doctrine of Liberty. Equality and Fraternity. People's Sovereignty, destruction of the aristocracy. and the abolition of inherited privileges. That maxim, however, a challenge voiced by Maurice Thorez, on the occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Great French Revolution. This is what he said:

"The French working class has not to achieve 1789: it must accomplish the equivalent of a '1917' for the people of France - the conquest of power, the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, which will undertake the construction of socialism, so that we shall march on the road to communism which is our inevitable destiny."

FOOTNOTES 1

1. 'The proletarian' describes the class that comes between the landed gentry and the 'proletariat' the propertyless working men and women.
2. See P.M. Taylor (ed.), "The Origins of the French Revolution", London, 1960; Christopher Hill (ed.)

The French Revolution 1640. Anne Hahland. London. 1940.

3. For example see Joe Slovic. 'The Working Class and the Nation-Building'. in "The Revolutionary Process in France", ed. by Marie Perle, Zed Press. London, 1988. ch. 10.

4. The French Revolution in the 18th century, by J. H. S. G. in "The French Revolution in the United States", ed. by K. M. and Frederick Engels. ed. by Richard Ennals. n.d.. London, Lawrence and Wishart. p. 59-61.68.

5. Every man, his or mother. in USA. was represented by two senators. The population of the

country was 3 million; in 1789 the slave owning South. It had to expand to maintain its influence in Congress and through it over the United States.

6. The first was in 1781. The second (above) was in 1781. -

28

7. Engels wrote in March, 1862 that the war had no parallel "in the annals of military history".

Among the war's special features were the great number of combatants. the high cost of

the armies. and their "Bonapartism" (see "The French Revolution", 26 March. 1862 in Ennals (ed.) above. p.164. -

8. Barrington Moore, "Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy", Penguin Press, 1967, p.116.

9. Du Puy, 6 November, 1861, in Ennals. (ed) above, 85-6.

10. The excluded slave states in the union, and emancipated only slaves in territories where the

US authorities had no administrative authority.

11. Ennals, (ed.) above p. xxii, xxiii.

12. The estimated population at the end of the 18th century was 25m, of whom 22m were peasants

(Paul Bouthonnet, "The role of the peasant: in the revolution in France": on the French Revolution. ed. by J. H. S. G. Lawrence and Winhart. London, 1945. p.136-26).

13. The Bastille was a medieval tower built to imprison debtors and peasants accused,

often falsely, of crimes against the state. A symbol of tyranny, it was broken down by the people.

14. Jurgen Kuczynski "The French Revolution". in "The French Revolution". ed. by

above. p.11).

15. To obtain revenue and break the power of the church, the Assembly ordered the seizure of

land holdings. In return the state would pay the salaries and upkeep of the clergy on

dition

that they took the oath of allegiance.

16. Quoted by Etienne Létourneau, "The Working Class in the Revolution of 1789", in Jackson, ed.,

above, p. 121.

17. Written and composed in 1792 by Rouget de Lille. It was a national tune, and widely known

before it appeared in print in July 1792. Forbidden under the restored monarchy in 1821 and

the second edition of 1852, it again became the national anthem in the Franco-German war of

1870-71. 1

18. The two-stage system had existed in France to the pre-revolutionary time. In its original form

it required candidates elected in the first round to undergo scrutiny in the second by primary

assembly with power to reject those considered unworthy. .

19. above, p.80, 103-41. 517-1810 statistics. y.

20. The same. p.86-87. . . - t

21. "One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary", in Jackson, ed., above, p.39. ,

22. Jean Bruhat, "The French Revolution and the Popular Movement" in Jackson, ed., above.

p.101-

120. .

23. Quoted by Jacques Declos, secretary of the French Communist Party, in Jackson, ed., above.

p.53-4. ' ' .

24. A second edition appeared in July 1869 and it included in Marx and Engels. Selected Works.

Vol.1, 1969, p.398-487.

25. A first address was written at the request of the Association soon after the outbreak of the

Franco-Prussian war on 19 July 1870. The first address was written in September. It was

published in the bulletin in English, (first time in French between September and December).

The 'Civil War' pamphlet was published in June 1871 and widely circulated in the interest of

proletarian international Solidarity Against Militarism. For the text see Marx and Engels

. s.w.Vol.2.p.190-244.

26. Baron von Manteuffel (1800-91), Chief of the Prussian Army's general staff. and commander of the

army that defeated the French at Sedan in October 1870. Quoted by H.A.L. Fisher, A History

of Europe, 1936, p.977.

27. Introduction to Marx's "Communist Manifesto", revised in book form in 1895. See

Work. above, Vol 1. p.186-204. ' .

28. For an account of the Commune achievement and defeat see Engels and Mintz, "The Civil

War in France", 1871. See Work, Vol., 2, p.190-244.

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29. A little man. with eu-ntuped hem! and big ipcctecleu. hietutiun And politicinn. Thien win a cabinet mininet in Imdun'ng the Peril imurlecion. the head of the government four yenn htamedduundhleipmil 1840.mdnoniinucddeputy in 1863. la m hm! uwy wu nigmdon 10th May 1871 in Frankiort. France took her revenge 48 year) mun theeml oltheim Wodd War. when Geome- Clunencuu. Wilton of USA and their allies imposed henh team 0! mmnder on the (Muted empin of Kline: Wilhelm by the Truly olVen-illu. W on ZIJune 1919. 3L Fint (aimed in I'M), the Nuioiul Guudetiltedonmdollumil 1870. when it emerged mi leading tevoluu'onuy force in the anco-Pruuim war. nlhwumodmduthonmehlloltheCommuneinMuy 1871.Thesentencewu letleinpmonmentudhewuheedindmeouue. A D. W by Man in 'l'he Civil War in France'. Above. 9.2%. together with a note on the nation Mn 01 primate lot mm mm. 34. Wino. above. IB91. Sdulld Warts, Vol. 2. p.39. 35. 'I'he Civil War in Frumeh, nbove. Sakai Watt, Vol. 2. pl". 36. Gauge Uchtheim. .4 Shut Hutu, o/Sn'dm. Fomm/Colhm 1977. p.154. 37. S&M Wub. shove. Vol. 3. p.26. AN HISTORIC WORKERS' SUMMIT t By Ray Alexander In its attempts to mangle the trade union muvemcnt. the apartheid regime intrduced the Labour Relationu Bill. The Bill contained claulet designed to severely restrict the already rudimentary trade union rights enjoyed by the black workers. COSATU led a mass base campaign against this Bill. It pointed out that the Bill was in breach of accepted international standards, attacked freedom of association, entrenched racial trade unions, erodedjob' security, attacked the right to engage in consumer boycotts and severely limited the right to strike. CQSAT U appealed to all trade unions organisationl, including NACTU, and mass democratic organisations to put up a common fight. Aililiates ot' COSAT U responded positively. Shop steward committees and industrial area committees explained the Bill to the workers. They organised the unorganised and politicised more and more workeni. Protest: against the Bill spread to areas outside factory premises. In the trains to and from work, workers chanted slogans, sang freedom songs and carried placards declaring; MAway with the Bill" hAway with the AWE". i'Down with racist minority rule'X They linked up with the community-baned organisations to campaign against increases in rent, electricity and prices for service charges. In the factories they put up poster: and stickers: hGovan Mbcki Welcome Home". hkiappy Birthday Cde Oliver Tambo".

But even this powerful mass militant campaign did not prevent the apartheid regime - with the support and encouragement of big capital - from enacting the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRA) on 1st September 1988.

Given the imperative needed for trade union unity COSATU and NACTU agreed to hold a workers summit to discuss:

- a) what action to take in protest against the Act;
- b) what detentive action to take to counter the harsh effect of the bad clauses;
- c) the principle of one country one federation.

Preparation: for the Summit

A joint COSATU-NACTU meeting held on 8th February 1989 agreed to the following:

- a) representation will be COSATU - 250, NACTU - 250, independent union: to be invited - 150-200, Bantustan-linked unions and white racist unions not to be invited;
- b) date of Summit 4th and 5th March 1989;
- c) chairing: Presidents and three from each side of worker office bearers, secretariat to take minutes, two officials from NACTU and COSATU.

AGENDA: 1. LRA Act

2. Building Unity

3. State Repression. . .

A committee was set up to attend to the logistics of the Summit. Meetings between COSATU/ NACTU and other independent unions were to take place immediately. A further meeting was to be held by 1st February.

All COSATU affiliates, regional and locals were circulated with the report and asked to discuss it. . .

Following the 8th February joint meeting, the Co-ordinating Committee met on 9th February and agreed that a joint pamphlet explaining the background to the Summit be issued. It was also agreed to print it in live languages: English, Sotho, Zulu, Xhosa and Afrikaans. COSATU was to print the Zulu, Xhosa and Afrikaans pamphlets, while NACTU the ones in Sotho and English.

The hall was booked and letters of invitation signed for despatch. All logistics were attended to. On the 11th February the pamphlet was ready for printing. However, on Monday the 13th, COSATU received a fax from NACTU asking for the production of the pamphlet to be stopped and an urgent meeting be held to inform COSATU of NACTU's National Council

32
decision. The production of the pamphlet was halted pending the joint COSATU/NACTU meeting on that day.

At that meeting NACTU proposed that Item 2 of the workers' Summit, viz. Building Unity . . . be deleted and replaced with ironing out the differences between COSATU and NACTU. COSATU queried this, as it affected the role the 200 representatives from independent unions were expected to play. NACTU's reply was that since the Summit was the initiative of COSATU/NACTU, it would need to build unity by exposing the differences which exist on the factory floor with (JUSAWU's) affiliates poaching NACTU members. The independent unions must decide which Federation they want to join.

COSATU's response was, "We find it difficult to accept that we should limit discussions at the workers' summit to differences between COSATU and NACTU. We are not ignorant that there may be differences, but we must also discuss the process towards overcoming these differences and building unity..." and proposed that Item 2 of the Agenda read:

2. Building Unity ,

- Why are we not united?

- How do we achieve unity?

NACTU agreed to take it back to their structures and to reply by the following week. Their delegates also argued that the two federations should publish their pamphlets independently.

The COSATU representatives pointed out that the two federations had worked together to make the general strike of 6, 7 and 8 June, 1988 a success; negotiated jointly with the employers, organisation SACCQA; and agreed to hold a workers' summit. Thus, it cannot be understood why a joint pamphlet should be a problem. We have already printed 25,000 pamphlets. Are joint meetings at a local and regional level still to take place, and what would happen if NACTU's amendments from its NC are not acceptable to COSATU?"

By this time COSATU had already rescheduled four Regional Congresses, a National Women's Seminar, as well as meetings of the

executive committees of a number of its athliates.

It was nevertheless agreed that joint Regional and Local Meetings should continue and that the co-ordinating committee should sort out the problem about the pamphlet. The meeting with independent unions set for Thursday 16th February was to be held and affiliates from both federations were to be represented. This meeting was held and the independent unions accepted the invitation.

At the joint meeting on 20th February NACTU proposed the indefinite postponement of the Summit. COSATU put to NACTU that their reasons (or postponement was inadequate. COSATU's delegation was unanimous that the Summit should go on as scheduled and that all unions including NACTU are invited.

(COSATU asked NACTU to let them know by 10 am 1st February, 1989 and thus if not advised to the contrary, COSATU would assume that NACTU has no objections. .

On 21st COSATU received a letter from NACTU which insisted on the postponement. . . .

The Summit Taken Place _

Despite all these obstacles, the Summit took place. More than 700 delegates attended the historical workers' Summit on the 4th to 5th March 1989 at the Witwatersrand University. At least 11 NACTU affiliates disobeyed their National Council and participated in the Summit. They represented one third of NACTU's paid-up membership. Among them were Food and Beverage Workers Union (FBWU), Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union (BAMCWU) and the Electrical and Allied Workers Trade Union (EAWU). .

A BAMCWU spokesman said: "The eleven unions felt NACTU's decision was based on narrow ideological grounds and was not in the broad interest of the working class?"

Brian Williams, Acting General Secretary of the EAWU, said: "The union felt that NACTU National Council decision to request an indefinite postponement of the Summit contradicted the principle of Worker Unity.

The summit is bringing together workers from a wide range of viewpoints to jointly light the onslaught by the state and capital on the working class. This gathering indicates that workers can transcend stumbling blocks in the way of building a united working class. (Sautlet - March 2 to March 8, 1989, p.3)

The Summit was opened by Cde Elijah Barayi from COSATU, Cde Longwe Kwelemtini, representing the NACTU affiliates, and Cde Lawrence Phatsho representing the independent unions. Their introductory speeches centred on the need to build maximum unity of organised workers in South Africa. .

These sentiments were echoed over the next two days as delegates engaged in rigorous debate over the need for united action. Speeches were very high and delegate after delegate emphasised the need for united worker action against the backdrop of increasing state repression and attacks from employers.

34

The Summit transcended the differences existing between the various participating unions. While recognising the different histories, traditions and policies of the unions attending, the overriding objective was the need for unity in action. It represents one of the most significant demonstrations of workers' unity in our history.

It is unfortunate and regrettable that some leaders of NACTU sought to obstruct the holding of the Summit. There is no doubt that the Summit makes a very good beginning towards worker unity. To achieve a high degree of unity requires hard work with rank and file members and correct leadership. The revolutionary alliance must be more actively involved in this process. A united trade union movement constitutes one of the most important pillars of our struggle for national liberation and socialism.

AN UNFORGETTABLE
EXPERIENCE

By Mantoa Nompikazi

I had never, even in my wildest dreams, imagined myself as a participant in a Party Congress. After all, who was I? A woman in her late thirties, from a working class family, lacking political confidence and recruited into the Party less than five years ago. A delegate, I thought, had to have something. Whatever the something I was. I knew I did not have it. Notwithstanding the who-am-I attitude I participated to the best of my ability in the pre-Congress preparations and discussions." ' .

On learning I was to attend, "my feelings sprinted from excitement to fear, thrill to anxiety and back! Excited at the opportunity to participate at the highest level in formulating policy. planning and strategising; thrilled at the chance to learn and enrich myself. meet openly with other South African communists and share views and exchange ideas with them. For the same reasons that I was excited and thrilled, I was afraid and anxious. Would I rise to the occasion? Was I, in fact. worthy and capable?

Congress soon answered all this. Congress was neither a platform where the theoretician expounded Marxism-Leninism in abstract, nor a testing ground (or intellectual capacities. It was simply a meeting of South African communists from all walks of life and corners of the earth, coming together to discuss the burning issues of the day and to work out the best ways to meet the ever-growing demands of our revolution. At Congress I learnt a great deal and matured politically. Words are inadequate to describe the richness of our Party projected at Congress- the perceptiveness. the dedication and commitment. the openness and love of comradeship.

36

Businesslike as this mood was, it was also jovial. We spent many happy moments together, chatting, laughing and singing. The discussions and the new Party programme charted the path to power and removed any cobwebs that might have been in front of our eyes. -

As a black woman, since my teenage days -- regrettably long gone by - I've had my fair share of stunning and lighting. One of the most difficult and serious of these lights has always been with myself. Centuries of women's oppression, African traditions and prejudices against women too, had left their indelible mark on me. resulting in an inferiority complex that needed a bulldozer to move. Congress actually articulated the myriad problems facing women -- including the women themselves. Embarrassed as I was at being "discovered". I was happy that the debate on this issue, as well as the resolution on it, was serious and enlightening. The presence of other women delegates gleamed as they were, did much to boost my confidence.

The clear commitment of Congress to increase our women contingent in the struggle in general and within the Party - quantitatively and qualitatively - reflected the seriousness with which this issue was dealt. As I participated in the debate and discussions I felt angry with myself for my failure as a woman to improve my work on this front. Needless to say I committed myself to ensure, as the Party demanded as well as my own conscience and consciousness dictated, that I give my all to this aspect of our struggle. At no stage at Congress, at formal and informal levels, did I have a feeling of being disadvantaged as a woman. I was like any other delegate of my level. putting a little brick on the house that was being constructed.

The closing remarks of our General Secretary, comrade Joe Slovo. are I am sure. imprinted in all the delegates' minds. They were not the usual closing remarks of an ordinary meeting. After all he was closing a historic meeting. His words were a call to action, a commitment and a vow on behalf of all the members to intensify the struggle on all fronts. Is it surprising then that as we sang Nkosi Sikelela Afrika a heavy load seemed to be resting on my chest and was threatening to stifle me? I shed a few tears whilst singing the Internationale. Was I being too sentimental and emotional? The emotions packed in the voices that sang our national anthem and the Internationale convinced me that I was not and that I was not alone. We were all in song making our vows, we were all answering the call, "All Communists to the Front".

As we parted we were sad and yet there was exhilaration. Sad that we were parting, exhilarated at having achieved so much and ready to do much more. For me attending Congress was an honour and a burden I was happy to carry. It was an experience I shall cherish for the rest of my life. . .

37

FEMINISM AND THE
STRUGGLE FOR
NATIONAL LIBERATION

By Clara

from the underground in South Africa

The 1985 Kabwe conference of the ANC mapped out a clear goal to ensure wommlsequal participation in the building ol'people's power. and in all four pillar: of our struggle. In the wake ofthis commitment, there is a debate as to whetherthin dednion represents a nemgnition of the importance offeminism by the liberation alliance. I answer that question by asserting that a feminist Medea! position cannot be adopted by a liberation movement committed to the liberation of the African people led by the black working class. The tbcow that guide: us in our struggle for women's emancipation is Marxism-Leniniam which incorporates within its ambit the national question, the clan question and the woman question, not in three separable features of society, but u intenwined contradictions as presented by reality. It is difficult to otter an adequate definition of feminism since not even women who define themselves an feminist can agree on what holds them together. The Women's Liberation Movement is broad and eclectic. united behind a number of tateu. Two groups of feminist: may be identilied - those who revise existing social theories which they reject as being blind to wnen'l opptuaion. and those who reject all existingttheon; since theory does notmeogniae womenu the basic pmducen oilife and hence u the mont huic nodal category. The latter group - the radical feminists -- see life as molving around a fundamental contradiction between men and women. The lama group encompass boutgeoit feminists, structural functionalist feminism. neial feminine and Marxilt feminine. ,

38

Marxism-Leninism is not blind to women's oppression and provides the basic tools of analysis with which to understand and change any concrete teality. When we analyse socialist countries, we lind that much more still needs to be done for womenls emancipation and participation. That does not mean that our theory is wrong, but rather that the objective conditions have not matured sulliciently for full women's emancipation to take root, and that the ruling party in those countries has not organised around the woman's question adequately. Any attempt to revise our theaty dilutes the content of our revolution and distracts us from the immediate and long term goals. F eminiam is a reformist ideology, that appeals strongly to middle class women. It should come as no surprise to know that the last British Women's Liberation movement conference broke down after conflicts over the demands of working class women and of black women.

However, whilst rejecting feminism as a theory we should work for an alliance between the man democratic women's movement and the democratic and anti-apartheid feminist groupingl. There it within the world feminist movement a hatred olopprcssion, a cummitment to democracy and a denim for world peace. These "feminist values" find expression in South Africa in a stmng anti-apartheid and anti-represaion stand. They are a meeting point between anti-apanheid feminists (amongst them socialist feminists) and the women of the liberation movement. However, within that alliance, the leadership oliblack working class women must be secured and it is through Marxism-Lcninism, the theory and practice of the working class, that such leadership will be secured.

In South Africa, the dominant contradiction is the national oppression of the black people;and more specifically ol'the African people. Ourimmediate task is the liberation of the black people. The determinant contradiction -- that which underlies national oppression . _ is the contradiction between the owners of the means of production and the working class, namely the class struggle. Our struggle is an anti-imperialist struggle that recognises the intenconnection between these two contradictions, giving us the short term goal olstruggling against colonialism of a special type and the long term goal of the struggle for socialism.

But there are many other contradiction: within our Iociety too - and the oppression olwomen in the moat l'ap-reaching ofthete iothercontradiction', because it allecm half of the African nation, halfol the working clan and half of the people, and because it is experienced in all areas ol'wciety - work, school. home, town or country. If we understand that the women question it at this point in time a subordinate, less antagonistic contradiction in South

39

Africa. then we will draw correct conclusions about when and how to organise around women's experiences in the different stages of our revolution. It should be clear that the total emancipation of women is only tunable under a developed socialist economy, and only if, in each stage of our revolution. we organise women to participate fully and raise their demand. at part of the people's demands. Marxist-Leninist theory therefore argue: for continuous and ongoing organisation of women around issues pertinent to that phase of struggle from the eradication of apartheid, to the transition to socialism and to socialism itself. The struggle for women's emancipation is not a struggle of women against men. but is a struggle by people against systems of gender oppression enhanced and distorted within colonialism of a special type, and capitalism. As these two contradictions are resolved in our society, so the differences in interests between men and women will become clearer. and the scope for women's emancipation to be named will become greater.

Guidelines for Organising .

Marxism-Leninism gives us six points that constitute a guideline for our practice in organising women now and outline preconditions for women's emancipation. Our theory guides us to struggle for concessions to improve and change the position of women under colonialism of a special type and within a post-apartheid society.

1. Said", Madden: A woman's experience is shaped by her experience of the dominant contradiction, colonialism of a special type. and the determining contradiction, capitalist exploitation. There is no homogenous racialised sisterhood of women. There are distinct experiences of women in different historical eras and under different modes of production, as well as within different national groups and classes within South Africa today. The basis for unity amongst women is thus determined by the nature of society. Marxism-Leninism therefore postulate: that the women's movement should never disregard class and national inequalities. We call for a class alliance of women. led by the black working class women. Our focus presently is thus on the organisation of African working class women around the issues they are most affected by,

2. Women's exclusion from wage labour or their relegation to the worst, lowest paid and least skilled jobs is at determining factor in women's consciousness. An individual's consciousness is determined not only by the way he/she is socialised through education, culture and music. but also and more importantly by the position he/she holds in

40

the production process. From this understanding, Marxism-Leninism prioritises the inclusion of women into socialised production on an equal basis, at equal pay and with equal training. in the South African context this is more complex because women's work experiences are determined by colonialism of a special type. For example within the W Cape, the job opportunities for African Women and for Coloured women differ markedly because of the Coloured Labour Preference Area Policy. While the intensification of the national oppression and the oppression of women makes the resolution more complex. it does not detract from the immediate task of unionisation of women workers into a non-racial trade union movement, be it in the factories, on the farms, in the kitchens of the bourgeoisie, and of agitation for equal treatment and rights for men and women workers.

3. The dual day. The traditional form of family relations, when women's productive work was in the home serving the domestic economy, growing and cooking food, caring for children and socialising the children is no longer suitable for working women. If these traditionally women's tasks continue to be her sole responsibility, she is faced with two jobs -- housework and wage labour. This constitutes another aspect of working class women's oppression, and if it is not addressed becomes an obstacle to women's participation in community life and politics. Through our struggle, our theory guides us to redefine motherhood and fatherhood in non-oppressive ways and to undertake the practical tasks of housework without sexual discrimination and exploitation. -

4. State and women: Under bourgeois rule and ideology, many areas of women's lives are defined as private. removed from the public sphere. In this way the state takes no responsibility for them. In South Africa, this situation is aggravated by the racist allocation of welfare resources by the minority regime. Paid or partial maternity leave and the right to return to her job, health facilities, childcare services and education opportunities . are all necessary to facilitate the inclusion of women in the economy and to remove the chains that bind women to the home. The extent to which such concessions can be gained from the racist state and from capital is

questionable. However such issues should be integrated into the demands for a democratic state, and where possible should be organised around in the workplace and in the community. It is only under people's power that such welfare services, whether controlled by the central state, or community based, can be provided and hence the basis for women's emancipation be strengthened.

5. Violate and aggression: again! woman: Colonialisation of a special type, and capitalist exploitation are premised on violence and unequal power relations. South African people have been dispossessed of their land by force. They have been lordeed by taxes and pass laws to take up contract jobs. Workers are aggressively exploited by the task masters of the owners at work. Our people: resistance and organisations are physically smashed. Exploitation and profit generate unemployment and crime. Apartheid breeds hatred and aggression that is manifested in many ways in our land. All these terrible evils come down on women far more harshly than on men. Women are always the least powerful in any situation -- at work, in the community, in the homes, in politics, women are the most vulnerable. Aggression against women - be it physically crippling manual labour, rape, wife battering, sexual harassment at work, child molestation - is rife in a society like ours: which is built on the foundation of state and ruling class violence. Marxism-Leninism holds that all these aspects of violence can only be removed under socialism where the values of equality, democracy and the dignity of human beings prevail. Furthermore, our theory guides us to oppose and condemn oppressive violence in every way possible, and to counter it with a revolutionary violence to defend our communities, to curtail the regime's violence and to take back what has been removed from us by force.

6. Women in political life: There are a number of factors that isolate women, and most specifically black working class women, from active involvement in political life. Basically some of the key factors are: the double day; the socialisation of women, their lack of skills and lack of confidence; social attitudes that women should be in the home or helping their man; the lack of welfare services. Within these factors some are material conditions that tie women up elsewhere than in the political arena, but there are also cultural factors - these are hangovers from bygone days. Lenin has pointed out that this cultural lag, the tenacity of cultural forms that are no longer in keeping with prevailing social relations, is one of the most difficult areas of change. Marxists-Leninists argue that women's equal participation in all stages of our revolution is central to the ultimate achievement of women's emancipation. Flowing from this, we argue for special organising and agitation work (eg propaganda) to be undertaken among women within the context of the phase of struggle, so as to maximise the participation of women and thereby include their demands within the general demands of the period.

The contents of the struggle for women's emancipation is not determined by a set of women's demands around women's issues. It changes as the

42

phases of our revolution mature. Within each phase, the content of the women's struggle is the integration of women's experiences of the dominant contradiction into the demands and perspective of the liberation movement. This process will ensure ongoing participation by women in the struggles of the day and hence women's role in building the society within which the achievement of women's emancipation becomes a realistic goal. The driving forces for women's emancipation therefore are the black women, led by the African working class women, the triply oppressed and most exploited South Africans.

43

AFRICA

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By jabulani Mkhathshwa

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THATCHER TOUR OF AFRICA: SHE CAME,

W

The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, has found a way of marking her important political date by visiting African countries. After she came to power ten years ago in 1979, she made her first visit to the continent to attend the Lusaka Commonwealth Conference in Zambia. Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) was not yet independent at the time. Part of Mrs Thatcher's political package for the Front Line States was the promise to use the British government's influence on Ian Smith to bring him and his UDI rebels to a negotiating table with the Front Line States. She wanted the Front Line States as well as the British Commonwealth to steer off the calls for economic sanctions against apartheid South Africa where Britain has vast economic interests. The negotiation process for Zimbabwean independence was not to be held in Africa, where the actual liberation struggle had taken place, but in

Britain, at Lancaster House. It was as to register to the whole world that the benevolent British government under the leadership of Mrs Thatcher had brought about Zimbabwean independence.

In 1980, Zimbabwe got its independence following the agreements reached during the Lancaster House talks. The real political process leading to this event, of course, was the liberation war that had been waged against the Smith regime, leading to a profound economic crisis for the Rhodesian government. Mrs Thatcher's government's intervention only structured, at the last minute, a process that was inevitably going to lead to Zimbabwean independence. However, back in Britain, the commercial media loaded her with imperial praises and gave the impression that it was Mrs Thatcher - the miracle woman - who used her magic wand to do what African people had failed to do themselves, namely, achieve the independence of Zimbabwe. In 1989, after a careful study by the British government of the deteriorating situation for the South African regime in Namibia as a result of the war waged by SWAPO, coupled with the ignominious defeat of the South African army in Angola, Mrs Thatcher again made up her mind to visit Africa, but this time with a purpose of giving the impression that the imminent and inevitable independence of Namibia had been the work of those western leaders who had advocated a policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa rather than one of armed struggle or sanctions.

The crowning event of Mrs Thatcher's African tour was meant, right from the start, to be her visit to Namibia. It was a political exercise calculated to place her in the history books as well as in the international newspaper columns as the first head of state to put foot in Namibia. In that way Mrs Thatcher would, as in the case of Zimbabwean independence, be seen to have outdone both the leaders of the Front Line States as well as the Namibian liberation movement. The event itself had been deliberately kept secret in order not to create an unfavourable atmosphere during her talks with the leaders of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, since the whole purpose of her visit to Namibia was to hold confidential discussions with some members of the South African cabinet concerning the processes towards Namibian independence.

Mrs Thatcher has never had discussions with the leadership of SWAPO, despite the organisation being recognised by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. And although an impression is often given that Mrs Thatcher is an honest broker in the regional conflict, her fairness has yet to be demonstrated. Her current attitude to SWAPO shows that she adopts a

' ' v the a artheid regime and holds the
mmmxoiafur fngvpmitanva in contetnt. This can be
seen by her disregard of SWAPO as the logical countet-pohtical force to the
South African government. During her discussions with the South alman
abinet in Namibia. she is reported to have advised the UN Specutl
Reptumtative to Namibia to request more military aid and personnel from
the South African Defence Force in order to beef up the meagre UN lorees
and ensure the tunender of SWAPO combatants and their transportation
outside of Namibia to an area north oi the 16th parallel tn Angola. h .
ll Mn Thatcher believed her own propaganda tn 1979 about avtgg
liberated Zimbabwe, then the Zimbabweans in 198? do not regard her a; t e
liberator olNamibia. President Mugabe was lonhnghat that bouthern A nca
was better understood by the African leaders than by a British PnLne
Minister He impressed on her, despite her reputation of stubbornness, t l:
only uneuons by Britain and other Westem supporters at aparthetl Solutd
Africa could force Pretoria towards consider'tng abandoning the arm et
system. Although Mrs Thatcher went to Afnca arrogantly and wgl. rm:
with a message almdy sent ahead of her for the newspapers to pu is ft m
she would come, to see and to conquer, she was not given an o.pportt.ult:d')(i
lecture the leaders of the Front Line States about the processes in Wh'lf Me):
themselves had been intimately and consnstently involved whi ef ' rs
Thatcher was in Europe, thousands of kilometres away from the A ncan
me. ' - . .

' minent inde endence of Namibia signalled
szimsoi;ut:: izethzlregion, mndiitions in which all the regional
:Mmuld be resolved by negotiation rather than by armed struggle. She
argued that the pmceueu leading to N amibian independmce came abfut a;
a result of South Africa being given an opportunity to. fm'N.mlbt'ln.Sio:nth
not the Namibian! freeing themselves. It was therelore tune to gt: b n
Africa a chance, she said, since, according to her. South Africa as ee
isolated (or too long. Alter exuberantly beating Alncan drums at the opening
0! a gold mine in Zimbabwe. an exercise which was essentially tneant to
pmmdei nilicent photo-opportunities for home and European
oomum M she was told by President Robert Mugabe that her anti-
ancduuptngnge on behalf of South Africa was unacceptable N him
She was temmded' by the African leaders that the story 0 amt ts
independence does not begin at the point of the meetings of the govtemments
olAngola, Cuba. South Africa and the United States. Certain deve opmen
pleaded these negotiations. The principal factor in those developments was
46

the struggle of the people olNamibia under the leadership of SWAPO. For
more than 23 years the N amibian people waged a war against South Africa,
which in combination with mass actions and international pressures,
produced the situation where South Africa, much against her own desires,
was unable to prolong the war. T he South Alrian army's defeatat the battle of
Cuito Cuanavale in Angola became the linal straw in the inevitable change of
Nambian policy. It is precisely this factor that Mrs Thatcher pretended to
have forgotten. In other words, that if Namibia was to be free tomorrow. it
was not because South Africa had had a change of heart but because South
Africa had been pressured to agree to the implementation of UN Security
Council Resolution 435. l

Leaders of the Front Line States took the opportunity to remind Mrs
Thatcher that the problem of violence in the region is basically that ofSouth
Africa's making. The liberation movement, including the ANC, has no
problem with the question ofnegotiations in principle. For decades the ANC
had, in fact, been calling on the South African government to see reason and
to resolve the problem of apartheid peacefully. The apartheid regime
however, had not responded honestly tothis initiative. South Africa has not
yet demonstrated its willingness to abandon the apartheid system and its
inherent doctrine of mass violence. "there was one lesson that the N amibian
independence processes had shown, argued President Mugabe, it was that
only pressure could force the South African regime to consider the demands
of the oppressed people and the intemational community. I
On the other hand, Mrs Thatcher's policy of patience with South Africa
had not yet given the African people a single practical demonstration of
something new and positive. Her policy had not yet led to a single apartheid
law being repealed, it had not led to a single political prisoner being freed; it
had not led to a single bantustan being dismantled. On the contrary,
patience with apartheid had only given the South African regime the much
needed opportunity to strengthen its repressive machinety.
On her visit to a Mozambiq ue refugee camp in Malawi, Mrs Thatchersaw

for herself the effects of South African support of the bandit movements like Renamo, and she was forced to say: I just want to get the message across to whoever might be contributing to Renamo that it is really not a political organisation fighting for political ends. No one, but no one, should be supporting them."

Mrs Thatcher must. even if it is for the first time in her political career, consider that she might be wrong and the African leaders right. If her visits to Africa are to be meaningful at all, it must be because she is going there with a

modest political attitude, with a purpose to learn, and none come like Casaer, to see and to conquer. Gone are the days of the emperors. African leaders do not come to Europe with the idea of instructing leaders of the European Community about how not to resolve their problems. Such behaviour would be frowned upon and perhaps even dismissed. Equally, it is time that Mrs Thatcher dispose of her colonial hang-nuts, and considers the fact that she is not more responsible for the economies of Southern Africa than the democratically elected leaders and representatives of these leaders say, despite their knowledge of the likely clients and sanctions on their economies, that they would prefer them as one of the means to bring South Africa to reason, then Mrs Thatcher should listen and learn well if she aspires to be a good student of African politics.

.....-_-_-_-
ZAIRE: THE MOST CORRUPT RECORD IN
POST-INDEPENDENT AFRICA

When Jonas Savimbi was interviewed by the New York Times in March 1989, he said that one African leader that he admires most is Mobutu Sese Seko Konde Ngbendu, the 11th president of Zaire. That statement alone gave an important clue about the kind of country Savimbi would like Angola to be if he were to be incorporated into government with his UNITA bandits. President Mobutu has been addressed by many names by his supporters. He is the 'Great Guide', the 'Oneal Redeemer', the 'Father of Revolution' and many similar references. An insight on how President Mobutu's role was revealed recently when the Belgian financial daily, 'Financial Eltonomieu' published documents from the Belgian Ministry of Finance showing details of President Mobutu's properties in Belgium. The net value of the properties showed President Mobutu to be richer than King Baudouin of the Belgians in his own country. Eight of the properties are among the most expensive locations, such as Avenue du Prince d'Orange, Avenue Marechal Ney, etc. What angered the Belgians was that President Mobutu had not even paid taxes for this property since 1984. When this was revealed in the Belgian parliament, the media joined the legislative machinery to this corruption. In the course of further investigations, the press revealed that instead of paying his taxes, President Mobutu had been supplied by air from Belgium expensive French wine at the value of \$14 million. His was revealed by the customs officials at the Ostend airport. The wine was priced at about \$100 per bottle.

48

The Belgian Ministry of Finance document also listed other items that had been imported by President Mobutu into Belgium, such as expensive perfume, pink marble for one of his palaces in that country, the Chateau Fond'Roy, situated in a magnificent park at Uccle, antique furniture and other such items. What was he doing with all this wine and perfume? The nearest answer that the Belgian media was able to come to was to track the beneficiaries of the perfume, about fifteen ladies with different surnames as well as one, a singer, called Tabu Ley. Some of the material was ordered and delivered at the premises of his late uncle, Litho Mobutu Nyanyombo, a businessman who had houses in Avenue Brugmann and Avenue de la Ramee. Where was President Mobutu getting all this money when the Zairean economy was collapsing and the population living in starvation? The answer was given by the same Ministry of Finance document which revealed to the Belgian parliament that the foreign exchange was taken by President Mobutu and his close relatives from the Bank of Zaire. The document, which by no means systematically lists all of President Mobutu's financial exploits, shows that in a period of less than ten years President Mobutu had taken into his pocket and that of his extended family a total amount of \$20 million, all appropriated from public funds.

This is not the first time that President Mobutu has been exposed for corruption and ill-gotten riches. Newspapers in France, Switzerland, Britain and the United States have long shown how a country already in difficulties in paying its debts has its leader busy pocketing public revenue for personal and family use. Zaire, badly hit by falling revenues from its main export, copper, and plagued with mismanagement and corruption, has a foreign debt of more than \$7 billion and desperately needs loans to keep its economy afloat. Yet the available money that is not used for personal consumption by the president, is used in completely nonproductive schemes such as the construction of stadiums and the modernisation of the military force.

NIGERIA: NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE QUESTION
OF A SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

Is the coming democracy going to last long enough to change the political image of Nigeria? This is what every Nigerian seems to be asking as the work

of the constituent assembly has now been completed and the new democratic constitution become ready for promulgation. Judged by its 19-79 predecessor the current draft carries a number of clauses which, implemented in both

leander and apin't. may begin to give Nigeria a completely different image from the succession of military coups that have prevailed since independence. .

Nigeria, of course, is no new comer to the promulgation of new constitutions. Since the colonial days, several constitutions have been drafted. Between 1919 and 1922 was the first one. then it was substituted by the Clifford Constitution in 1922-1946. Between 1946 and the Independent constitution in 1963 there were three other constitutional amendments. Then entered the period of the republics and the coups. The 1979 constitution, which was thought to be the final, and perhaps the best that Nigerians had drafted themselves, even had a clause that limited the number of years the head of state's tenure in office, stating according to Section 127 (2). that it shall be a four-year two-term period. Yet the military intervened and acted over and above the constitutional provisions. The current draft extends the tenure of the head of state's office even further, to a single six-year term only, a period during which all projects embarked upon are expected to be completed by 1992, when President Ibrahim Babangida is expected to hand over power to a civilian government that will, once again, make an attempt to steer the country along a democratic path. That is every reason why Nigeria has to look forward to such an event. given the fact that the country has had military rule for up to two decades of its year period of independence. .-

The new draft constitution stipulates. at least for the first time. that military intervention (or coup) shall not only be a punishable offence but that leaders will also be punishable by law when they ultimately relinquish

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For the Nigerian Marxists piece (from the fact that even if the military stage another come back. the Nigerian working class need: to be given a solid leadership by a Party that relies on Marxism-Leninism as its ideological guide. For the 6th time in more than four decades of Nigerian working class movement. a united Marxist-Leninist formation has been created in preparation for the coming challenge. It is the All-Nigeria Socialist Alliance (ANSA). Its aim is 'to mobilise all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and groups for the common political task of building a then a society devoid of all forms of exploitation of man by man'.

ANSA notes that in the past, Marxist-Leninist groups in Nigeria have been in isolation and at times even in utter contempt of each other, even though in many instances their programmes and perspectives were similar. This

50

situation easily led to some sections of the left being used by the reactionary forces to destabilise or subvert other sections. whether in the trade union or student movement. ANSA, through its laid down rules and regulations and a code of conduct, strives to establish and maintain the highest possible level of comradeship among Marxist groups. It is determined to eliminate personality rivalries and encourage group achievements.

Only in such a strong organisation can the Nigerian Marxist-Leninist groups educate the popular masses and raise their scientific socialist consciousness towards political struggle for the advancement of their material and spiritual conditions of living. The ANSA, coming as it does in the period of preparation for a new democratic life in Nigeria, correctly defines its task as that of upholding the general democratisation of Nigerian society.

Nigeria is still being exploited by imperialism, and for that reason the masses of the working people need to be mobilised into an anti-imperialist force that struggles against exploitation of Nigerian labour and wealth by foreign powers. It is this anti-imperialist perspective that will galvanise greater forces in the country. led by the working class, against neo-colonialism. ANSA's main task in this regard would be to rationalise and harmonise all work-programmes and resources in a manner designed to achieve more from joint action, and so hasten, through the development of a strong spirit of collectivism among groups, one viable political fighting force capable of winning and retaining socialist democracy in Nigeria.

Commenting on the significance of the creation of this alliance. Comrade Chris Abashie said that ANSA "is founded on the highest and loftiest ideas of Marxism-Leninism and all those who are in the alliance are bound by the deepest comradely relation: - relations that are fraternal, personal, . ambition and all that are anti-Marxist."

SAHARAWI: REALITY THAT CANNOT BE IGNORED

At the beginning of 1989 the leaders of Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia signed an agreement in the Moroccan city of Marrakesh that set up the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA). This new grouping is intended to provide the basis for greater regional economic cooperation

and political stability. The two-day summit in Marrakesh set up a permanent political structure under the treaty. although this was less extensive than was originally proposed. Declarations were also issued on the

opening of borders, the free movement of people and the intra-regional exchange of currencies. Then shall be a presidential council which will meet every six months, with the chair rotating among them, and King Hassan of Morocco being the first. Only the presidential council of the union has the power to take decisions on the basis of consensus. According to article: 14 and 15 of the treaty, any aggression to which a member state is subjected will be considered as an aggression against the other member states. Consequently, the member states pledged not to permit any activity or organisation within their territory that could hamper the security, territorial integrity or political system of any other member states. Likewise, member states pledged to refrain from joining any alliance or military or political block directed against the political independence or territorial integrity of the other member states.

Conspicuously absent from this Union was the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). Ten years ago in 1979, Mauritania renounced its claim to parts of Western Sahara and recognised the SADR after Polisario fighters inflicted defeat on the Mauritanian forces in several battles. What was left of the Saharawi territory was the part that is presently still occupied by Morocco, which pursues a policy of "Greater Morocco". In approaching the problem the United Nations passed Resolution 40/50 (1985), 42/78 (1987) and 43/33 (1988) which was in line with the OAU Resolution AHG/ 104 (1983), all of which call for direct negotiations between the Polisario Front and Morocco, and a cease-fire followed by a referendum on self-determination for the Saharawi people. The only way to resolve the question of decolonisation in the Western Sahara. The conflict in Western Sahara is essentially a conflict over decolonisation. This fact was recently recognised even by the European parliament which voted in plenary session on 15th March, 1989, that "the question of the Western Sahara is a problem of decolonisation which must be resolved on the basis of the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence".

The right of people to self-determination is a fundamental right in international law and at such should be respected. It cannot be jeopardized by any other principle. In the current climate of optimism for peace and stability in the Maghreb region, this problem cannot be ignored.

King Hassan of Morocco has made repeated statements to the effect that he would accept the result of a referendum, even if it clearly favoured Saharawi independence. In pursuit of this declaration, a meeting was held at the beginning of 1989 between Morocco and the leaders of the Polisario

Front. but Morocco has so far refused to set a date for the further talks which were promised. The second meeting between Morocco and the Polisario Front, agreed by both parties and expected to take place before the Maghreb summit at Marrakesh, never occurred. SADR President and General Secretary of the Polisario Front, Ahmed Abdelaziz, sent a letter to the summit in which he expressed the wishes of the SADR that the occasion should be a success. "We took the decision," the letter said, "to observe a military truce throughout February to contribute to the creation of favourable conditions for the success of this summit. . .",

In his letter, President Abdelaziz expressed hope that both the truce and the meeting of the two belligerents would open the way, in a climate of total confidence, towards the building of the Maghreb, within which all peoples of the region, including the Saharawis, would find their natural and legitimate place.

A GIANT'OF THE SOUTH
AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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By Mhlanganyelwa Maphumephethe

On November 26, 1988, Hasty Gwala was released from prison, after serving 11 years of a life sentence under the Terrorism Act. Comrade Gwala has a long and rich political history which began in 1942. In that year in Pietermaritzburg, whilst teaching, he came into contact with the ideal of Mandlamlamlamlam and joined the Communist Party of South Africa. In 1943 he started organising and recruiting students into the CPSA. Among those students two stood head and shoulders above the others. They were Moses Mabhida and Amps Ngcobo. Both were brilliant students, but Agripa dropped out and disappeared from the political scene. Moses Mabhida went on to hold leading positions in the ANC, SACTU, Umkhonto We Sizwe, and at his death was the General Secretary of the SACP. In the same year Gwala was accused of teaching communism in school and was arraigned by the educational authorities. At that time the second world war was in full swing and Gwala spoke to the students about its origins, causes and development. Moses Mabhida always recalled the clear explanation: that Harry Gwala had given them and how he had helped him to understand the aims and the objectives of the second world war. The clarity (or Mabhida came because "it was explained from the Marxist-Leninist point of view.")

54

A year later, in 1944, Gwala left teaching and immersed himself in the work of the trade union movement. In that year he joined the ANC which was being revived and regenerated in Natal. This was the period when the youth were injecting a new energy and dynamism into the whole movement. While at first his political work was concentrated within the CPSA and the trade union movement, from 1944 he was actively involved in the important and historic process of revitalising the ANC. During this period his involvement was with the distributive, chemical and textile workers and not, as some have claimed, the railway workers.

In 1948 Harry Gwala took an active part in organising the ANC Youth League in Natal. He was elected vice-president, and Moses Mabhida provincial secretary. Since that time the two worked very closely together in the Youth League as well as the mother body.

Harry Gwala was actively involved in the work of the CPSA, ANC, and trade union movement. In the latter, he began working in the Rubber Workers' Union at Howick and the Municipal Workers' Union in Pietermaritzburg in 1950. As one of the leading trade union organisers he was deeply involved in the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). The formation of SACTU was an important qualitative development of the whole labour movement. SACTU helped to inject a new dynamic element into the broad struggle of the working class by helping to ensure that this trade union movement had its proper place theoretically and in concrete practice in that struggle.

When the CPSA was banned in 1950, Gwala was listed under the Suppression of Communism Act and banned for a period of two years. At the end of this period the banning order was extended. In 1952 he was charged with contravening his banning order for participating in the activities of the Rubber Workers Union. However, the prosecution lost the case.

The banning order made it difficult for him to find a job. But in 1954 he was employed as a typist by the Edendale hospital in Pietermaritzburg. A few years later he was dismissed for organising the workers in the one pound per day campaign launched by SACTU.

Harry Gwala refused to be intimidated by the actions of the regime or employers. In 1961 he once more became involved in the activities of the Rubber Workers' Union. Once more he was charged with breaking his banning order, and again won the case.

Like so many of his comrades, Gwala was detained under the notorious 90 days detention without trial law, in August 1963. The state accused him of working for the ANC underground. Two months later he was released

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became the I Itate was unable to prove. its charges. His freedom from hmu'nn was to last only a few more months. In February, 1964 he was mad olfunhering the aims of a banned organisation and of recruiting for Umkhonto We Szwe. He and hi: co-accused were found guilty and Injune 1964 he was sentenced to 8 years Imprisonment.

Following his year: olimprisonment In Robben Island, he was restrIcted to the area of .Pietennaritzburg and banned rfrom participating in any political mimics. On Robben Island Harry Gwala was a tower of strength. HI: courage, fortitude and sharply analytical mind were appreciated by all hit inllow prisoners He would explain and analyse political events and development: with patience. modesty and clarity. His use at the Marxist-Leniniu methodology was mattrterly.

Three years after hll releue he won once more downed and chanted with furthering the aims of: banned organiuttion and olrecruiting l'or Umkhonto We Sime. The other comrades who were charged with him were: M. Meyiwa. Z. Mdlaloe, A. XabaJ. Nene. T. Magubane,j. Nduli, C. Ndlovu and w. Khanyile.

Except for Nduli and Ndlovu, all the other accused had already sewed long term: olimprinonment on Robben Island. Nduli and N dlovu had been kidnapped from Swaziland and. as in the recent case of Ebrahim. were illegally Arraigned before the coun and sentenced. In 1976 all the accused mp3 W. Khnyile were found guilty". and Harry Gwala was given It life sentence. Khanyile was later killed In cold blood by the racist army In the manure olMatola, Maputo, In 1981. Harry Gwala had recruited Khanyile Into the trade union movement, ANC and SACP. .

A teacher by profession. Gwala Is a wonderful political teacher and leader. He helped to develop many revolutionaries, including the outstanding leader of the South African working class, Moses Mabhida. At the time when he was still allowed to appear on public platforms, Gwala showed that he was a powerful public speaker. HI: speeches were always enthusiastically received and uItnuleted many peeple into political action. On many occasions when Gwala wu asked to Ipealt, A.W. Champion (Mahlathamnyama). a former leader 0! the ANC In Natal. med to shout at .the top of his voice, "lsando Nuikell' (hammer and sickle) thus indicating to the audience Gwalals political commitment and affiliation II well as hIs public speaking powers. For him, a revolutionary has to have aclear perception of the world we lIve In, and how to change It. He always teaches that one is a better revolutionary I! one has a clearand unambiguous understanding of the forces that stand for opprelslon and exploitation In contrast to the forces that have the mission 56

and ability to change the world. He Is, without a doubtI an outstanding product and leader of the South African revolutionary process. He is a giant amongst giants in one of the most complex revolutions on the African continent. Harty Gwala ranks alongside other leading communists produced In our country. He is Indeed a tletermined and committed revolutionary, blessed with an amazing political and theoretical depth and clarity.

Whilst serving his lile sentence he contracted the motor neuroneldisease, which is both painl'ul and debilitating. This Illness is a consequence of his imprisonment. The apartheid regime bears responsibility for this as well as for those sullered by Nelson Mandela: and others. In fact, some prisoners have died as a result ollulling gravely ill whilst in prison.

The racist regime was In the end compelled to release him on November 26, 1988. on health grounds. He is out ola small prison but is still in a large prison __ South Africa Itsell'w battling to recover from his dillieult illness. ()n his release he was welcomed by hundreds ol'people. For the movement, for the toiling masses, Hariy Gwalu Is a great teacher, a lieree and uncompromising lighter against injustice and exploitation and a courageous leader who never shirked his duties and responsibilities.

The racist regime has wounded one of our bravest warriors. But he continues to light and the struggle goes on. Our friends and allies ll'l the international comIIluIIity should intensify their all-rouud support for our struggle. Let their voices be heard!

Release all South African political prisoners and detainees!

NOW!

Unconditionally!

As an activist at the mass democratic movement for the last ten years, I would like to express my idea: on why the AC is an indispensable resource for the mass democratic, national liberation and working class movement. . .

I am an Indian (from a middle-class family. My first exposure to politics came from an uncle who was involved in the Congress movement. Because of the victories in Angola and Mozambique, the Soweto uprising of 1976, and the flood of work in the late seventies, my political interest developed into active participation. The catalyst to my involvement was the 1980 school and university boycott. These intense battles strengthened my commitment, broadened my experience and gave me the feeling that I had graduated to become an 'activist'. . .

Coming in the Congress tradition, I learnt about its long history, the ANC and the Freedom Charter. Whilst a student I had only acquired a general understanding of Marxism, socialism, the national democratic revolution and the need to organise and mobilise the people. At that time my political involvement was based on an emotional commitment to the struggle (not a bad thing as long as it is not the only reason) and lacked a proper theoretical backing.

58

A qualitative leap in my political development came as a consequence of acquiring a scientific understanding of the world, how to change it, the nature of South African society, the theory of our revolution, our organisation and dynamics of social change. "

This leap was greatly assisted by the African Communist and other materials from the SACP. My first contact with the AC was the pamphlet "Philosophy and Class Struggle" by Dialeko. It gave me a theoretical foundation and increased confidence in my political work. In the early eighties a few of us formed a disciplined discussion group. The studying and reading at the AC helped to deepen our understanding of the struggle and in many ways directly affected our organisational work. Apart from providing us with much needed theoretical nourishment, the AC helped us to defend the movement's position from the attacks of the ultra-leftists who reject the leadership of the ANC and SACP. In particular, our group benefitted from the Marxist-Leninist analysis of Colonialism of a Special Type, the strategic objectives of the national democratic revolution, current developments at home and abroad. The strong sense of internationalism promoted by our journal helped us to learn from other peoples' experience and broaden our perspectives.

The AC has a very important role to play in developing the political consciousness of our cadres. Our struggle for a non-racial, democratic and non-exploitative society requires the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. . . I

My experience shows that activists in the mass democratic movement need to have a sound theoretical knowledge if they are to play their role adequately. For this purpose, the AC is an indispensable resource. The AC has proved to be a useful organiser and teacher. Using the AC, our group learnt a great deal about criticism and self-criticism, strategy and tactics of our revolutionary alliance, nature and character of apartheid South Africa, the rich traditions and history of our national liberation and working class movement and communist discipline, morality and ethics. '

At a personal level, the AC has helped me to develop a strong sense of international solidarity. It enabled me to understand that I am part of an international movement that is actively working to change the world and make it a better place for all.

Future AC articles could deal with the political development and maturity of individuals - that is, how to be a good revolutionary. A purpose of the science of Marxism-Leninism is to enhance the quality of our practice and provide a good example for others to follow.

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CONTRADICTIONS IN ACHEBE'S SOCIAL REALISM AND
HIS POLITICAL ATTITUDE

Anthillo of the Savannah, by Chinua Achebe (Nigeria:
Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1988)

This latest product from Achebe's writing mill is a significant departure from his earlier works. Like these works, particularly *Things Fall Apart*, *No Longer at Ease* and *A Man of the House* (It: People, it is the story of Africa (or a part of it - Nigeria) at a certain stage of socio-political development. However, it differs significantly from these works because it not only attempts to show the contradictions in a neo-colonial African society which Kangan -- the imaginary Man's State which illustrates the burden of the story in *Anthillo* -- represents, but also gives us a glimpse of how Achebe thinks our society can (or cannot) achieve genuine liberation. (This, of course, is in spite of his strong belief that an artist has no business making any prescriptions about how society should be run). Indeed, *Anthillo* is significant to us because by recording what we can call Achebe's philosophico-ideological testament, it provides an occasion for the continuation of the debate on what should be the nature of the politics of African liberation. . . .

But, while we may congratulate Achebe for this new element in his artistic output, it does not appear that we can say that he has explored the idea on which his philosophico-ideological testament is based -- the idea of 'A New Radicalism' -- with sufficient rigour.

60

Anthillo is the story of an imaginary African state -- Kangan. This story revolves around three principal characters -- Sam, the president, Chris Oriko, the Minister of Information and Ikem Osadi, the literary poet and journalist. These are the three characters (the "three green bottles") whose views and activities constitute the lens through which we see the contradictions in Kangan society. For instance, Chris Oriko gives us an insight into the precarious nature of the military government that had taken over power from the civilians in Kangan when he wrote *His Excellency*. The Head of State thus:

His Excellency came to power without any preparation for political leadership -- a fact which he being a very intelligent person knew perfectly well and which, furthermore, should not have surprised anyone. Sandhurst after all did not set about training himself to take over the majesty's throne but rather in the high tradition of proud aloofness from politics and public affairs. Therefore when our civilian politicians got what they had coming to them and landed unloved and unmourned on the rubbish heap and the young Army Commander was invited by the even younger coup-maker to become *His Excellency* the Head of State he had pretty few ideas about what to do. And so, like an intelligent man, he called his in-laws together and said: 'What shall I do?' (p.12.)

Any keen observer of the nature of many of the military coups (barrack revolts?) in Africa, or at least in Nigeria, would admit that this provides an adequate characterization of one of the contradictions in contemporary African societies.

Also, Ikem gives us an insight into the low level of political consciousness of the people of Kangan when in his response to questions after the public lecture at the University of Bausa (Chapter Twelve), he informs us of the economic nature of trade-union consciousness in Kangan and the inability of students, who are supposed to be active participants in the struggle for social change, to rise above the problems of society -- ethnicity, religious intolerance, electoral merchandising and so on. Indeed, he captures the essence of this low level in the political consciousness of the people when he describes them as 'people who laughed blatantly at their own humiliation and murder' (p. 41).

However, while Achebe is able to give a realistic portrayal of the contradictions in Kangan society, his ahistorical and subjectivist approach to socio-political analysis appears to have militated against his being able to see the kind of things that the resolution of these contradictions would require.

61

i , thmu h lkem, tells us -- and we agree with him 7'
diftthlelmmlnme (haw: the mih'stuy government in Kangan is to be located in
'the failure of our mien to reestablish vital inner links with the Poor and
dispossessed of this country, with the bruised heart that throbs painfully at
the cote ol' the nation's being' (p. 92), yet he does not ask why this is so.
Whueas if he had eonsidemd this question, he would have been able to see
the W oonjunctute that has generated, is generating, the kind of
leadenhip we have in AM. And ifhe had seen this, hewc'iuld have seen the
diliicultiel involved in talking of politics and leadership 'In Alnca without
making relerence to the structural link between ttnpenalism and
neocolonialism. Ofcounse if he had seen this connection, it wotild not have
been dilhcult for him to see that the problem of Kangan society is essentially
that ol' the system, not that ol'a basic human failing that may be allevnated by
a good spread of a general political experiencen (p.39) whose development: IS
gradual. Finally ilhe had seen this, he would have'seen that revolution, rat e:
than teform. is lithe most promising route" to socwl change in a neo-colonia
mmsmqsocio-political testament, encapsulated in lkem's concept
ol'A New Radicalism' is faulty because it is not based on any entlunng senlse
of him. Hence. despite the fact that he is able to identify, quite correct y,
some of the contradictions in a nmolonial Alricanisociety, he has not been
able to give us an adequate charactetization of the kind of interplay of forces
that can lead to the resolution ol'these contradictions. Stnall wonder then that
he ends up recommending a socio-political practice ---I Bemsteiman
ldonn'nm -- that can only consolidate the vely contradictions whose
decisive molution is one of the essential ingredients of the achievement of
genuine liberation in a neo-colonial society like Kangan. _ _ .
Yet. this is not the only result of the lack of an endunng sense ol'histow inf
Adiebe't lateat work. We have another outcome of this lack in his Views 0
struggle. Heme (pp.123-124). Achebe makes a" distinction between those who
sound the battle-dl'ums ofnevolution. those who wage the war and those who
tell the Italy afterwards. But we find this distinction between aspects of the
struggle somehow supedicial. Historically. it is not justified. Those who haye
played serious mlea in sounding the battle-drums of revolution have, tn
many cases. been active participants in the waging of the war itself.
But this distinction is not only hulty historically. it ts also conceptually
tinutialactoty. For if a stony. essentially at lmm thfe thw'mhzzxcoLa:

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apmenoe,whetherpeuonalorcommuml. l uses

62

that we can tell an adequate story without being actively involved in the
pmcess of its generation. Indeed, there is no way the impression or
experience which gives birth to the story can be fully registered without active
participation in the struggle, i.e. the event. So if our story is to be genuine, if it
is to teach us and our children the right lessons. then it has to How from the
wealth of experience we have acquired as participants in the war. not as
sanitized obsewers. And. we believe, it is because many African story tellers
have been mere observers of the war, not participants, that they have not been
able to tell stories which can teach the right lessons and prepare the ground
for genuine liberation.

On the whole, we want to say that some of the llaws (substantive and
formal) in Achebels Antlu'llr- for example the ending of the novel appears to
us forced - are closely connected with the contradictions we notice, to use
Ngugils words, iibetween the social realism ofthe reflected image on the one
hand and the weight and sympathies or the conscious attitudes to what is
reliected". This, we suggest, is the case because Achebcls sympathies are yet
to be fully for the oppressed people, in the struggle for African Liberation.

Olusegun Oladipo

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NOTE

I. Ngugi WI Thiong'O. Convenation on nThe Role of Culture in the African Ievolution',
The African Communal, Number "3, Second Quarter, 1988. p.44.

M

AN OVERSIMPLIFIED APPROACH . '

W

South Africa: What Lies Ahead? by Boris Asoyan. (Moscow:
Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1989.)

The author of this book has spent many years in East and Southern Attica as
a Correspondent oi the NM Timu magazine. He has also published many
book on the problems of present day Africa. I will review this book and also
trier to an article he wrote for the inlluentia journal. International Affairs

Number 9, 1988, which is provocatively entitled "Time to Gather Stones
Together".

The book and the article gives some indication of the thinking of some Soviet academics who may well influence the thinking of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. What impact such thinking will have on the Soviet view of our conduct of the struggle against the apartheid regime is of interest to us. This becomes more important given recent speculations in the bourgeois media that the Soviet Union is beginning to move away from its support for armed struggle in favour of a peaceful political solution, i.e., negotiations.

The View from the Luger

Asoyan attempts to outline the state of affairs in South Africa at the moment. He first tries to explain the history of white domination and the ascendancy of the 'Nationalist Party' as the governing party in South Africa's parliament. He tries to explain what he sees as the mentality of Afrikaners. A mentality inculcated in them by their leaders:

Its leaders have always preferred to keep old wounds open, thus keeping every Afrikaner ever-ready for battle. Beginning in childhood they prepare him for isolation. Inculcate in him the idea that he is surrounded by enemies - and not only in his own country, but worldwide. Inside this besieged fortress, which many Afrikaners still believe to be impregnable, tales are told about the 'chosen people' -- namely, about the invincibility of the white man. It was in such an atmosphere that Afrikaner nationalism was forged, and this nationalism eventually developed into one of the world's most acute conflicts. And it is to their leaders, the keepers of the sacred racist ideology, that the Afrikaners owe South Africa's being a world outcast for the last several decades. (p.15).

Further explaining the mentality of the Afrikaners, he says that the doctrine of the superior "predetermined race" in which all other nations of the world are inferior, forms part of the 'real' Afrikaner. And not only are other people inferior, they are also enemies: enemies are everywhere. One has to be vigilant and ready to strike first" (16). The Afrikaners proudly consider themselves the 'white tribe' of Africa, determined to stay in Africa because they have no other home to go to (16). '1', 4

He discusses the white political panics and the various struggles they are involved in to maintain or reform white minority rule. On the side of the forces of liberation, Asoyan shares the opinion that the ANC is the leading force of the liberation process" (48). He explains the existence of the Freedom Charter which he calls the main document of the African National Congress" (8). In this connection, he says that most blacks do not consider whites to be racists or enemies. Even in periods of violent reaction and abstruseness the black majority leaders have emphasised that they are struggling not against the whites, but against the unjust social system" (3).

64

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He develops this non-racialism of most blacks to conclude that blacks generally have the following vision of a free country. "They see it as being born as a result of a long and hard struggle which will free the nation, and will deal with this usage of nation below from the evil of the apartheid system and lay down the foundation of a unified state, (8). However he says. there are some blacks who do not want the fundamental change that many are lighting for given the present benefits that they enjoy as a result of the apartheid system. Amongst these blacks who do not want change, he lists the middle-classes who take very little interest in the political scene. the black bourgeoisie those in the army, police and local authorities. These he calls the 'right wing' of the black population who "would prefer to preserve the current status quo for the sake of their own prosperity" (84) . .

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A Misreading of the Forces

Asoyan tends to over-simplify and generalise class questions thus ending up with inaccuracies. Whilst it is true that not all black people are in favour of fundamental transformation, it is incorrect to lump together all middle and upper class blacks as being against liberation and thus satisfied with the present status quo. Within the various classes in the black community are to be found differing political perspectives on the question of fundamental change.

There are 'national democrats' as well within the black middle and upper classes in South Africa. Contradictory as their relationship may be with the main force for liberation (i.e., the black working class), many of them can be classified as broadly anti-apartheid and a significant and influential percentage of them identify themselves with the Freedom Charter. After all the Freedom Charter does promise some form of private enterprise in the post-apartheid period. ,

_ The theme of Asoyan's book is to sketch a scenario for the future: hence the

title of his book. He sets out this scenario as follows: "At the present time all the roads leading to South Africa's future seem to be obscured by clouds whose rose lining resembles the colour of blood more than that of calm sunshine. Too much pain and hatred has been accumulated in the nation to see below split by the apartheid regime for the situation to change without any violence or destruction . . . No one knows when the main battle will take place or how long it will last, whether the sides will meet at the battlefield or at the negotiations table. But no one has any doubts that the main battle is imminent" (7).

., lusume that by ibattlefteid' Asoyan is referring to armed struggle buLwith a conception of some kind of military overthrow (toppling) oi the apartheid tente. Negotiation is clear. In this complex situationythere me those who 'ugue he says. for 'an 'all-onnothing approach. These Asoyan calls the 'South African extremism (7). Unfortunately he does nOt tell us clearly who these political groupings'are. He mentions the AWB of Terrebianche and 'eome'unspecified black Iet't extremists. He should have specified these left extremists for the benefit of the reader.

through the Union of South Africa in 1910 and the Republic later on, brought about the special form of colonialism in South Africa. CST is therefore the basis upon which the oppressed in South Africa are engaged in a war of liberation.

Asoyuifs luck oliappi'eciution ol' CST leads him to a misunderstanding of the national question in apartheid South Africa. For him, there is a nation already formed in South Africa. He refers for example to the apartheid

system tcan'ng the nation apart (7). HI: also talks of the prevalent view amongst blacks being that aidemocratic South Africa will come about as a mu)! Ola hand arugula which will Ire: the nation" (8). An Indication of the anal: nation them and therefore a conclusion IIIIII the conIIIIct III ii "CINII Warm In III: Timaw Gathcx Sumo! Touthct'. 'Asoyan comes close to accspIIng thn many nations thesis. - I ..

HAWM quql, Ihqcforc, Apoyan impliciti a one nation thcsIII and on the oIhplr a tinny nations Ihemh This III bpcause he does Inot wptcaalc and understand CST. Thu; In anaiyzing the oontcmpraiy static oI cnnilict And Its possible molution Mmill inevitably game to cutain wgong conciuqtpm. This book gives some Insight into the "new thinking that Is going on amongst melin SoyIIct experts" on SoIIth Attica and the liberation struggle. This cab for a mgr; vigorous apprmh by our revolutionary alliance to uplaIn to thaw pIzoplc our pqsItion, perspective, analysis and stmtcgy and tactics, We should engage W comraqcs. III comradgly CIIIBIIISIOII and

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TO THE

LIBERATION MOVEMENT

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Dear Cornnads, . I

Please accept cu; heartfelt gIcctIngs for UN year 1989, 4nd aiso wish you new advances ammcassqs in your just stroggle Ivhich we always have It at our thrt. I . I

We would like to convey you (all the cditotial and publishing stafis oI SACP press) many thanks. for your oifcring oi SAC? publications, such as 7h; African Communist, Umtmbima and others that we havq received from you. 'l hey are really invalupblc Icaching materials to our party CadrczI ; and people lighting lor national soverc'mnty and dgmocracy, as well as ; social progrcsii. ' '

Without overstating it, we have rcgqpced the SAC? press, notably the above mentioned periodicals, as of thetfarxist- Lcninist political school, embodying the vcry rich experience of the inherent struggle of the Soth Alrican working days and people, a: wcil as the entire African continent liberation movement, and Ihemclical and methodological guidance of the genuine national liberation movements and socialist objectives aimed at the indispensable social emancipation on our continent, and the world over -.I I . I . .I I

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Jog Slave (above) 39d Dan T199mq (ugh!) rg- glcctc(1 General Secretary
and Chairman tcapeclivply at (he Zgh Congresspl, .
the South African Communist Party, 1989. 9
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Progm i' i e at the South African
Com mg' t Party adgpted at the
7th ngggggg, 1989 ;t 4.: i I
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INTRODUCTION

The W of achieving a nevolutionmy break- -th'rough In South Africa
are grew today dag ewbefore In ouII history. The qpartheid regime faces
an all- wound crim whigh mults fmm out- broad revolutionary offensive,
together with the intotnnLthtrddictions among the rulers. 'l he crisis of
racial tyranny cannot be resolved. except by the revolutionary trans-
tonnnntion of our countIy , I

Thenattonal liberat'tgn ohqmised by QteAfncan National Congress In
nevolutionuy alliance with the vanguard workers' party -- the South African
Communist Peny .. end the South Afncan Congress of' l rade Unions. It' Is a
national liberation struggle that combines many mass democratic
contingentsh- the yputh, women, students. civic and others - and the trade
union movement. .. - -

The mobilisation. mutton and unity In action of this large front of
fame- has swept into _ev'ely comer of our country, into the factories,
townships. schools. gndt'iural villages. Our struggle is known through the
world stin'tng freedom-bving people In every country. The building of this
bmgd front of forces inside and outside mgr countIy has been the greatest
achievement of our struggle.

The Communist Party of South Africa, the first Communist Party on the
African continent, watt formed on july 30 1921. Our Party was rooted In
South African struggles, and in socialist organisation: and socialist thinking
which had existed in various forms since the turn of the centuIy. The
(ormation of our Party was also directly inspired by the Bolshevik Patty of
Lenin, and it: venguatd vole in the world' I lint proletarian socialist
revolution in Russia, the Great October Revolution of 1917.

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One of the lirst attacks by the Nationalist Party regime on the people'l
rights was the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, which banned the
Communist Party of South Africa. This-attack was the beginning of an
assault on the whole democratic movement. In the 28 years before its
banning the Communist Party had played a pioneering role in rooting the
theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism in South African soil. In South
African conditions this meant, above all, playing a leading role in building
the national liberationmuvement. Party members also played: leading role
in organising black workers into the trade union movement,

It was no accident that the apartheid regime made this Party and the Ideas
and practice of Marxism-Leninism its iirst target. Communism stands for
the direct opposite of apartheid colonialism. Communism stands for the
rights of the workers and oppressed people,.against all forms of racism,
privilege, colonialism and exploitation. Communism stands for peace,
freedom, democracy, national independence and social progress. .

The banning of the Communist Party and the persecution of individual
communists have proved incapable of destroying us. Within a short time
alter the banning and dissolution of the Party, underground groups of
communists were formed in several centres. III L953 the tint underground
conlerence of the Party under its new name. the SOUTH AFRICAN

COMMUNIST PAR'I'Y, was held. . I

Today the inilueene and prestige ol'the South Ah'ican Communist Partytii.
greater than at any time in its history. Although it has been forced to operate
in the underground (or nearly forty years, our Patty is one ofthe main pillars
of the national liberation movement. The principles, the strategic objectives,
and the organisational approach which our Party pioneered from the 19208
have mme to be widely accepted among the broad masses within our,
countty. 4m - .

In the decisive period ahead, the SACP has a crucial role to play in the
mobilising, organising and ideological development oiiall contingents in our
IIevolutionaIIyI struggle, and in particular the South African working class.
The struggle for national liberation, tho'destruction ofaoloniah'sm of:
special type and the transition to socialism in South Africa requin: a
vanguard Marxist- Leninist party capable of providing a highly disciplined
OI ganiaation and the guiding light O! a scientilic socialist outlook grounded In
South Ain'can realities. , I II , I, , ,

In 1902 the South Airican Communist Party adopted its programme"

u' l he Road to South Alrican F reedom". l he 1962 programmohas made an
indelible contribution to the scientiic analysis of the situation in
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South Africa, and to practical revolutionary work for national liberation. it has proved to be a major guiding light over more than a quarter of a century of magic. in piling the work of party and non-party militants alike.

:But after 27 years then: have been major changes in the world, in our region. and within South Africa itself. The deepening crisis of racial tyranny in our country and the great wave of mass struggles over the last decade have brought our immediate goal much closer, and they have introduced a wealth of revolutionary experience. The period ahead is pregnant with revolutionary potential and challenges.

In this programme the South African Communist Party analyses the fundamental feature of South African society and considers the main characteristic: 0! the present international situation and of the region in which we live. It puts forward our strategic approach to the struggle to end national oppression and, to advance to socialism. with the ultimate objective of building communism in South Africa. It outlines the main tasks of the Communist Party of the working class, and the immediate path to power in the national democratic revolution. v. 4 t

The Communist Party in the leading political force of the South African working class. Together with our allies in the liberation struggle headed by the ANC, our immediate aim is to win the objectives of the national democratic-revolution, whose main content is the national liberation of the African people in particular, and the black people in general, the destruction of the economic and political power of the racist ruling class, and the establishment of one united, non-racial, democratic South Africa in which the working class will be the dominant force. _ , . i. u t

The Communist Party has no interest: separate from those of the working people. The Communists are members and daughters of the people, and share with them the overriding necessity to put an end to the humiliating and humiliating of apartheid. The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party: the establishment of a socialist South Africa. laying the foundations of a classless, communist society.

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1. IE WORLD My QUESTIONAR! PROQUEST, . H

The revolutionary struggle in South Africa is part of a world revolutionary process whose main tendency is the transition from capitalism to socialism. from societies based on exploitation to a new world free of exploitation and oppression.

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0 competition between the two Opposing social systems. 1 , .

' t - ' t . . . Y emit? - a light

socialism _ . for the hegemony of humankind; V VI 9 P , mg and,

0 more and more people taking the path to Socialism - Progress

0 the struggle of the newly liberated 0 Movement ' 1

development; . . i ' 1 ' 9 UPHH 02 genuine. dependent!

0 the struggle for the line; liquidation of the 'political system.

t Our people's struggle is one in which the who; of humankind faces problems that

enlarge the revolutionary line. The ' shared threat. The threat of nuclear war the

eternally developing of the ' developing countries. such 'u debt. 'aminehnd

disease. all that 'ect, directly and, indirectly, the highly industrialised and

developmental problems require the broadest international

co-operation for their resolution. While such broad co-operation is Absolutely,

impossible the only guarantee of a lasting solution to these problems lies with

the deepening and consolidation of the main historical tendency of the epoch

namely the transition from capitalism to socialism. . t .

. This WW" tendency of world development does not take place without

struggles. Although imperialism has lost power over fully one third of

humanity now in socialist countries, although it has lost its colonial empires

and undergone serious crises, it remains a powerful and dangerous enemy of

socialism. It attempts to reverse the main trend of world development

and to recapture the historical initiative, imperialism relies on its still vast

economic, political, cultural and military resources. e ,

. the growing instabilities and integral crises of modern capitalism - do not

lead to the 'total' collapse, in the present period a number of features have

enabled international capital to prolong its existence until its end. A

major immediate (and technological), revolution is occurring in both the

developed socialist and capitalist countries. In the capitalist countries it

:31"! the land revolution has greatly accelerated in the

the 114 to the attainment of a concentration of 2 ital. ' I . i

gimmicks of the 'nationalist' movement. M'P t Mid HPUFM 00 the 810W"! 0!

1 In the 080\$ multinational corporations accounted for over one-third of all

lhftapllaiwl world's manufaqttripg output, moreithan qne-halfol'its foreign-
tragic, and IQ; tip tt) QOu/p of new hardware and technology patents. This high
leveleqftentrghpatton enables. impetialism to manipulate material, financial
and. httntah resources throughout thgnonzsncialist worldm New ceptres-qf
qapttal aeeumulgtion hqye been opened up in Latin Arneriea and the F at East.
Pursuing maXimttm grofus, the transnational corpotrations are hble'to
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' ' t S tem e

mg:m\$as tied: its first blow in 1917 v- by the victety of th;
Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. After the endyolf the'Sccor;l
World War and the defeat at German fascism anti japanesd mltlttansm, the
world-wide hhtorical process of meta) liberation: was marked dby t: e
overthrow of exploited inhteverd'eountriet ln'EttroPe and Asia a d t .en
Cuba. Socialism has turned into a world system, tasfsertmg ttaelfongs:
eatpames of the earth. Socialist countries today represent a powe u
international force. Some 9! theml possess highly developed eeehormes, 3
considerable edentifnc base; and'a reliable military defencepotenhal. Wort
sodaliem accounts for more than one-third of the world'tt. poputatton, u;
dozens of countries advancing along a path that revealsttthe ntellectual an ,
moral ial afhumanity. A new way oflife iF-takmg shape tn w'h't'ch-there
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a222\$ztzzihl2io::leys in Shich the world socialist system Een'tnbttte
to the world revolutionary proeess. First, the extstence of eloeiahst ceuntrltes,
their growing might, and their foreign pohcnesylbaesed' bn Wokzktngf :3:
internationalism, have brought about radual changes l9 the J or i 'wrh
balance of (OM between in'Ip'eriz'tlism and all'the'fqrces. oppeflng t: e
growing might ol thel soeialist countries restnets tntpertalient s abltlttyte
export countermolodon. Secondly, the advane'es ol the gqctahst cotmtnes
Empire the working people throughout the world to strdggle for soetal anct
national emancipation. raising the level of thetr tientands andlpt ogrpmrcrim
oi ection. Thirdly. socialist 'countrieu provtde mghtheartt ant? many-ut uh
supporttto revolutionary movements throughout the world. Iln. shaft, he
growing might ofworld socialism creates more favourable cond'tttfns or t se
working peopleof the world to attain peace, demoeracy and some progreetts.
Socialism has demonstrated its enormous potenttat for all-rotnn'el prsgr: I
But the world-wide process of transitipn from capttahsm to seetiahsr: da: I;
beenwithoutnesative featurean'the SovnerUntonttselfsettatl sm at otl
built in a countw wth a low level ofcapitalist devel_o_pment, a predorhltznzn yf
peasant population. and many national comrnmttes with dtlfererit et/ tel
development, including ' survivals of feudahsm and ever: earl er aoeml
systems. The new workm'nate had to fmd tts own waY, wnthout htsgt'trtia
models to follow: and in the face 0!" local eounterrevoltttten and the tn est n
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which took between I(1) andtZ00tyeat-s, was based largely on resources

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plundered from coloniesnl contrast, in building its industrial basein less
than 20 years, the Soviet Union had only its own resources on which to rely,
not least the heroism and dedication of its revolutionary working classvand
Harty.

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These diflieult origins help to explain, but in no way to: jultil'y the
emergence of a party and government system of administrative command,
leading to extensive bureaucratic control and criminal violations of gocialist
justice. These were exposed by the 20th and 27th Congresses of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union. F or a number ut'decades democratic
procedures were neglected in the Soviet Union, and the cult of the
personality dominated the leadership, the Party and the whole country.

Given the preeminent position of the Soviet Union within the world
communist movement, some of these negative tendenciesnlso affected

Communist Parties around the world, including oumwn. t. v . t

Within the Soviet Union elements of stagnation and othethphenomena

alien to socialism began to appear. Since the 27th Congress ofthe CPSU an
important process has been initiated for democratisatiow, restructuring
(pemtrot'lca) and openness (glammt), with the aimlof ensuring the fuller
realisation of the economic, moral and'cultural possibilities opened up by
socialism. I . I -- .

The South African Communist Party strives constantly for the
strengthening of ties between all socialist countries and for international
Communist unity at all levels. We regard such unity .as essential (or the
progress of world sicialism. the defence of peace and the advance of the
national liberation struggle everywhere. The proletarian intemntiomlilm of
the metalm countries has, amongst other things, played an outstanding role
in the revolutionary victory of the Vietnamese people over US imperialism,
and in the defence of the Cuban revolution. In southern Africa, progressive
and revolutionary forces have a lung and warm experienceol' the continent,

semess assistance of the socialist countries. In particular, the contribution of the Cuban internationalist forces, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the defeat of apartheid and imperialist plans in Angola has been of decisive importance for our whole region.

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The national liberation movement and the anti-imperialist struggle of the developing countries I . ,

The national liberation movement and the developing countries have played an exceptional part in the world-wide struggle against imperialism. They have contributed greatly to changing the balance of power in the world in

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funneolpeaceenn socialinn. As recently as the 19503, almost one third olthe work?! population was ruled by colonial powers. In the last thee decades the national liberation movement has dealt a major blow to colonialism. Today very little is left of the colonial system in its classical forms. This is an .chiaement ol waddrwide hismrical importance. .

,A major inmgouemmentalforum (or the newly independent and other developing countries is the NonnAligned Movement, which has emerged an All impon-It lame in world politics. The Non-Aligned Movement has an antiwar. nntid'mperialilt. anti-colonialist and anti-racist orientation. It also pmmotuthe struggle lama newtworld economic order. .

p. Pint put (onward in 1973 by the NonvAligned Movement, the basic pn'nciples of a new wodd economic order to break out of the present grave situation were declaredito be:

0 the oovereigntyjnd equalityol all ttateu l.

0 the rishtpievexy country to choose it: own r0

0 the mentality ofevety mite over its own nationa

n the right to control the activitiea of the transnational corporations;

tmoomic aid without .any politiml or military strings. .

The crippling debt buqdm ol' the 19803 has made the demand for a new intentational economic order ever more relevant.

The governments of the developing countries pursue a variety of different policies. The man progressive among them have a socialist orientation, involving I gradual tpamitinn by economically under-developcd societies to socialiam. .11: these countries the foundations for social ownership of the-man of production aresbdng laid. Progressive and social and economic changes an: being inuuducedto implement reform. stamp out illiteracy and imrolue'the broad masses in building a new society.

The effomd socialiworiented countries to devc

opposition from reactionary international circles. Imperialism considers vast legions of Asia, Latin America and Africa as spheres of its special interest. Then it me to tumble on the rights and aspirations olthe developing nations.

A The anti-imperlalist struggles of the developing countries are closely related to those of liberation movements uruggling against the last remnants of the colonial system. in particular, Zionist Israel and apartheid South Afric- u'e springboerdt to destabilise independent countries throughout their respective regions. The struggles of the Pnleatinittn people under. the leadership of the -PbO, the Namibian people under the leadenship' of SWABO. and of SouthAfricai majority under the leadership of the ANC, have an importance beyond their immediate context. .4

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 essential. _ . . DIenbtve, the continuation q! the class struggle is
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 ad?um;lqatme tithe, the strategic orientation of Communist Parties in the
 wegzm cgiitgliatemmes 1.55 towards broad, democratic anti-monopoly
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 ennuhvznrgggzy tilt; emergence. Since the late 19603, ol'van'ous mam demgcizti:
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 important motive force for social develo cmltltulo an
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 Eoggtcn: involve people of vunous political orientations and social stat:
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 wake toe the unity, ol the warhead the whole world, 'and etpeeiaily of the
 Marxiet-Leniniet parties. We. workfor the unity of all world antmmpenahdt
 and pmgmeive lower in the lifeand-death- struggle Afor nueieer
 disarmament and international relations based on mutual' respect. This
 pdicy coincide! with the fundamental inteteett of the peopleomur country.
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 . THE V L ONARY PROCESBJN- A'FRICNL "'_W"' 4
 The Seudrai'icen national liberetion ttmggle iI-telting'ple e within the
 eontonolimponnt dmbpmenttineouthern Aide. end thecontinent en
 whole. Thele'developmente exert enormous innuenee on our msgie, an
 mudt "South Afrn'an events have a bearing on theetmgglee of the peoples of
 Africa (or full democritt'c and independent development. ' i 2.1 W m r
 peoples olMlica share a common history which predates theoolonial
 mngljected to various tonne of colonial plunder by uimpcttialiem; their
 etrugdel (or independtltwe have nlwaye been teen u a common fightilpumt
 aeommon enemy. Thin tense elooilective nenponlihihty forms the bamiora
 ehamdanti-impedeliel sentiment, the moat crucial and urgent ofwhoetuh
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 Although the eociel condition within our country are, m many. ways;
 diluent from the general eituetiontn meet of Atria, the mot end essence of
 the system within South Allie; ditto" little from the daucal colonial system .
 to which the rest of the-continenhwu subjeaed. Our snugglee and the
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 The attainment of hdependenee by the majority of Afrtcan peoples
 constitutes the gluten political advance of the put thnexeecedee on the
 continua. Peon colonial Iubjugetien. n'nuelly the whole ct Mm u toer
 rude updtndeputdewmndm-the panda! imtmmentt-to determine

82

their deltiny. Thin achievement in a direct result-of the heroic struggles of the
 African masses: the peasants, workers, intelligentsia and other forces;
 While similarities abound, each country and eachlpeople haveittheir own
 characteristics. The level of economic developmentidiffen'from country to
 country and region to region. The paths to political power; the correlation
 and class forces in the national liberation alliances before and after
 independence; the colonial metropolis with which thby have'had to contend;
 and the immediate geo-political environment in which they arelit'uated -
 all these have a profound influence on the political processes ineach country.
 Today, Africa is made ttpof a wide variety omolitical systems end forms of
 government. : - : Hi" l" i"

In countries where the compradore bourgeoisie e- underlings 'of
 imperialist forces - dominate the machineriee ofstate, economic resouces
 have been laid bare to plunder by transnational'corporationt, with some
 fringe benefits to the local ruling groups."ln such'countries, an'd'thooe in
 Which other sections of the bourgeoisie oraspirant capitalists took the reins of
 power; a parasitic variant of the capitalist 'clase' - the bureaumtk
 bourgeoisie -- has emerged. This group feeds on corruption and is tied to
 intemtionell capitel. Politically, there reactionary cnpltelittt rely on force
 and progressive-Iounding slogan: to suppress the yearning: of the working'
 V

people for independent development. ' "'5 ' e' ; "n '
 in some countries sections of the hationaPibottrgeoieie whoithough
 aspiring for growth and prosperity aS'avelats, came intd power with the
 support of the working peoplei'hin particular the working'clau and poor
 peasantw. This group, relying on this alliance, and mbved. by genuinely
 patriotic aims, has taken an active pm'inAstmgglee against imperialist
 dominationfowindependent national development. In these countries,
 restrictions have been placed on the involvement of transnational
 corporations. Industrial 'and land refonms including a relatively strong state
 sector have been introduced. In the fields of education, health and in the

political system some reforms have been elected to benefit the people and ensure their participation -- though limited - in the political process. - A. I. Z. I.

A decisive role in the development of socio-political forms in Africa is played by the middle strata, especially professional groups and sections of small businessmen. Numerically strong, and based in the urban centre, they are the social base that has fed the leadership of liberation movements and political parties. It is from these sectors that the majority of the officer corps in the late apparatus and bureaucracy originate. These

many have been divided either to the minus sectioned the
 bourgeoisie to the workers people. ' 1 . , .
 On: the decadence of independence. many socio-political changes have
 taken place in many of the continent. The struggle between the forces
 of democracy and social progress on the one hand, and those tied to
 imperialism on the other, has continued. Different forms and has been waged
 with different degrees of intensity. In a number of countries, these struggles
 have the character of either a progressive or reactionary
 character. In other instance. the upheavals at the top and among the people
 null. Immune complex ethnic (sometimes multi-ethnic) relations inherited '
 (from the colonial division of Africa. This ethnic diversity has often been
 deliberately manipulated by the Western imperialist power. At the
 same time, intense attention or incorrect approaches to the national
 question by many of the powers have precipitated social strife.
 (The whole of the continent. in this period has been the
 youth of the African working class and its increasing impact on social.
 development. The wage labour force in independent Africa has grown in
 number to over 3.4 million, 70% of whom are workers in industry and
 agriculture. The geographical distribution of the working class is uneven. with
 the majority concentrated in, 3.1% of the industrialised countries.
 Though small in number, the African working class is essential to any radical
 change. But it can only play its revolutionary role to the full if it
 is organised to promote and pursue its
 interests, and long-term interests under the guidance of Marxism-
 Leninism. Depending on the political and political setting in each
 country, the vanguard revolutionary forces will assume a variety of
 different forms. the highest expression of which is a Marxist-Leninist
 Party - 'Tutu' 5., '11 4....i
 many of the African countries are at ideological positions. African countries where the
 continent of the continent: of colonial. National liberation
 communist is technical underdevelopment. many of the continent
 and the continent of the continent. the debt burden end to on. These real
 problems reinforce the joint struggles of virtually all independent Africa for
 an equitable system of international economic relations. It is the totality of all
 these common economic problems and the desire to eradicate them that have
 cemented the bond: of unity, expressed in the Organisation of African Unity.
 Wood of the continent such as the Preferential Trade Area for East and
 Southern African States and the Economic Community of West African
 States. many of the continent in their joint quest for

84

independent development. These organisations have not only reinforced
 continental and regional co-operation, but also significantly strengthened
 the voice and standing of Africa in the international arena. .. 1.
 The Transition to Socialism
 Ultimately, the only viable choice for Africa's working people is the socialist
 path of development. This road holds out the possibility of resolving the
 many-sided problems afflicting all developing countries, to the benefit of the
 overwhelming majority of the people. i .. W ' '
 The main general tasks in the countries of 'socialist' orientation are:

- 1.5.
- 0 to strengthen the state sector; . _ ,
- 0 to root out domination by foreign capital; 1 . .
- Q to create the industrial and technological base for socialism and the
 planned economic development; t y. 1
- 0 to introduce progressive land reform; 4
- 0 to widen popular democracy and strengthen the vanguard revolutionary
 party; and _ .
- 0 to work for national cultural revival with socialist values.

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But these tasks have to be carried out in a situation in which the old masters
 - local and international -- put up stiff resistance. In particular, the most
 reactionary circles of imperialism and, in our region, the apartheid regime,
 have mobilised their resources for a vicious campaign against socialism.
 Reactionary terrorist and subversive interference have slowed down the
 development towards socialism in many of these countries. These actions
 have hindered the attempts to overcome such objective difficulties as the
 backward industrial and technological base and the numerical weakness of
 the working class. -' i

In some of these countries, subjective mistakes have been made. The main

emf'has been the drive to move ahead to objective Conditions bathlin
economic and political policy. Forinstance, premature attempts to eliminate
all private property. including small enterprises, often narrow: the social
base of the nevolution and can do incalculable harm to the quest for
socialism. In a few cases, elements have emerged within the state apparatuses
who amass wealth through corrupt practices and who seek to use their
position to reverse the whole process of socialist orientation. i l ' it
The path of socialist orientation demands unflinching reliance by the
revolutionary movement on the working people, and a conscious effort to
constantly broaden the social base of the revolution by patiently winning

over more And mate genuinely patrigtic forces to the etch: qisociai progress. It dependnho. topiary mutton the mngth md cohesion of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard my and systemAtic ideological work within the ranks of the party and among all sections of society. In foreign policy, strong, mutuallybeneficial relation: with socialist countries and other pmgreuive muons is ofiundanental Importance.

The South Ahietin Communist Party supports the struggle of iAlrican patriots to achieve Ml namllibemtian, someignty and independent national development. The Party fully identities with the elicits to organise uni mobiiiee. the working class andworiting people to play their deserved role in national and continental renaissance; and to cement the unity of workers peasants and other progressive and democratic forces in the fight to eliminate the vestiges of colonialia'n and ongoing imperialist plunder. As part of this process, and in pursuit of the working class objective of a society without exploitation, the Party works for the deepening of the comradely unity and co-operation among Marxist-Leninist Parties oft Africa. ' I il't ml it

The Southern African Region "1

Over the past two decades, southern Africa has undergoiie changes ofepoch-making tigniliqnce. These developments have had a profpund impact on the snuggle within South Aides. And they have themselves, been inilenced 'by this snuggle. Our revolution is unfolding within this immediate environment, a region which 18 the foremost target pf the racist colonial regime: a acts of daubihatioq. _ ,

The evolution of the colonial system qfirnperialism m wuihern Africa was such that theeconomies of the commas oi the regien were structured to be highly dependent 9n, South A(ricain tennapfcommunieation and transport, the supply ofmanufactured goods and, to an extent, even the employment of wage labour. \$puth Auriga emerged es e sub-imperiaiist gentre, a junior pprtnr ofimperialisut melting to dominate the region on its own behaltand on hehali'ofimperialism. Today! South Africa accounts for about77% pf the Gross National Product of edunttjes south of Zaire and Tanzania and approximately 90% of energy computed" South African capital has been expand to many wwwics Of lhc. resin"

The strategy olimperialism comma in ensuring its regionil dqmination of southern Attica. In that regard, imperialism pays particular attention to defending the interests at menupoly cppital especially within South Africa as its prime springboard into the region. In punuit of the objeptive of regional domination. imperielim employ venous tactics aimed at blocking and

86

reverting the struggle of the revolutionary mum. and maintaining the eucntseuifcolonial domintttion within South Africa and the region as It whale.

The achievement of independence by the peoples of Mozambique and Angola in the mid-1970s drastically changed the balance of fumes in the region. A product. of armed and militant popqu struggles, these victories profoundly reinforced the struggles of other oppressed peoples of ,the nubcittent. These revolutions set the stagetforJdevelopment towards socialitt construction. Slightly over half a decade later, and after many years of gmdungistmnggle, the Zimbabweanpeoplce also achieved theirindependence.

.4The. strategy of the apamheidvmgime hinges on achieving all-mund domination - economic, political and military - and turning the states of southern Africa into satellites of apartheid coioqialism. In pursuit of this objective, economic enticement, persuasion, sabotage, direct military aggression and surrogate bandit movements are used interchangeably and yin varimcomhinctions to bludgeon southern Africa into submiasiot. The regime a acuolaggreision are; product of the support Pretoria receives from imtpgnalimi. . t

But' lm a policy that is meeting with mqjor obstaplm Intensifted mass and garmed struggle within South Africa, the economic consequences of regional ,dgstabthuation; the coat ofdinet aggression in humanlllivee and white morale 47-: all these have a powerful weakening elleot upon the apartheid regime. In addition, the states of sp.nthern Africa, the F rontline States in particular, have cqlllectively, taken consistent positions against aparatheid. The.Southern Airman Development Qo-Qrdinating Conference end bilateral relations among these and other governments in the regioniwnstitute a signiicant ,dn've, to reduce dependence on ,South Africa. The Frontline States themselves have sought to strengthen their defence and securityto defeat Pretoria 3. plans

4 It it against this background that m 1988 the South Africah war machine suifgmd an ignomin'tqus defeatin southern Angola. Combined with decades pfheroic struggle bythe people ,ofNamibia undcn the leadenship ofSWAPO,

this development has precipitated Possibilities for the decolonisation of Namibia. 1 1

Within the centres of international capital, and between elements of international capital and the regime, there have always been differences of approach. To the extent that these contradictions are of benefit to the struggle, they must be used and deepened. But these conflicts should not be the main menu of the strategy of international capital as a whole! that of defending and extending its economic and political sway.

- The South African Communist Party stands by -the governments and peoples of southern Africa in their efforts to defend their sovereignty and independence. 'I'heiructiftoes in support of our stmggleshall always remain emblazoned in the hearts ofour people and ourworking class in particular - with whom many Ioutheen African workers share the same workplace. T he bonds among the duties and strata in the region leads to a natural alliance Among Akita!) patriots againet cohniel domination. The task of isolating, weakening and defeating the Preton'e regime is the noble duty of 3-". anti- epertheidhnel in South Africa, the mgion nhd'internationally. Thisfis the ultimne guemntee of a just peace and social pmgreu inoun subcontinent.

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3. COLONIALISM OF A SPECIAL TYPE '1 1: x .

South Africa has a developed capitalist economy. ln-tour- country, and wheaemiit exists, the capitalist mode ottproduction has- the same basic characteristics. It is an exploitative system based on the extraction of suephas value from wage labour. But the universal features iofdapitalism occur Within concrete societies, eaehwith it. own specific baianee oP-dm forcee and particular economic, political and ideological features. Indifferent capitalist countries the boutgeoisie exert: its class rule through different tkmds of domination, mging from bourgeois democracy to fascism. . _ A. . , - Like many earlier oppreuvrchen. the bourgeoisie also exerts its elass rule me frontiers. In the imperialist epoch, capitalism hasextenswely developed its own vedants of colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial rule, underpinning the brutal euper-exploitation of working people in the dominetedocietiee. "-1 w .. '1 v w e 1--

Within South Africa. bourgeois domination and cnpitelilt relation: of pmduetiom- which emerged within the context of colonialinmyheve been developed and maintained since 1910through a specific veriam of hourgeeis elu- rule -- edom'eliuni of a special type. It in a variant of capitalist rule in whu-the essential feature: of eolonid domination. in the imperialist epoch are maintained and even intensified. But there is one specific peculianty: In South Africa the colonialruling class with its white support bese on the ene hand. and theoppneued coloniel majority on the otherene located wthhm a Iingteeounuy. - .. NH" '1 .. u ::

'On the one hand. white Seuth Africane-enjoy political poWer, Metal pn'vilegee and the lion's shamefthe country's wealth. On the otherhand: the avuwhdming black majority of our'country are subjected' to' extreme nationaloppression, poveny, superaexploitation; complete denial of basic human rights, and political domination. . ' i7 - . . .

' i There'are significant class differences within both the white colonial bloc 'and the oppressed black majority. However, the effect of colonialism of a special type is that all white classes benefit, albeit unequallyland in diil'erent ways, from the internal colonialstructutei Conversely; all black classes Butler national oppression, in varying degree: and indifferent ways.

The social and economic features ofour country rave directly'related to its oolonialhistory. t . . t . i . : z ,

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The Origins of Colonialism of a Special Type - v t - U

From the time of the first white settlement, established-by theDutch East India Company over 300.yearsiago;'the pattern wadiset for the ruthless exploitation of the blackpeople oliourlcountry, the seizure oftheir lands and the enforced harnessing of their labour power. The Dutch made war on'the Khoi people ot'zthe tilape, whom theynontemptuounly rcnllled PHottentots", and rejected their appeals for peace and friendship. The San peopienthe so-called "Bunhmenhtwere all but extorminatedtwaues were imported from Mmya and oisawhene. White settlers gradually penetrated intorth the interior. They drove-the indigenous people from the best faim lands and seized their cattle. They subdued themvby armed conquest'and forced them into their service - tit iirst through direct slavery, later through a harsh system ofpass lawn and taxation. m w. -- t ' NJ '-' - t -

Colonialist , , propaganda has , emphasised the 'negative - features of tratirional-African society: the- relatively lowndevelopment of productive techniques; theilliteraoy, intehtribal conillcts and wars, superstitions and poverty. It is true that such features existed in traditional African moietyjust u they did among in people: It theiperiodoleerly comtnunal economiet. But hostile proplgundn-hau tptesented a'distorted-imttge. Priortotcolonial conquest, theindigenous peoples hadddeveloped theirtown independent culture and civilisation. 'llthey mined'end smelted'irong'eopper and other

metallnnd fashioned them into usehtl'implements. Theyhaddeveloped 'a number of handibrafts. "Itheir-system of'govemment, th'oUgh simple, was unenliallydemucratic and popular ineharaeten Private propertyin'land was unknown, and food and shelterwere freely shared; even with strangers. i . H But when the colonists began theittceasclesstuttl Manned aggression, the African people retittedubravelyto defend theiree'ttle and their land from robbery and theirpeoplo fromenslavement. They took up the speir against the bullets of the invader with his horse: and wagons. But, tribal society and a '89

econom not; novida the material bani; for successful wndem
 "gnu an Mm afnore advanced economyand more destruetm:
 weapons. Dilunity mg the .nr'toue African peoplee prevehed the
 developmemolacatunonhontotmiemwe. Time and agamamthctr war: of
 conquest against African peoples. the coionieen went: .abk to play .off one
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 In the lutquuler oi the 19th century. lhcdvcvclonlcnti'nf capitalmt,f
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 the Win had profound and furnachtng chmequeneu. Bt'ttuh
 and European Enmoe houses exported vast sums of mveetment capttel to
 South Africa. To seize complete leonu'ol .ovnrriithe goldhdds,--Bhtidi
 impetialiem- waged. a mcceafal wanhgainst the Boers. Thegoidmimng
 commie: werenow the uni mimwf the country. Theyihttd eniy one
 imeemt inthe Africans vmlm them into lnbpur on the mtnet at minimum
 mm of pay. Theimine bosses found the hush colonial policy omhe Boer
 Republics My suited to thin pulpoaetThe poll. tax end pass systems
 wemepeedod up. Not a single move'wu made tottttrodhcc into the northern
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The form of domination developed by the Union Of South Africa also
 perpetuated the racialised economic structures of the pre-Uniqn period.
 There was a white monopoly, of capitalist means of mining. industrial and
 agricultural production and of distribution. There was also a virtual white
 monopoly of skilled and supervisory jobsjn the division of labour. White:
 had privileged accsen to trading and petty commodity prOdHQh'on. The 1913
 Land Act, confming land ownership of the African majority to a tiny and arid
 proportion of the country, legally entrenched and intentitigdtthe resultef
 centuries of colonial land disposseseion. , _ .A
 The South African capitalist state did not emerge as a result of an internal
 popular anti-feudal revolution. It was imposed frqm above and from without.
 From its birth through to the present, South African capitalism has depended
 heavily on the imperialist contrast Capitalm from AEurope Iinanced
 the opening of the mines. ilt was the colonial state that provided the resources
 to build the basic infrastructure -- railways, rpadt, harbours, posts and
 telegraphs. it was an imperial army of occupation that cheated the conditions
 for political untication. And it was within a colonial setting that the emerging
 South African capitaliut chm entrenchedmnd extended the racially exclusive
 system to increase its opppnunities for proiit. The racial division oflabour, the
 battery of racists laws and political exclmiveneu guaranteed this. F ram these
 origins. a pattern of domination, which arose in_ the period of external
 colonialism. was carried over. into the newly iprmed Union of South Africa.
 From its origins to the present, this form of domination has been-matihtained
 under changing, condition: and by van/ing mechanisms. In _ail essential
 respects, however, the colonial status of the black majoritMlhae remained in
 place. Therefore we characterise our mniety as colonialism qt" a specialtype.
 The Claus and Social Stxuecture of Colonialism of a Speial Type .
 Since. 1910 South Atrium capitalism has; developedenormously. From a
 typical extractive, colonial economy, whose coreewatt. gold mining based on
 cheap migrant labour and agriculture based on cheap forced labour, South

Africa is now a relatively advanced capitalist society with the; most developed infrastructure on the African continent. Today money capital dominates every single sector of the South African economy, The development, a! capitalist process of production has led up the extensive growth of a modern proletariat. Numerically the, working class, of which the very large industrial proletariat. is by far the largest class in our society,, Even in the Smithfield county/side, the agrarian working class, and migrant, workers and their families constitute the great majority of the population. Bourgeois

:91

clan domination in, however; still based on the colonial oppression of the black mil, in particular, African majon'ty. i'

11:..- special colonial domination is based on an alliance of white classes and strata. The maintenancetof this system, producing as it does increasing instability, violence and a' growing . isolation from the" international community, intot inthe'owerall long-term interem ofthe majority of South Afrieem, black or white. However; in the Ihon-term all white clause: and mute benefit hem the oppression of the black majority. ,

Within the white colonial bloc, it' is the bourgeoisie and in particular monopoly capitalthat iethe leading class force. In every sector of the my--- mining, 'manufacturing,- iinance, and'tineliieasingly even in agriculture and services Jhmonop'oly capital li: how overwhelmingly dominant. Enormour-powec is wielded by a Phandful of companies controlling vast- economie empires. By the mid-19803 2.7% of enterprises controlled over 50% of our country's total-tumover; 6.3% of all- enterprises employed over hulk! the national work-force; and a mere 6% had 85% of all Exed am. Mdnopoly concentration of capital is a universal trend within capitalism 'q but the level of concentration in South Africa is virtually unprecedented. And the trend to ever greater concentration is increasing each year. By 1987, four companies (Angio-American, SANLAM, SA Mutual and Rembrandt) alone controlled 80% of all shares on ' the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Ofthese companies, Anglo-American alone eonmled'55%.- V1 ' ' . --n ' t- l

- Overthe last decades Afrikaner controlled monopoly conglomerates have developed, md-their interest: have interlocked and merged with those of the older monopollel tnditionally controlled by English-speaking whites. A decisive role in the capitalist economy in also played by the state. State corporation: in tome of the keyisectonI-e armaments, energy and transport - play e central roie in propping up the entire capitalist economy. With all of these deveiopmenta, the'level o! collusion between the state and private monopoly capital, and bctweeannglish and Afrikaans big business has incensed substantially oh the economic and political fronts. , -

Faced with a deepening crisis and the prospect of a national democratic revolution, these monopoly interests m now calling for some restructuring 6f recedomination. At the heart of the various political arrangements they ere advocating is an attempt to keep SoiithAfrica safe for monopoly capitalism. Under the guise of protecting'"group rightshthey seeit to perpetuate their monopoly control over the wealth of our counuy. In fact, their stranglehold overlthe great bulk of our countryis productive land,

92

maltchinery and capital is the accumulated result of mprc than a centyuy of co omal dispossessmn, oppression and exploitation of the niajority. There can be no true liberation from colonial t ' . , . 0 ressmn in o -

transforming this iundamentai CCOW micpftgacy. ur cpunyyiwthtqut .-I II t '1

Although monopoly capitalism has now become dominanttin every lsector, there are also non-monopoly capitalists. In particular, there in utili an urge ntimber of non-monopoly white farms. This is the moat backW' d sector of the eapitaiist economy. The national farming debt in '1 986 exc 3rd thegrose agricultural income, and it was ten times the sum ofannual CC he to (arming capitalists. A large number of white-owned capitalist fatrrl;r0 " only able to survivexas a result of the most -barbaric.oppnessionvsa:i: exploitation of their black labou ' . rers, and extensive ovem

other forms oi protection. 8 mcm loans and COAmong the white middle strata, particularly from the Afrikaans speaking rnmunity, large numbers are now integrated into the state bureaucrac

They fire highly dependent for their positions on having in powerh oliticicy organisation committed to a strong, racially privileged state burefucr 'ca ' cher sectors of the white middle strata, professionals and banieuiarl aby-mtelligentsiaa, often feel least threatened amohg the white comnitinit by the prospect 0! a nomracial future. It is necessary to detach significant nzimLer: oithesc sectors from an uhquestioning support for white minority rule and wmt em overto the struggle for national demo'cracy. 'i " M 'i t ' l

The? miiiion economically actiye whites m admthistrattve ahd teghnicui pgsitiogp. In many ways whitf wagereamem eqtstitute ii classical ilabour aristocracy". Although their lpng-term interests 3;l33m3kmg confimon leans: with their black workinmciass brqthcgci ahd , eca es 0 racia privilege have brou ht the i ' ' ' These have instilled a ' 8 m rwi-mntcnal 83m;-

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 Wd' (NM_0 ' So th Africa pioneered in the 19203 by our Party. oi whiten
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 mounting CO on 6 gum in the revolutionary! struggle for a united, non-
 urn'calklrnrrggxratic South Africa. One of the features of the struggles of the
 til
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 1980s has been' the still small but growing numberofwhites actively making
 this fullerymvoluntary commitment. I n '
 Within :tho: colonially oppressed Iblaclt majon'ty, the 6 million strong
 working class is by far the largest and most significant class fame. Neither the
 profOund ecdndmitt changes that have occurred in South Africa, nor the
 restructuring that monopoly capital advocatw, amount to an abolition of the
 speoitl colonial oppression of the black working class. Despite the changes.
 black workers still occupy the less skilled and lower paid jobs. Inferior:
 education',lohe unequal' provision! ofioresourcesiand the denial of political
 rights all continue to reproduce a racially divided, colonial-typeiwmit-lbrce.
 The system of national oppression has guaranteed a low paid black labour,
 force, while'allowing for changes in size and technical! understanding. Until
 the19605 there were relatively few blackclerical workers and still fewer black.
 employees l-whunwerc formally 'descn'bed a: tkilledJ Iemi-Ititled; ur
 supervisors, foreman and workers in service capacities. .
 I'By the beginning of the 19705 the present shape of the working class had
 been established'. A more literate black work fohce entened occupations
 pretlloualy ldominated by whites, although the apartheid educational system
 still limits the vast majority of African people to low levels of education.
 Colonialioppression of the black pmletan'at has been retained through the
 changes. Whites work alongside blacks who, at a lowerwage ahd with a lower
 status, increase their capacity to nm a modem industry.Job descriptions are
 redefined, as black: move into them at wages only a fractioh ol' thatpaid to
 whites; '3 - " lw. m i. .r. . ,_. '
 'l.

t Oppressed by the special colonial form of bourgeois domination in South
 Africa and superexploited, black workers stand to gain the most from the
 immediate abolition of national oppression. It is also black workers whose
 longer-term interests are for the complete and final eradication ofall toms of

oppression and exploitation in our country. i ' t i ' I
The South African industrial proletariat, concentrated in the large urban
complexes have emerged as the most organised and powerful mass
revolutionary contingent in our country. It: proletarian class consciousness
has been developed and deepened by decades of militant trade unionism.
This tradition is today embodied in the South African Congress of Trade
Unions (SACTU) and in the giant federation, the Congress of South African
Trade Unions (COSATU). It is a working class that has responded in in
millions to calls for national stayaways; shutting down the mines, factories,
shops, and bringing the capitalist economy to a grinding halt for days at a
time. A working class from among whom increasingly large numbers are

' ' . - .Mmist-Leninist positions of the SAW.;ppeniy
:upoxn?themgpe:ptdva of socialism. Within ountown .muntrythis
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ere ammmme 1.3nmilhon hitch workers ohw , i
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often txeated with brutality. wages awe extremely low. and they are hot
22mm! by labour laws in dTect in other section of the economy. Malnutrition
in common among black Children on white (arms) eqd-tnzimi-ohildmmrc
themselves also forced to-worlt to supplement them ianhiy intomef. .51?
The vast majority: of about thirteen and a half rnillion.peop let in
bantusum are landless and Mitboulilhyslmck or'agncultural'tmp emcms.
While iandlessness is acute, the land that is avulabk t9. Afnrgxn pug:
tends to be both overgrazed and barren. Ainong househaidis im song: at
it is virtually only those that meive remittahccs from lamihy mem ers 'n
regular intervals, in the form afwageaor apfdncsnonf. whq are able!) engage l
' reduction beyond a g n p ot.i-. : e .- ,
mggfmsegime has tried to develop aumtum oImIddie peasants, 1910
called ibona Ede farmerl', in the bantum. Thll strategy has generaf y
failed became patronage and corruption have led to resources or
development and the little etIoctiue tanning land unilable failing into the
hands ' ' t minister; in
ofvbantustan cm! wants. and bantum governmen _
pmicular. Thou collaborative stratadp'not engage in smau-acale farmmg.
96
but set; themselves up in commercial agricultural enterprises, often in joint
ventures as junior partners to white farmers and commercial interests.. t
Within the economy of apartheid colonialism the bmtuutunu serve at
wppiiers oicheup lahpur and its dumping ground! for the unemployed, the
aged and. the sick. Apart from migrant labourers and icgmmutersi, who are
(greed to travel many hours from dormitory townships, thevaxt majority of
people in the buntustans are workersi families, unemployed workers and
pgqr peasants. They are linked in many ways, direct and indirect, to the
South African working class in their outlook and in their objective interests.
T heir demands are for land, for theright to settle where they choose, for
accure and rewarding work, and for an end to the corruption and repressive
actiopg of the bantustan authorities. In their struggle W achieve these
demands the rural maeses are the mgj'orsucial ally of the working class in the
broad struggle for national liberation, and the longer-term struggle for the
spei'qlist transformation of our country, . . e i
among the oppressed black majority pfour country there is 4 fairly small
hyt growing and relativelyjigniicant range ol'middle strata, made up ol'a
cummercial petty bourgeoisie, and various professional categories. These
ntidtlle strata suffer, With their fellow blacks, under the brutal and
humiliating system of colonialism. The majority of these middle strata, in
terms of their living conditions, their speial origin and their pqiitical
usHifutipgta are closely linked to the optimised black proletariat. Despite the
regime's attempts to wqg these black middle strata, hoping to transform
them into a buffer between the masses and the white eqlonial blpc, the
overwhelming mqjority have rejected these plays. Indeed, the active
partigipution of black middle strata within the national democratie
movement has been an important feature ol'our revolutionary struggle. This

is not to say that there are, no other, contradictory tendencies among sections of the black middle strata. The apartheid regime has not abandoned its attempts to win them over, and their continued allegiance to the people's cause requires active and ongoing work. , i

There is also a very small but emerging black bourgeoisie in South Africa. At present it controls means of production that are responsible for less than two percent of our country's gross national product. One fraction of this emergent black bourgeoisie is closely associated with the various apartheid collaborative structures - like bantustan administrations, community councils, management committees. and the tricameral parliament. Using its control of subordinate, bureaucratic apparatuses and, by patronage and corruption it accumulates some capital resources. Because of its dependency

97

on these apartheid structures, this fraction tends to be extremely reactionary, aligning itself to the colonial mling bloc. However, its subordinate status and its very dependence upon the ruling bloc are sometimes the source of mentments and secondary contradictions which can be exploited bythe liberation movement. ' -

communities. There's been a significant increase in the number of Indian people in professional, managerial and supervisory positions in the last twenty years. In addition, the rigid application of the Group Areas Act for over 25 years, which has seen the enforced separation of Indian and African communities has also had a political and cultural impact. Any negative tendencies resulting from these developments present special challenges to the national liberation struggle: in the task of forging the broadest unity of action of the oppressed, while recognising real cultural and other differences.

In accomplishing this task it is necessary to build upon the long traditions within the Indian community of united struggle with the African peoples. In the 1970s and 1980; these traditions have been actively reassessed within the Natal and Transvaal Indian anguishes. 1.;

Work amongst the Indian people has to take into account the class differentiation within this community. While there has been some economic advance within this community, it has not been evenly spread. The majority of the economically active Indian people in our country are exploited wage labourers. The concentration of Indian workers in the garment trade, many of them working in appalling sweat-shop conditions. Deepening the class consciousness of Indian workers, and strengthening their class unity with the majority of workers is a priority task. . . , t I d . .

The Crisis of Colonialism of a Special Type ,

Today, colonialism of a special type is in deep crisis. 'The 1975. is the result. of a combination of hemi- the economic impasse of the African capitalist, international relations. divisions in the ruling bloc, and, of course, the racial equality struggle. The present C. S. is more generally 'a deep-rooted and enduring than any of the last 19 years; . a .

1. The present crisis is in many ways the economic changes of the post-war period. find to their interpretation, with the . central African role of colonialism of: special type, The development of the independent capitalist economy, with it; leads to a relatively settled and stable work force and an expanding market have been distorted by the effects of globalisation. 4

; On the economic front the crisis has many localities in severe shortage of skills as a result of the educational process of the majority, the large-scale underutilisation of productive capacity, an 'widespread reluctance. of the 'immigrant' to find work. aminwawm WWW Wu mt L-tillg' h . _ihl': , ... - ' . .

. Manila Council of the South African Institute for the Advancement of the

democratic crisis- The new. with the larger scale of the VCE in.

strategic industrial anti-apartheid struggle, has been: a process of economic development for capitalism and the South African. But it is now becoming directly in the overall economic situation. \$0.09th of the economy is increasing (the private sector is expanding and the regional, military adventures, the apartheid regime is squandering money on the arms race and the military. the metal. institutions of political power; the apartheid regime is a bureaucratic.

There are attempts, racially separate, government, government,

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apartheid apparatuses. and the tricameral parliament. These are a heavy burden on the regime's finances. The resulting financial crisis has, in turn, led to inflation and provoked severe difficulties in the repayment of foreign loans. The ruling bloc's strategic. objective of securing an manufacturing-led economic boom, to pull the economy out of its stagnation has not materialised. The oppression of the black majority, with low wages and massive unemployment, has resulted in a very restricted home market. On the other hand, attempts to compete on international markets with South African manufacturers have also failed to live up to the regime's expectations. South Africa's manufactured goods are, generally, not competitive on world markets. The attempts to compete have resulted simply in a greater dependence on foreign markets for imported machinery and high technology. 'The southern African market is more accessible to South African manufacturers. but the military and economic destabilisation of our neighbouring countries impoverishes the whole region, thus restricting its market potential. A . .

But, above all, the crisis of apartheid colonialism is a political crisis. The ruling class and its political representatives realise that it is impossible to continue ruling in the old way. Amongst their major strategies is the attempt to secure black participation and collaboration in a subordinate form of civil government. At the political level the essence of the regime's crisis is precisely the failure of this strategy. As long as significant black participation is withheld, the regime's crisis will continue to fester and, in one form or another, upsurge and revolt will continue with increased intensity and frequency. Every racist constitutional and reform initiative, designed to divert the revolutionary pressures, has landed on the rocks. Such initiatives have usually led to an increased tempo of struggle. The forced retreat from the concept that the bantustans would provide the final solution, and the self-evident ineffectiveness of the tri-cameral parliament, are among the most significant of these failures. The attempt to win black participation in the setting up of local ghetto councils - as a step towards the so-called Great

Indaba, - has failed ignominiously.

The reform failures, the absence of any viable alternative political strategy, growing international isolation, the changing relation between racism and politics in important sectors, a bleeding economy and, above all, the unrelenting people's resistance, have led to significant splits and divisions at the top. Within the dominant race group the centuries-old confidence and belief in the eternal survival of white hegemony has begun to evaporate, leading to a significant shift in the traditional context of white politics.

, The ideological cement which had for 80 years bonded the mainstream white political together, has crumbled considerably and there is no substitute to fill the gap. Apartheid nationalism - the tribal pillar of white political power in the post-war period - is developing significant cracks. Its middle class leadership has successfully exploited African nationalism to win political power and with it access to the upper echelons of the economy. The tension between English and African capital is leading to a noticeable shift away from the purely ethnic divide within the white bloc. . . . The regime is not able to meet the expectations either of the capitalist class or the mass of white workers who have for over half a century acted on its historic political support base. Mounting international pressure are having a serious effect on the economy and could reach a point which can no longer be tolerated by the capitalist class as a whole. The search for a way out of the crisis is also leading to increased divisions within the power bloc.

Deep-seated conflict and conflict in South Africa cannot be resolved within the confines of the apartheid colonial system. Nor can they be resolved by the Nationalist Party regime or any other section of the ruling class. The battle lines at all sections of the ruling class revolve around maintaining the elements of the system of oppression and monopoly control over the wealth of South Africa. Our struggle is not, and cannot be, merely for civil rights within the framework of the existing system. This system is rooted in the special colonial situation of the South African people and the denial of their basic rights. . . . 1 . .

4. NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The immediate mass movement of the overwhelming majority of the South African people lies in the need for fundamental change: a national democratic revolution which will eventually overthrow the colonial system and establish a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The main content of this revolution is the national liberation of the African people in particular, and the black people in general.

These historical experiences of oppressed peoples everywhere, - and our own experience, have shown that the ruling class will not relinquish power of its own accord. It has to be removed by the combined force of the struggling masses. The seizure of power by the revolutionary masses is the fundamental task of the national democratic revolution. This will entail the destruction of the existing institutions designed to maintain and defend colonial oppression. In their place, democratic institutions will be set up.

102

Already, in the course of struggle, the revolutionary masses have built various rudimentary forms of people's government in the localities where racist institutions are destroyed or severely weakened. The people's committees and related popular institutions such as people's courts and defence committees, as well as efforts to set up and strengthen alternative structures in the fields of education, culture, sports and others, constitute a creative advance towards the aims of the national democratic revolution. As long as the ruling bloc still controls the central organs of power, these popular institutions will always experience great difficulties. The masses themselves have yet to muster enough strength to overthrow these structures. But any weaknesses and reverses experienced now cannot detract from the central importance of organs of people's power as a product and an effective weapon of struggle. These organs will help shape the content of national democracy in our conditions. The building, strengthening and defence of these organs, in the course of struggle, is a crucial task. .

The main aims of the national democratic revolution are outlined in the Freedom Charter, which has also been endorsed by the mass democratic movement representing millions of the struggling people. South African Communists consider that the achievement of the aims of the Charter will answer the pressing and immediate needs of the people and lay the indispensable basis for the advance to socialism.

The foundation of the national democratic state will be popular representative institutions of government based on one person, one vote: universal and direct adult franchise without regard to race, sex, property and other discriminatory qualifications. These bodies will have to be accountable to the people and subject to popular control. For it to save the people's interests, the state machinery - the army, the police, the judiciary and the civil service - will be open to all South Africans loyal to democratic and non-imperialist principles. The state will guarantee the basic freedoms and rights of all citizens, such as the freedom of speech and thought, of the press and of organisation, of movement, of conscience and religion and free trade, union rights for all workers including the right to strike.

it must be one of the basic policies and aims of the national democratic state to raise the living standards of the people, and in particular, eradicate the centuries-old injustices perpetrated against the black majority. This applies to wages and job opportunities, education, housing, health and other amenities, in order to satisfy the needs of the people and ensure balanced and rapid development of the economy. it will be necessary to ensure popular control

overvital section of the economy. This will entail the continual strengthening of the state sector in the mining, heavy industry, banks and other monopoly industries. The national democratic state will define the general parameters of economic activity. In addition, it must ensure that workers in particular and the people in general play an important role in the running of enterprises, and that the necessary cadres are trained and deployed to serve the national interest. To fully eliminate the system of colonial domination, it will be necessary to ensure democratic ownership and control over decisive aspects of the economy. At the same time, the state will protect the interests of private business where these are not incompatible with the public interest. This applies equally to land distribution: there is an imperative need to tutor: land to the people. This will take a variety of forms, including state ownership of large-scale farms, redistribution of land among the, land-hungry/ peasants and state assistance to them, the setting up of co-operative farms, and guaranteeing the freedom of movement and settlement. It will also entail the task of overcoming 'the enormous economic' under-development of many millions of legions. A l . . . l - e ' x

The realisation of these objectives also constitutes the foundation to the solution of the national question in South Africa, a basic task of the national democratic revolution. The new state will accelerate the struggle to unite all South Africans into a single nation and consolidate the gains already made. The building of such national unity is being laid; in the course of common struggle of the overwhelming majority of South Africans - black and white - against the common enemy. This struggle has wrought havoc with the regime's age-old ruse of divide-and-rule. The popular offensive against thebantustan system and tri-cameral parliament is a reflection of the failure of enemy plans. At the same time, more and more whites are joining the ranks of anti-apartheid forces. The struggle for a common nationhood is reinforced by the reality of interaction among the majority of the people in the workplace within a single national economy and territory. _ l I

However, the process of nation-formation has to be backed up by a conscious effort on the part of the liberation alliance and the new democratic state. All discriminatory laws and practices will be abolished, and the prevailing end practice of discrimination and contempt on the basis of race, colour or ethnic group shall be considered criminal. . t ' l i
i National unification of our people will also recognise their diversity in cultures, customs and languages. It will be one of the basic tasks of the democratic state to develop and encourage the flourishing of the diverse cultures and languages of all the people. Such a policy, combined with the
104

effort to remove the wall of apartheid which separates South Africans, is not contradictory to the process of building national unity, 1-1 . l
In promoting full equality, the new government will have to rid South Africa of the privileges currently accorded to the white community without uttering the thoughts of individuals. The white people, like all other South Africans, will have the right to develop those elements in their culture which are not based on racism and privilege. On the other hand; the call for group rights - its distinct limit - the rights of individual citizens - is fraught with the danger of perpetuating inequality and thus undermining the very tenets of democracy and national unity. , l l t . t . t

The tasks of the national democratic revolution are all interrelated. Both the national and democratic objectives hinge on the fundamental questions of power and ownership of the national wealth. In the words of Freedom Charter, it is only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright of distinction of colour, race and belief. . . - l mu, , . . l

Only such a state can guarantee the national independence and sovereignty of our country, and ensure that South Africa plays its rightful role in an equal partnership in the development of the region and the continent and in promoting world peace and social progress. . . l . l . . '

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Role of the Working Class in the National Democratic Revolution

The realisation of the basic guidelines set out in the Freedom Charter and their ongoing consolidation after the seizure of power, will be determined by a number of factors. Among the major ones are: the correlation of class forces within the liberation alliance, the strength of this alliance relative to the overthrown classes - and the international balance of forces. In the final analysis, this depends on the extent to which the working class, the landless masses and progressive sections of the middle strata assume decisive positions within the democratic alliance. Among these forces - which are objectively interested in thorough-going revolutionary transformation - the

working class is the leading force. . . t. .- '

The character of any revolution is determined by objective realities and
led by the masses individuals or parties. In our situation, the unity in action
of the oppressed and democratic forces around the basic national democratic
demands constitutes the most powerful revolutionary weapon against the
ruling class. To weaken this unity by placing the attainment of socialism on
the immediate agenda would, in fact, but postpone the very attainment of
socialist transformation. . . - , m

. - The denundebnau'onnl democracy unitethe overwhelming majon'ty of strata and eecton tithe oppteseed; bladt workers, the landless mral masses, till: intelligentsia; ' eeltuml woeltere. section: of black business, youth. .wetnen, teligintueommunities, spom-people and othem. These demands an: elm in the loug-tetm intereet ofwhite workers. small l'anmen and middle lntte whatngether makeup the bulk of the white population.

. The etmgglmlot: national democracyllie also an expreuion 'ol the class ,. mnmddiction betweenho black and dech force: on theone hand, and the monopoly capitalist: on thenthem The tteengleholdiol'a small numbenoli white monopoly capitalists over the great bulk. of outicounuy'e national with endreeoumu ieheeed on colonial ditposecuion and promote: racial opmenton. Thie concentrationd wulth end powen perpetuetcw the super-exploiu'n of millions of black workers. It perpetuates the desperittt plight of milliion oi thelendleu rural poorw And it blocks the advance of black bunineu and other sector; of the oppressed. Thiereality, therefore, farms the basis of the anti-monopolycontent ol' the national democratic programme. But. . in our conditions in which national oppression and economic exploitation an inexun'nably-l'tnked, there canuat thexend; of the day. be no fundamental liberationwithout lull. economic emancipation; without the advance to a socialist and coxmunietibtturenTo achieve this, tho-Sonth African working clau- and black workent in particular - must play the leading role in the nntioml democratic struggle. . t . - ' ' Objectively. became of the numbers at their command, entl because of their concentration anticollective organisation within the atrategiepoints ol the economy. black worker: are better placed than any other class oretratum among the oppteued toleed the national democratic struggle. Their nations Allen the economic loundetlon d the system of colonialitm ot' a special type. And it is black worken. a clue with no property ttaku in present-day South Africa. who eta mounpehle of taking the national democratic struggle to its Mleeteoncludn. mm . A nu. ;... u ' Workers. more than any other clan in out: societyg understand from their own lives the importance olcollective solutions to social problems. l heirvery poeition within productihn end Aheir daily struggles have schooled our working class tn the need for organinetion andunited'action. f he exittenceof a largemleu conscious proletariat u the greatest asset to our revolution. The role of black workers at the dominant force in our struggle ls absolutely crucial to ensure that the national democratic revolution lays the basis for a transition to socialism. Whether we will be able to make a lteady advance in this direcuon depends mainly on the rolet het the working class

106

plays today. It is vital that black workers ally to themselves all classes and strathqmong the oppressed and all other forces who havea reqlinterest in the ereetton of a united, democratic honrracial South Africa. By championing the interests of the oppressed people and all those who aspire to dempcracy; by strengthening the front oforgahisations struggling for national democracy, black workers are able to win the confidence of all democratic forces as the vanguard class tn the national democratic struggle. U the workem were to reject broad alliances and "go it alqne" then they would in y fact be surrendering the leadership Ol' the national struggle. "Working class putity" leads to working clqu suicide. -

However, the alliance strategy does not mean that the working clasp should abandon its own class orgptnttationi. It ii of crucial importance that the working class builds and strengthens its own independent class organisations while cu-operating with, and indeed leading, the broad democratic forces. Nor does it mean that propagation of socialist ideas should be, postponed until popular seizure of.,pow,er in the national demoeratic revolution. The Communist Partyl and other working class organisations must ensure that the ideas of socialism NC widely debated, spread and take root, especially among the working people.

The National Democratic Revolution and Transition to Soeialishr

Victoxy in the national democratic revolutionit, l'qr. our working classthe most direct route to socialism and ultimately communism. The existence in South Africa of the matertal conditions for socialism 7; the relatively advanced technical level and a strong working class :7 and the achievement of the nutlunal democratic revolution. will npt in themselven guarantee an advance to socialism. In order to create the conditions for such an advance, the working class will have to ensure that the national democratic tasks are consistently cuhed Wt- The working class must win for itself the dominant role in the new government, and see to it that the character ptthe national democratic state accords with the genuine intereqts of the people. The programme to eliminate monopoly control over the econqmy and to tailor

economic policies according to the needs of the people will have to be scrupulously ensured . . . ,

In the period after the seizure of power by the democratic forces the working class will need to continue the struggle against capitalism. It will need to strengthen its organizations and build the bases of working class and popular power in the economy, in all sectors of the state and in the communities where the people live. A deliberate plan will have to be made to

prevent attempts by the bourgeoisie and aspirant capitalist elements - and their imperialist supporters - to dominate state power and divert the revolution. Constant mass vigilance will also have to be exercised and action taken against such negative tendencies as the stilling of popular democracy, the bureaucratisation of the state and corrupt practices in government or in society as a whole - the - - ' - , w M ' .

In order to prevent the emergence of a seed-bed for capitalist resurgence and ensure an advance to socialism, the working class must win to its side other sections of the working people, both now and after the popular seizure of power. The landless rural masses, sections of the intelligentsia, students, large contingent of youth and women (as social groups), some small businessmen and other forces stand to gain from the victory of the socialist revolution. 1

1" The transition to socialism will be neither completely separate from nor contradictory to the tasks of the national democratic revolution. On the one hand, consistent implementation and defence of the national democratic programme constitute a major guarantee for progress towards socialism. On the other hand, many of the major objectives of the national democratic revolution will be fully accomplished in the process of socialist construction. Among these tasks are complete national liberation and equality, elimination of sex discrimination, and, more significantly, the elimination of monopoly domination over the economy. - ' . ' - '

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The Socialist Perspective

A socialist revolution differs from all other revolutions in world history. It sets out to abolish private ownership of the means of production and all forms of oppression. The systems of slavery, feudalism and capitalism are all based on the private ownership of the means of production and oppression of one class by another. Thus, capitalist relations of production developed even before the bourgeoisie had achieved political power. But the development of socialist relations: which will bring an end to the system of economic exploitation, cannot begin until the working class and its allies have won state power. While the material basis for socialism is created by capitalism itself, socialist relations of production are realised only after the political

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revolution.

't The fundamental question of any socialist revolution is the winning of political power by the working class, in alliance with other progressive elements among the people. The working class then sets out to eliminate exploitation by achieving public ownership and democratic control of the

108 means of production. Fundamental to the socialist political system is the institution of the widest democracy to the greatest majority of the people and the elimination of all forms of discrimination. At the same time the workers, state should prevent the resurgence of the overthrown classes both internal and external. ' A V l I ' l . ' I ' I i ,

In a socialist society, there are neither exploiters nor the exploited. Public ownership of the means of production, means of distribution and exchange is the foundation of the socialist economy; Governing the distribution of income is the principle, "From each according to their ability to each according to their work". A large and increasing portion of society's wealth is used to raise the living standards of the people by ensuring housing, low rents and transport fares, free education and health care and other benefits. Socialism is a humane system which promotes the free and all-round development of all individuals in society. The chronic scourges of even the most advanced capitalist countries such as mass unemployment, racial discrimination, crises and social waste are eliminated. The means of production, the socialist economy is characterised by a qualitatively higher level of planning and co-ordination than is possible under capitalism. Development is not haphazard and spontaneity is not left to chance nor to the greed of a few exploiters. It is made to serve to the needs of society as a whole. In this way it is possible to ensure that the combined material and human energies of society are harnessed to benefit society as a whole.

Socialism is a transitional stage on the road to communism, a still higher stage of human society. Communism is a classless social system, with all-round public ownership of the means of production, accompanied by the growth of productive forces sufficient to ensure the abundance of goods enabling the principle to be applied: "From each according to his ability, to each

each according to their needs? The building of socialism and 'gradual development to communism 'where the workers have triumphed the realisation of socialism is a long and difficult process. ' I I Basing ourselves on the creativity, motivation and organisation of our working class and people on the lessons and experiences of our comrades in the socialist countries, and on the fraternal international relations that are basic features of world socialism, the South African working class possesses the weapons to develop rapidly on the road to a socialist and communist future. I

5. THE 'NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT' AND

'id Colonialism Will be overthrown by the oppressed
Bessuam irggled by the; revolutionary movement. Fhle "statsziftiir:
has gram); developed in. experience 'and maturity, and heche
many yem'efecomplex and difficult struggle. d f the national
The African National Congress is the spearhead o . h . f .can
democratic revolution'. The ANC was formed. in 1:1: 20531::zzvzgpzd kg)
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people "ifsrtsglgiig'tahzszggfezed 22d democratic forces in tmlttani
"Plat; Today'idespite' many years of illegal and underground existence'rtcle,
gigNC. 3-5 36 head of the revolutionary alliance - OCCQPIC.S a vmuel y
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nchallenged place as the popular vanguard force in the liberation :rtliggie.
it hasl h'titt'ghaed grdWing"allegiance 3rd suppgn froth the lovetw e mtng
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overwhelming majority and most titra g d. olconhworkingdasg
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"10:01:: irtciporta'n? oi'ganised contingent of the democraticallyfotees tsftille
trad: nion'movement: A trade'union is the prime mass orgahisattorgo _t 5:
wotihg class To fulfill its purpose. it must bias broad as pessghleta't; 1 3:3
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magmg thatti't 'is'ix'npossible for trade union? to keep oltiiti of the
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' ' stal clear that a trade union cannot stan . .
3:333:23; The organised involvement of trade unions in the
olutionary struggle help: reinforce the dominant role ofworkers as a class.
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However, this does not mean that aitmd'e'union movement curl
role ofa workers, vanguard party. In fact, the basic character ofa tra
means that such'a trade union movement
political leadership must represent the-workin
classes and to the state. The political panyo
workersi- involvementin all lbrms of struggl
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trade union Imovement cannot car
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cainnot play this role. Workont'
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Vanguard Role of the SACP t ' .
In South African conditions.
made up ofthe most tried and l
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a workers'nvang'uard politieal' putty must be
081661 representativeoif this class: Its memem
Mice with an understanding of'Marxist themy

dedication to the workers' cause; and a readiness,
to live in the cause of freedom and socialism.
It earns the honoured title of vanguard merely by
proclaiming it. Nor does its claim to be the upholder and custodian of
Marxism-Leninism give it a monopoly of political wisdom or a natural right
to exclusive control of the struggle. At each stage of its political life, guided by a
correct application of Marxist revolutionary theory, a Party must win its place
by its superior efforts of leadership and its devotion to the revolutionary cause.
The SACP works consistently to forge the South African working class into
a powerful force, capable of playing the leading role in the struggle for national
democracy and in carrying out its historic mission of abolishing exploitation
and creating a classless society. The Party strives to spread the widest possible
understanding of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, particularly in its
application to South African conditions. Its strategy and tactics consist in
transforming the immediate struggle of the working class into an organised,
class-conscious offensive against oppression and capital.
Through all developments and turns of events, the Communist Party
always holds before the workers their long-term objective: the creation of a
communist society. At the same time, the Party always links this long-term
objective to the actual struggles of the immediate situation. It strives to forge
and strengthen the broad alliance of oppressed and democratic South
Africans for the attainment of national democracy on the path to the final goal.
The SACP plays its role both as an independent organisation and as
the revolutionary alliance headed by the ANC. The Party's role is to
between the multi-class leadership of the ANC, and the working class
and practice, an unconditional
will need be, to sacrifice their lives
A Communist Party does not
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the SAC? have an important
t of national
' rule of the Party. Both the ANC and .
gray individually and collectively for the attainment "d agree on
my. These organisations share common objectives R 1 non
manoeuvre tactics in the National Democratic movement . . .
namely all the Party works tirelessly to strengthen the liberation
movement through the revolutionary nationalism and ensure thorough-
. umm- 11 W ' tions. .
going to form a revolutionary alliance by the
DGP to Chicomulco with other Deafening forces, the
:mxagxl 3:03:53?! has done so precisely because the respective
organisations are a natural product of the struggles of our people, and they
represent the will of the people to all.

' annual document .
gallbladder: communism in the ANC. Umkhonto we Sizwe and the
movement is based on the ,class appreciation of
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n - . me .wwSI I v. A; , 1 h I s
distinguish a vital task of the South African Communist
Party; to lead the organisation and mobilisation of the
Party into an active force to lead the national struggle
of the South African people. PWP a given and. develop mass
. . 1 to such
The Party works (my particularly in the 1980s, there has
been a 'saturn and militant Em:
been 1 :3: but the effectiveness of the strategy of the ANC! Ce
:rujzd the South African Congress of Trade Unions, that these
hand of the ,national democratic programme and act 10164156 .
. s 1 ' - en
Despite intense state repression the mass movement
survived but must play the central role in mass struggles. 4;
.1' in the National and the Mass Democratic Movement union
The emergence and development of the new South African
' t t e v t l .
movement, ,b'outh African movement
d3? m Mic 'nytum linity in action around the day of the
WM: (01' nufibr the attainment of national liberation and socialism
megs; and mobilisation of workers into one trade union):
man shall always be our guiding principle in this effort, it is
to win over white workers into the ranks of the democratic movement;
t ' 1 among all other
i . .Communist Party works active y
Jo: magaad and democratic labour movement and growth
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ol' sectoral mass democratic organisations, and their organisational and
political unity has had a profound impact on the South African political
scene. The Party works for united and purposeful action among all these
sectors, for the eradication of oppression and exploitation. These sectors do not
stand apart from the working class; they are composed mainly of individuals
who are themselves workers, or who have a working class background; -
In the case of the majority of South African Women, they suffer from triple
oppression - as women, as blacks and as workers. Women cannot change
the immediate conditions of their lives without lighting shoulder to shoulder
with their brothers against colonialism and exploitation for a united, non-
racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. Forced removals, bantustans
and the migratory labour system are some of the key features of this system
which tear families apart and trap black women into bearing the heaviest
burden of oppression. At the workplace, women are subjected to various
forms of discrimination. Yet all this is compounded and reinforced by
subjective practices and attitudes within the male dominated society.
The South African Communist Party struggles to ensure that the
disadvantages suffered by the majority of . South African women are
eliminated in the context of the democratic struggle: This includes fighting
sexism within the ranks of the Party and the bread liberation movement. In
the long term, an advance to socialism . a society in which resources are in a
planned and purposeful manner dedicated to overcome sexist oppression -
is in the interest of all South African women. - _ - . i t . ' . .
The system of national oppression and capitalist exploitation blocks and

frustrates at every turn, the aspirations and energies of our young people. For the black youth of our country, there is a serious lack of employment, educational opportunities and sports and cultural facilities. It is against this background that the South African youth have displayed courage and militancy in many mass battles and within the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The Communist Party considers it a crucial task to constantly give strategic direction and theoretical depth to the militancy of the youth, in pursuit of national democratic and socialist tasks. i l i nh- '

1 Millions of South Africans including black workers subscribe to various religious beliefs. The South African ruling class and its allies, like oppressors elsewhere in the world, have always tried to use religion as a tool to instill passivity and resignation among the working masses. With the development of the liberation struggle there has emerged an interpretation of religious doctrines which is in the interest of the struggling people. Moved by a profound rejection of oppression, countless religious leaders and believers

113

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NEW 2:13? all). Igcagzhrrmmxmynd the people's army. The
WWW hf the South African Communism Party is based on..sclentt_ftc
maid; But we maniac the right of :u pipie t; 33:: till: Siam
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m MWCh gmmn struggle foe freedom and danoemey. Their:
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ll then dliberation that identiliu with the poor and oppress; .
MWMWI mSythil bond has grown and must be further mngthened.
h turd. orken and. spom-penons have endured muons
WM Gil undzr I synem dedgnd pncisdy to stihe the all-round
dudopmcnt afbhcks. The regime has always trampled upon the suing: 1::
the majority. It has not spared its animal of er\$ 3:11:: 33;; ;nd
' ho rtra an pro .
mmcxrizoizk'ghezwmpo ' nyand repression sullered by am?
spolupersons hem the way system ofcoioniaiism which is based on t :1
mdround mbiugation of the majority of the people: The. emergent en
titeloping' pojpopular movement in culture and sport win which the working
due is playing a vital role -- Comm an important part of the hhcrattlio':
Mu. The Communist Party studies centrll importifgtle': :ggiznituz a
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wmummmnlmc. angrulture 35d spartan important instru-
ments in forging the working den into a victon'ous force against capuit'Aacl;u
drawn together into the mass demoeratic mow ,
Ham'mn' ' eat of our national liberation struggle: The
IN the crammedl::ementmmnzhggether with the vanguard liberation antaitoe
kawwmm OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCESF mi
ti more and more Tomes which do not belong to . e
M mime "?de movementsmiumewngly identifying With
vmswd admin"! tic objeaimt These forces must find a placfm the
mum"! dN:il-hpnrtheid front. There can be no valid Tretolutionary mafiari
for Jung from such a broad front any grouping which supports. 12d;
pared tor theattaimnt of a united. democmtic ah non . _
Southm w m the basin of one-person. one-vote. The crucial qnestion it
Mmaidfinttnoe or ejoint platform will help toweaken the main enemy
"Wt w the le't muse. As long as the revolutionauy cute doc; not
mmndem indempdent role and does not dilute its own fundamental
objectivxuthm liitmno danger whatsoever in acting With such broader
509.035 FOR cwaa
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pursue a strategy of militant but non-violent m
decades after their foundation. But,.already in
beginning to accumulate which called for a dep
. All remaining possibilities of advancing the .I
non-violent means .were, one by one.
among the oppressed sensed (perhaps a
a change had come about in the object
(if noneviolcnoe amipassive defiance were bein
more militants. ())umworiting people,
longen uw much point in nhn-vioient protest alone in the face of escalating
South African Communists always strive for t
revolutionary front for national leadership, the continuous building of a
coalition of anti-apartheid forces, and the unity of Communists and non-
Communists in the struggle for national democracy.
he strengthening of: the
6. THE PATH TO POWER IN THE NATIONQ, 1..
DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION
The path to power lies with our masses. in recent year: they hauntiown their
immense resilience and strength. Nothing which the enemy has unleashed
against the oppressed or their organisations has broken their morale or
dampened 'their' combative spirit. The harnessing of this mass political
energy and the realisation of its enormous potential continues to be the
dominant task of the liberation vanguard. It is a task which requires the firm
rooting of the underground, consisting of political ahd militaty formations
under political leadership, and the strengthening of all organs of the mast
democratic movement. The prospects oi'a revolutionaty advance are greater
today than ever before in our history. The regime oontinuet to face an all-
mund crisis which can only be resolved by in qualitlt'wc transformation ol'the
whole economic, political, wcial and cultural sytem.- N .
The people - headed by their revolutionary vanguard - advance on the
road to liberation with airioh and v,an'ed tradition ollumggle, both armed and

unarmed. The tribally-organized armed resistance to the colonial force: went on for centuries until the defeat of Bambata and his guerrillas in the Nkandla fort in 1906. This signalled the end of a phase. The liberation organisation- of our country including our Party, were born in conditions when the core of the former resistance in the countryside had been destroyed and the new forces were not yet fully developed. . I

In these conditions it was impracticable for the liberation organisations to change methods of struggle for many

the late 60s; evidence was

drawn from this strategy.

Struggle through exclusively

being blocked. A growing number

more than some of their leaders) that

We conditions of struggle. The strategy

3 questioned by time and

through their own experience, no

115

manger)! and were beginning to show a readiness to accept the sacrifices

. ' . . . i h i . ' t ' t I

m\$\$fim\$ had thus become harmful to the cause of our

reticulation in the new phase of struggle. It dimmed the people's face of the savage mania of the oppressor and dampened their militancy. The movement was obliged to respond. The time was clearly ripe to combat the political union with the struggle. r tun . 3. r

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Amtwm wmrwe'uan. Otit- main strategic line in the struggle. for

people's power may be reshaped in the middle of 1964. When?

when taken by the ANC and urged to create a movement. Wing 9f t It:

liberate- movement... Although the wait no possibility of successful y

dullendns the army in the combat, action could not be postponed. It

Write! m-danoitsmte.ng organised alternative to unplanned

suicidal outbreak which was beginning to take place. u w a a h w n e p m a r y

to nuke an open battle with the political of. ngmw lent protest which had

manned Mammy .of the previous half wmmmd .WithhrJNd

unavoidably brain ideompt pacifism mnumygz leaders Of the

liberation movement. That openubrzeibwajgzlmhlglished by. the patients)

M . h WWW Cf ti v'ii Cit ii ;.

- This n\$\$&mw implies all nonviolent method: of struggle

hind now become dw or impuible Nor did it tnmmy. a retreatkom

W. orsanitnu'onal and educational work among the images. Omf

Party. in b.1962. ngmnune. mntintnd to advocate none at all (armed

magic by the people, including norvcollaboruen, smkcsnboycottshn

demonstrations. We also placed prime emphasis on the need to aim

underground structures and illegal work more effective, more effective aid

male Mu! in the mental the, people and evudmgizt e

npmei ' , thc-mthoritiee. - . - x . , . .

The 3:52:23.de Struggle as an important part of the paltttmi

umggleubmught our. movement into. uncharted territory. We wet:

unplanned in (heart. techniques and skills of military. organization an

combat. mediated solid experienced and routine work. in: . --. ...

-. Aputtmmthee subjective weaknesses had to contend with a number

of unique and complex objective difficulties. In commitment to armed liberation

struggle: in the test of the African continent. some evidence in which

we had not implement our new approach were particularly detrimental.

South Africa's special form of colonial subjugation had withheld all

116

military know-how from the subject peoples and prevented any black person

from being in possession or using any modern weapon or other instrument of

war. Effective training could, therefore, only take place gradually. The long

term escalation of armed activity depended, in the first place, on the return of

trainees and a minimum of weaponry. u m -

On 87% of the land there is no black peasantry and the ; rum! working

population is forced to live under conditions of the strictest control on the

dispossessed white farms. This red uses considerably the social base: which are

needed for the survival. growth and manoeuvre of guerrilla and other combat

movements in the rural areas. . A .

No effective rear base was available externally to facilitate the work of either

personnel or logistical material. South Africa was completely surrounded by

a barrier of imperialist-controlled territories hostile to the liberation struggle,

which deprived us of a friendly border. m i . , , M

Our country lacks any extensive areas of classical guerrilla terrain.

-Most of the first anti-apartheidists who went for training in the early 60's had

been known activists from the legal period. This would make their return for

political and military tasks especially problematic. i . i l '

(The regime was in command of a highly centralised state apparatus

including well-organised instruments of repression, powerful and highly

mobile armed forces and a sophisticated communication network;

anchored on a powerful economic base. . A . ,

Despite these complexities and disadvantages, history left us with no

option but to engage in armed action as a necessary part of the political

struggle. It was a moment in which (to use Lenin's words) "timely action

would have been worse than untimely action".

. Thus, we had to venture forth even at the expense of risking a degree of

disorganisation. We could not refuse to fight. We had to learn how to do so.

And, in many respects, we had to learn on the ground, in the hard school of

revolutionary practice. In the process, a combination of inexperience, lapses

in security and breaches of conspiracy .rules, enabled the enemy to deal massive blows against the whole underground. Party heroes were among those who made enormous sacrifices in their courageous attempt to keep the underground going and to carry on with armed activities. Despite these veils, within a few years of the enemy's Rivonia breakthrough, the underground ceased to exist in any organised form. Leading ANC and Party cadres who were abroad on political and military missions reconstituted themselves as leadership collectives and, over time, took steps to help reestablish the movement's internal presence.

1 1.7

The taekoi' rebuilding the shattered internal structures and rekindling the long agents!!!" mgdepmed to belong and arduous. Undaunted by 6nd in the many's gaole. many ANC and Pamy veterans attempted to m politicallile. immediately on being released. in addition, in the lat; 60's, the Partyk external leadership organised propaganda unigrt to 22:: them of the movement once again. Leatlet Iiitittibs, _stmethe oa- o? ' ternal eydoetykdjnumb, made an appearance at a mm W .n'signsh :olitieel Me were at their lowest Many of the brave Party. activate w o ' ' ' d and murdered.

Moth: work were arrested, tenured, tmpnsone . . .

But in general, for some years after Rivonia, a demoralsting silence had ' ' bmo retreat

daeend the. net! uene. There could, however: .

from mdxgn to ghhtbine armed.with non-armed settvnty; indeed the massive onehught on all aprasions of black resistance underimeti even furth the inadequacy of a policy which did not include preparation for Sectivity The hundreds of ANC and Party cadres who had been .sent ?andformihingwem. by 1965.both ready and anxiotte to go back hameto pulse the liberetion movement's politico-military objectives. dc . d or The unending attemptsito edvenge these obljscuves tnotlh'elcnaleattmmcamt;de mom i 'or diEculties. The pre- voma p l . . , pouibmemEZg ofarqu activities. With its destruction such aeuwtm could neither be sustained nor raised to a highet level. It was constdgted that ' ttons tn

' ' was essential in order to help recreate the very eon l .

ms: nilthgl structures could be developed. Atthe same timer without such pflitieai foundations armed activity itself could not advthce beyom: a certain , ' - emy a a

i ' t. We wemthul forced to find ways of hitting at t e en

' e ofmve Weakness in the area of internal political otganimtien. Armed :giom would play I role in helping to create the condmons which would , thete developed a tendency to focus too

i l ' ' ' ' ' . We did not always pay sufficient attention

udustvely on mm acumuce litical work itself. We acted as ifarmcd

m ' i generate political

' ' d somehow on it: own spontaneously .

owmd mobilisation. And it took some time before attention was

le.

' 0: between these two aspects of our Istrugg' _

swgelfelggia grew during the many years of relative political lull when armed blows seemed to be the only way of keeping the embers of resistance alive. Even when attention began to

process was. at timinbcted with

us

be paid to the direct task of building the

dogma prudi itationai and educational propaganda, the

Am and Ind ' n8 38 a leek of movdimtion betweenithe

political and military structures. This undoubtedly held back both the

political and military objectives of our struggle. - '

Despite unending etTorts it was not until the post-Soweto(1976) period that it became possible to successfully deploy armed combat groups whose activities have grown from year to year. There were some failures and weaknesses. But the unbroken efforts which the movement'was seen to be making to challenge the enemy, even during the darker moments, made an indelible impact on the people. V - I

The prestige of MK grew. it came increasingly to be accepted as the Eghting organ of the oppressed who were stimulated by the spirit of "no surrender" and militant heroism of its cadres. Above all, the potential demonstrated through MIC: armed challenge helped, more than any other factor, to overcome the feeling of impotence in the face of a powerful foe which had for so long, monopolised all the modern insttumets of force. Armed actions helped considerably to create the atmosphere for politicait rejuvenation. The serious crisis facing our ruling class is, in no small measure, due to the impact of a strategy which included organised revolutionaty violence. On the other hand it is the popular mass action: starting with the student and worker actions of the late'1960Ts and eariy .i970's which helped to lay the basis for the introduction ofsustained armed combat actions. : . t :

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' I .

Our Approach to Armed Struggle .1 i ' '

What then is our approach to armed struggle in the current phase?

The military strategy of the liberation alliance has to take into account the concrete objective conditions prevailing in South Africa. We referred to a number of difficulties which we had to contend with when we embarked on the course of armed struggle. These difficulties and many others continue to face us: the lack of an extensive area of classical guerrilla terrain; the absence of a black peasantry in most of the countryside; the separation of residential areas between whites and blacks; the lack of friendly borders; the great mobility and. iire-powet of the enemy; an army whose main contingent benefits from the system of colonial oppression; and imperialist support to the South African regime. in addition, over the past two decades the South African regime. drawing on an advanced capitalist base, has greatly increased its military capacity, refining its counter-insurgency strategies. However, the people and their vanguard liberation movement possess many strategic advantages for the conduct of armed struggle.

9 The oppressed people, the social base upon which the armed struggle depends, enjoy both numerical and superior odds over the enemy. We must bring a jaw-up, which is uniquely supported by the international mutiny. x w l. u i t .

9 That it commands huge resources, the colonial regime is situated within the them: at mule. While this might make the enemy more mm. 8!. the me time. popular action directly alien the base from which it operates. . . w - . . u

9. WWW mgmydhck worken occupies a position within the .eeonotny which give! it the potential to deal with military blows to the quite W The sophistication and complexity of the economic base and Winn: dnpmheiduko-tlmm extremely vulnerable to sabotage and i i

Q The people have a high level of political consciousness: and well as a rich tradition of militancy in the townships and countryside - which, from time to time. Dare up to popular uprisings. They are led by a vanguard movement - armed - with rich experience and - a grasp of revolutionary theory. ; . . i t ; . . l , -

O The influence of the regime's army and police on recruits from the black community. Specially in the townships, provides better possibilities for us to undermine the racist state machinery within.

O Increasing international isolation of apartheid South Africa helps to weaken the economic and social base of the regime.

Given the enemy's military strength, we have to conduct a continuous armed struggle which progressively taps the enemy's strength over a progressively protracted period. But. (as we objectified in the document mentioned about, our: mo! 5: I think a guerrilla-type war primarily band on the winning, 0M time, Q/ m ad Mmudkmm. Mn an t/wu immediate prospect: of inflicting an M military defeat on the M). i _ -

Our armed struggle has to rely, above all, on the people's active struggle. The working class, in particular, possesses vast possibilities to take the war to the streets of apartheid colonialism. - In mass action, the people create the conditions in which the armed struggle can be grounded. It is in these conditions that stimulus can better revive, operate and work among the people's popular uprising. From time to time, led to the emergence at mass revolutionary bases in numerous townships and villages, a reliable and secure terrain for the operation of combatants. -

10 many times upheavals the people make heroic efforts to engage the enemy using rudimentary weapons. Street battles and barricades take shape :20

where mass confrontation with the enemy becomes a regular feature. At their initiative, the youth and other sectors set up Self Defence Units and combat groups. This creates the basis (on the revolutionary movement to raise mass revolt to hiding forms of insurrectionary activity, by popularising the skills of armed combat and giving all-round leadership and direction to the popular combat formations. in carrying out this task, particular attention should be paid to the formation of underground organisation in the industrial centres and white-owned farms. i . i . . . I i , I

In the rural areas, the growing mood of rebellion and opposition, particularly in the townships, provides the soil for the creation and operation of rural combat formations. This popular ferment, and the relative weakness of the enemy in some rural areas, also hold out the possibility for the survival and operation of guerrilla-type formations. However, even in these areas armed activity should be closely linked with, and progressively merge with, mass activity, . t l . I

All the forces engaged in physical confrontation with the enemy against the enemy constitute the revolutionary army of our people. The core of this army is Umkhonto we Sizwe, operating in both urban and rural areas. This core must draw in the most active contingents of the people, who are ready to take up arms. It is a vital and ongoing task of the liberation alliance to strengthen and engage all layers of the revolutionary army in action. Crucial to the fulfilment of this task is the development of underground structures in all areas and among all sectors of our people. , , . l t . , I V

Relationship Between Military and the Political Struggle ,4 .

Our approach to the relationship between military and other forms of political struggle is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the experiences of other revolutionary struggles and, above all, our own concrete realities. We communists believe that the struggle must always be given forms appropriate to the concrete political situation. It is this situation, which determines whether the revolutionary transformation can be achieved by

military or non-military struggle or by a blend of both, A decision to include combat activity as part of the political struggle does not, in itself,, imply that the military struggle has become primary or that the route to victory will be only through the barrel of a gun. .i i
Organised combat activity undoubtedly continues to..be an essential ingredient of our political strategy for revolutionary transformation. The racist state was founded on violence and survival on violence and terror. It
2121

will not be destroyed or give way without an All-round revolutionary assault. Aouablnatim olgrowing political upsurge and escalating armed struggle is dearly vital in order to help create a condition in which People's Power can be won. Organised armed activity continues to be one of the most important means of helping to deepen the regime's crisis. " . . . , ' "mi

But, as emphasised by the ANC's Kabwe conference in 1985; without a W W W to provide a timely means throughout the auto, in but malondurban arm, armed activity cannot significantly increase - xehugudly. A true Wuguhdubdi utiualandbalbotbguidad bu inland W W W lodmltipwllt .truth: i- all (A: major localities, ddIbNQ/m. #aymudihonfnlhminhg ofllttamdtmgblo

This does not imply that armed action against the enemy should be postponed until we have achieved a higher level of internal organisation. The balance of political and military activities must be right at all times: of our M and O's. In my ID! um mangle: and more". The need for specialised agents of struggle should not be allowed to undermine political leadership of all aspects of the struggle. guerrilla activity must be maintained by the Maflhpolia'mlmuah. It is a bad thing to have (lumen) 'tgnp an the MI! ofm and h uinfm palatal Malian, organisation and "MIWL ' Seizure of Power - .

The situation has within it the potential for a relatively rapid emergence of a condition: which makes possible seizure of power. We cannot, however, be dogmatic about the moment and form of such a breakthrough. Conditions for a revolutionary transition will only emerge through a combination of objective condition: and subjective factors. In other words it will depend not only upon what we do but also upon what the enemy does. not only on our strength but upon the enemy's weakness. At the subjective level the key element is the build-up of nationwide popular protest, resistance, all levels of organisation and the emergence of people's combat formations. At the objective level it is: a weakening of the enemy by internal factors such as: a radical deterioration in the economy, increased external pressure against the rule. massive inflation and division within the power bloc. self-wounding enemy initiatives, and so on. When both subjective and objective elements converge, when mass activity has in height and divisions and vacillation in the ranks of the enemy are at their strongest, the consequent crisis will signal the possibility of a revolutionary breakthrough - 9

122

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But the development of a crisis, however deep, will not, in itself lead to an enemy collapse and a people's victory. The seizure of power will only be assured if the revolutionary movement has already effectively prepared the necessary political and organisational forces with the capacity to launch an offensive for the seizure of power at the right moment. This at once poses the question: of our approach to insurrection as a likely path to people's power. In an insurrection, unlike a coup, is a mass revolutionary upsurge of the people in conditions which hold out the possibility of a seizure of power. It does not lend itself to blue-printing in the same way as a coup does. The call for an insurrection can only be placed on the immediate agenda of struggle if, and when, a specific revolutionary moment has emerged. However the task of making adequate preparations for a possible insurrectionary moment needs attention even during the phase when it is not yet imminent. An insurrection is an act of revolutionary warfare. But, it is not always an armed uprising. An all-round civil uprising could lead to an insurrection even when the armed factor is absent or secondary. History has seen successful insurrections of both types. Historical experiences are instructive but cannot provide us with an exact model. At the end of the day we have to find our own way. In what way then can we talk of an insurrection as a possible path to power? The crisis facing our ruling class will be aggravated still further by a combination of mass upsurge, in which working class action at the point of production will play a key role, mass defiance, escalating revolutionary combat activity, international pressure, a situation of ungovernability, a deteriorating economy and growing demoralisation, division, vacillation and confusion within the power bloc. When all these elements converge in a sufficient measure, the immediate possibility of an insurrectionary breakthrough will present itself. Such a situation will, of course, not simply ripen on its own; it must be created, in the place, on the work of the revolutionary movement. But we must also be prepared for a relatively sudden transformation of the situation. In the conditions of deepening crisis, events triggered off by the tiniest sparks, seemingly remote from the real breeding ground of the revolution, can,

overnight. grow into a revolutionary turning point (Lenin). The regime's grip on its reins of power could be swiftly weakened and the stage set for a sustained national uprising leading to an insurrectionary seizure of power. The subjective forces - both political and military must be built up so that when these seeds of revolution begin to germinate, the vanguard will be able to seize the historic moment. In Mexico, all-round mass action, merging with genuine armed activity, led by a well-organized underground. and transnational

123

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plenum, are the keys to the hitherto unexploited power. Satz of power
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The nevoluu'onniy mdvement must plane itselun the belt posidqni to plan
for, and to iudnn insuneaion 'at the tight moment. This means, among
other things, paying special attention to building factory, urban and nmityy
band combat groups. populating imunctiowy methodeamongtthe
mane: and winning overielements fmm the enemyh armed forces. ;T he
panill uprisingswhichhawbccomea ieatumofourmau struggles must also
be seen as a school for the accumulation'of insurmtionry experience. The
mgmisation of the , industrial working clau- isi of major - importance;
protracted national strikes and other ' industrial activity at the point of
production will be a vital (actor'in the maturing oi the niveetoolutio'nzu'y
moment'. Above all, a political vanguard is needed to plan ionandaiead; the
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Then is no Iconilicti between .this- insurrectionary perspective andt-the
pouibility danegotiated mmierof powen. There should be no confusion of
the strategy needed to help create the conditions for the winning of power
with the exact form of the ultimate breakthrough. Anna! muggb-cannol b:
mm with dialoguo, negotiation andjuui/iabh campmniim. a: if-tluy wm
mutually exclusive caugoriu. Liberation struggles have rarely ended with the
unconditional sumnder oi the enemy's military forces. Every such struggle
in our continent has had its climax at tho-negotiating table, occasionally
involving compromises judged to- be in the interest: t-of nevolutionan/
advance. But whetheI-there is an hrmed admire of power or negotiated
settlement what is indisputable to bath lathe development ofnhe political
md military forecaofthe molution.- w u w ,., u u i 5." ii .
We should be 'on bur guard against the clear objective of our ruling class
and their impetidist allies who see negotiation u a way of pnt-emptingm
molutionary transformntion.tThe imperialists seek their own kind - of
transformation which goes beyond-the reform limits of the present regime
but which will, ati the 'me time,- frustrate the- basic objectives of the
struggling masses And May hop: Milieu Mi: by pushing the liberation moment
into updatiu hf." it tuneup mghhbalk it: baticdomand: with :ujficimtpown
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must noebeallowed to infect the PUIpOSC and content of our present strategic
124

approaches. We are not engaged in a ttrugglo whose alumina: mmly (a general;
ndficuni pmwu taming the WW ml: to M; negotiating tabla,-il', as a result of a
gcueruhucd minis and a heightened .rcvolutiwii/ upsurge. the paint should
everbe malted when the enemy is prepared in talk. the liberation iprces will,
qu/m! pamphave w exerprise their judgement,,gpided by the demande of
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The Enemy Armed F orces , . h I
it is tinlikqu that the enemy forces will, within any foreseeable future, come
overin large numbers to the side ofthe people, The puspibiity of the army
piaymg ah. autonomous role antihttempting t9 impose an open military
dictatorshipto counter a nevolutionary upheaval cannot be ruled out.
But these gregnptthe only possible oninevitabl c options, There are a
number of other factors which cowad, have animmrtagt bearing on the
prqutplg pf the enemyis military at theerucithistoriq moment in the
(mum. .l" his applies particularly, t9 its . black. qpntingqptg. The black
cpmpphem of the enemyis army and police fore; and thosein-thc Bentustans
grpws.biggei'. ,lt is a compqnet which gain, at theinight moment, be won over
to the side ul'their fellow-oppressed countrymen) and women. The potential
tout making such an inruad is increasing. '
The SADF is predominantly a conscript army. Asa whoiethey represent
the class and social composition oi'the dominant group. The gonni et and its
Quigome is vitally bound up with their personaidass and community
wnnhctions. T he army can hardly .feil tq reilegt all the streeses . and
comradictions which dcvslop in society as a whole at the-nrucial moment of
confrontation. At such a moment a lack ofcohesion and consensus within the
arihy;ghout its responses to thercvolutiouary upsurge, could delay decisive

action end provide mono space for a break-throiugh.;The uncertainties could grow Ah the. Mack component ofithe army, including its buntustan cghtmgents, turn towards the pcople.:A significant, minority .among the white SADF might even be inllucnced to begin to acceptnhe ultimate inevitabilityi. of majority rule and vscek anz accommodation with the nevolutionary forces. Disailbction amang the white middle strata, irom which the bulk of theoiiicer corps is drawn. is already at a high level. It is among these strata that resistance In the Walt has grown impressively in the mant-period.i.. .t .. .i . .i,

