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PERSPECTIVES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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1. The development of the guerilla struggle in Southern Africa has naturally aroused tremendous interest all over the world. The fighting in Zimbabwe which has recently been intensified marks the first armed struggle in the country since 1896. The units of Umkhonto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) which are fighting jointly with their comrades of ZAPU are raising the banner of armed struggle in South Africa sixty years after the Bambata rebellion of 1906. The repercussions of these actions in Southern Africa are already profound even though they are only at the elementary stage of the revolution. The imperialists and their servitors in Southern Africa have been engaged in their own assessment of these events. The talks between George Thomson, the British Commonwealth Secretary and South African and Rhodesian White politicians was in large measure a reflection of anxiety at the implications of the spread of guerilla struggle to Rhodesia and South Africa.

2. It is natural that the revolutionaries in Africa and elsewhere who fully support the just struggle of the South African people are deeply concerned about the present stage of the revolution. Anxious to see the victory of the South African revolution in the shortest possible time all progressive people the world over desire to understand the thinking of the South African liberation movement as to the perspectives, strategy and tactics of the South African revolution.

3. The struggle for liberation in South Africa has a long and proud record. The oppressed people and workers of South Africa have created organisations which have consistently led the masses in movements against racialism and exploitation for democracy, equality and freedom. In the course of the struggle of decades the South African people have made use of many forms of struggle - parliamentary, trade unions, strikes, civil disobedience, boycotts, demonstrations. The organisations of the people have remained amazingly stable throughout the last fifty odd years. Thus the African National Congress has been the embodiment of the liberation movement in South Africa for the last fifty-five years; The South African Communist Party is forty-six years old. The fact of the experience of the political movements is a great positive factor. Yet it can also be a negative feature as it may in some senses inhibit appreciation of the really radical and sharp turn taken by the movement when the decision was taken to prepare for the armed struggle which has now broken out. Thus some sections of the movement have tended to regard the armed struggle as the adoption of one more of a large number of methods of struggle. In a sense this is true. The armed struggle does not invalidate the use of other forms of mass struggle. In fact under conditions of armed struggle, in which the people have the means to protect themselves against indiscriminate terrorisation by the ruling class, other forms of mass struggle will acquire new force and importance. But in another sense it is quite wrong to regard the armed struggle in South Africa as no more than another method of struggle. The decision to resort to armed revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the South African regime was arrived at after decades of struggle and sacrifice. It is the result of a cool and scientific assessment of the realities of the South African situation. It will call for a complete and revolutionary change in the masses, their organisations - in habits, methods and quality of leadership. The process has begun. To the extent that the whole of the oppressed and progressive people in South Africa can be transformed into a force for the waging of a total people's war, the victory of the revolution will be assured.

4. Consideration of the prospects of revolution in any country in our time involves a study of both international and internal factors. Furthermore, all factors - objective and subjective, economic, political, social and military all form part of the process. And let it be said at once that we believe that it is the task and duty of a political leadership to make such

an assessment. In our case the African National Congress and its allies in the liberation movement were and are unanimous that armed revolution is the way out for the South African struggle for freedom, and the army of the people is being built by the political movement. What lay behind the decision of the ANC and its allies?

5. The International Climate

The counter-offensive of imperialism which attempts to turn back the clock of history continues unabated. In Vietnam the United States has committed naked aggression against the people of that country. Regardless of the consequences the United States steadily escalates the war and is now standing on the brink of war with other neighbouring states. Despite tremendous suffering the heroic Vietnamese people have fought the military machine of the biggest imperialist power to a halt. With great skill and courage the forces of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam have shown that the export of counter-revolution can be an expensive and utterly fruitless venture even by a world power. By their struggle the Vietnamese people are rendering a direct help to fighters for freedom all over the world including South Africa. Other aspects of the imperialist counter-offensive have been the Arab-Israeli conflict whose aim was to overthrow the government of the UAR and Syria. This most serious attack failed in its objectives and one of its side-effects - the closing of the Suez Canal - has had unexpected economic effects on the imperialists themselves; In Bolivia the counter-revolution aided by the CIA deprived us of Che Guevara - the outstanding Communist revolutionary. The situation in Greece and then in Cyprus has aggravated tension to a high pitch in the Mediterranean.

6. A negative feature of the international situation is also the continuing division in the progressive forces occasioned by the great power and chauvinistic policy pursued by the Mao Tse-Tung group in China.

7. Yet despite these set-backs the world situation looked at not in this or that particular sector but taken as a whole reflects the growing strength of the progressive forces. No problem in the world can be solved without taking into account the views of the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the progressive forces which in its fifty-first year of existence is experiencing a mighty flowering of its economy, science and technology, culture and military might. All the socialist countries are successfully accomplishing the reforms of economic management necessary in the period of the second great stage of socialist construction. Already the socialist countries who constitute a third of the world's population are producing more than a third of the world's goods.

8. The working class in the developed capitalist countries is growing and gaining greater moral authority and strength. The mass struggles against Vietnam and exploitation by the monopolies are becoming fiercer every day. The people will not tolerate a lowering of their standards of living through increased taxation, economic freeze, and other methods. The crisis of world capitalism of which the most dramatic manifestation has been the devaluation of the pound sterling continues to harrass the imperialists. The contradictions between the imperialist powers are reaching crisis proportions. The attack on the dominance of the dollar by France indicates that the post-war supremacy of the United States is over. The aroused capitalist powers of Europe are reaching out for a greater share of imperialist loot, in the two-thirds of the world still subject to imperialist exploitation. France which is in many ways the stalking horse of the revanchist West German ruling class has taken the lead in the challenge to United States dominance of the capitalist world.

9. The United States is faced not only by the external problems aggravated by its aggression on Vietnam but by a serious and profound crisis at home where the Americans of African descent have mounted a

powerful attack on racism, and national oppression in actions that have racked the citadel of imperialism. The determination of Africans in the United States to fight for their rights by all means is a vital support to our struggle against racism and national oppression in Southern Africa.

10. The economic crisis of capitalism and the collapse of the arrangements governing the international monetary system devised at Bretton Woods after the second world war vitally affect South Africa, the greatest producer of gold in the capitalist world. The gold mining industry, the greatest earner of foreign exchange in our country and still the most powerful single factor directly and indirectly in the economy has flourished on the basis of the most diabolically ruthless exploitation of the African people not only in the country but in neighbouring states as well. An increase in the price of gold in relation to the dollar would give a big boost to the economy of South Africa. Some have argued that therefore this would hamper the development of the South African revolution and that there is therefore a contradiction between the attack on the dollar by France and the interests of the South African oppressed people. This is absolute nonsense. An increase in the price of gold would multiply by many times the contradictions in the South African system in which economic development is being deliberately retarded by racialism and apartheid. The country's natural economic development is being subjected to artificial brakes in the interests of protecting the privileges and political power of the White minority. It is not development or the "prosperity" of South Africa that keeps the African people oppressed. It is the ruthless exploitation and oppression of our people which maintains the privileged minority in "prosperity" at our expense. The discovery of new gold mines on the Free State and the devaluation of 1949 led to a so-called tremendous advance in the economy of South Africa. This was the period of the most militant and determined struggles of the African people. The idea that revolution only occurs in periods of "economic crisis" is so one-sided and undialectical that it cannot be seriously considered.
11. The national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has made giant strides. The formal political independence enjoyed by approximately sixty states since the second world war has now begun to assume more profound forms of social and economic independence. The issue now facing the newly independent states is how to overcome the legacy of backwardness left by colonialism; how to gain control of their economies from imperialist control; how to escape from the strait-jacket of production of primary products whose prices are subject to the whims of the international capitalist market and to start their own industries; how to smash the intrigues of neo-colonialism and advance to the development of independent national economies. The new state of national liberation carries with it dangers and hazards greater perhaps than the fight for political independence itself. The military coups suffered by Africa in the last two years illustrate the problems we now face. Nevertheless in the assessment of the situation as it affects our revolution the victories of the liberation movement and the rise of independent states must count as a very decisive factor.
12. The continental balance of power in Africa has shifted especially in relation to the White-ruled states in Southern Africa which now have to reckon with the problems of dealing with and being neighbours of states whose basic interests are diametrically opposed to theirs. The fact that their neighbours are ruled by African governments and not by their imperialist partners produces differences which help the liberation movements. This is so even where the African states concerned are economically dependent on the White minority states and are governed by reactionary governments. Our bitterness and annoyance with the governments of Banda in Malawi and Leabua Jonathan in Lesotho must not lead to the absurd unhistorical and reactionary conclusion that these countries were better when they were ruled by imperialist Britain. The true challenge in these countries as in all newly independent states is to

advance from formal political independence into economic and social independence. This will be achieved through struggle.

13. Consideration of the international climate in which our revolution takes place would not be complete without mention of the international solidarity movement against the apartheid regime. The people of the world abhor apartheid and all it stands for. The Apartheid regime is on the moral and political defensive in the world's councils. Hence its arguments now centre wholly on the economic prospects of the Republic of South Africa based on blatant appeals to the most acquisitive instincts of capitalism. Profits and high dividends based on cheap African labour, are the lures of the apartheid regime.
14. Summarising then we can say that the international climate operates in favour of the South African revolution. The progressive forces in the socialist countries, in the metropolitan countries and in the third world certainly favour our revolution and as the struggle develops will be mobilised even more effectively in its support. Our ruling class is internationally in a weak position in the political and moral sense. The economy of which they boast rests on the labour of the oppressed people. This is the Achilles heel which makes the South African regime more vulnerable as the oppressed people, with arms in hand, strive for their liberation.
15. Southern Africa

The struggle for freedom in our country is closely linked with the destiny of the whole of Southern Africa.
16. Overshadowing developments in this region is the activity of the great mining octopus whose interests are to be found in South Africa, Swaziland, Rhodesia, Zambia, Congo (Kinshasa), Angola, South West Africa, Botswana and Lesotho. In all these countries minerals are to be found which the great mining companies own and exploit. Not only that but the labour required for the extraction of the mineral wealth is recruited from these and other neighbouring countries such as Mozambique and Malawi. Around this mining activity has sprung up the vast and complex network of industries, farming, banking, insurance, property dealing, communications, transport, harbours, labour control, and services of all kinds which constitute the tentacles of the mining octopus, itself closely linked with international imperialism. A close examination of the companies concerned in all these activities and the personalities of the men running them reveals an inter-locking of interests and directorships which is absolutely astonishing. With Johannesburg as their main centre, these mining monopolies pull the strings which keep over thirty-five million Africans in bondage.
17. The military and security machine operated in Southern Africa by the White minority governments and Portugal is primarily intended to safeguard the interests of the great mining monopolies. Until the power of these groups is smashed it will be difficult if not impossible for even the formally independent states within Southern Africa to control their destiny and take their own economic path.
18. The challenge to the awesome power of the mining monopolies and their servitors in the governments of Southern Africa lies in the African liberation movement whose struggle is clearly in a new and higher stage.
19. The issues at stake in Southern Africa and the fantastic maze of contradictions in the situation have been most graphically revealed in the continuing crisis of Rhodesia. It is here that the focus of contradictions lies in Southern Africa.

20. The basic conflict is that between the African people and the ruling white minority in Rhodesia. The African people led by their national organisation ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) are waging a courageous struggle for their liberation from local and external imperialism. Towards the liberation struggle of the people the Rhodesian ruling class is vicious and terroristic.
21. Marginal to the basic issue of the freedom of the four and a half million African people in their own country is the quarrel between Great Britain and the Rhodesian Whites. This is a veritable case of thieves falling out. The thieves who have deprived the Africans of their country and have jointly exploited the people for decades are quarelling over the loot. Both are discussing what is not and has never been theirs. And as partners in the oppression and exploitation of the Africans in Rhodesia for so long every effort has to be made to get a tidy and gentlemanly dissolution of the partnership. Were it not so tragic for the masses of oppressed people the situation has all the elements of a hilarious comedy. And like all good comedy the action is enhanced by the air of dead seriousness with which the actors go through their parts.
22. The British imperialists who are the bloodiest and most ruthless in history claim there has been a rebellion against them in the "colony of Rhodesia". They, however, will not and in fact cannot use force against the "rebels". Not only that, but they will not allow anybody else to use force against the "rebel regime" not even the oppressed African people who suffer under it. The action proposed against the White minority regime is the application of economic sanctions whose operation is now a cruel farce.
23. It took a detachment of ANC and ZAPU guerrillas to expose the entire farce in all its nakedness. The reactions to the actions of the freedom fighters who fought the battles in Wankie in August this year ran to copy-book form. The Ian Smith group which is not recognised as a government anywhere in the world, asked for help from the government of South Africa. Troops and planes were sent by South Africa to Rhodesia without the consent of Britain which is supposed to be the sovereign power in Rhodesia. Britain then sent a note to Zambia rebuking that country for allegedly "harbouring terrorists". The African people fighting against a bunch of "rebels" who are oppressing them in their own country are described as "terrorists." Endless meetings were held in London, Salisbury and Pretoria, presumably to try and alter the script of the comedy. The whole Rhodesian case is a sickening example of the contempt with which the imperialists hold the rest of mankind.
24. The armed actions of the ZAPU-ANC freedom fighters were the first example of liberation movements from two neighbouring states acting in pursuance of a common strategy. This is possible because of the strong bonds between the peoples in these countries and also because the socio-economic set-up in both bears similar characteristics.
25. The need for the freedom movements in Southern Africa to co-ordinate their activities has long been recognised. For some time the issue was bedevilled by the existence of splinter groups artificially created and maintained by forces external to Southern Africa. As the true nature and character of these groups became clear the path of co-operation among the genuinely revolutionary movements was facilitated. In addition, the emergence of substantial liberation armies in the different unliberated countries of Southern Africa made co-operation essential.
26. Much still remains to be done in the field of co-operation among liberation movements and it is being done.
27. On the other hand some ideas on this subject have become extreme and unrealistic. The concept of a single political and military command for the entire area of Southern Africa is erroneous and could be highly

dangerous. Its effect could be precisely to strangle the revolutionary struggle in Southern Africa to the benefit of the imperialists. Guerrillas from one country cannot automatically and invariably fight in another part of Southern Africa, though the circumstances of Zimbabwe and South Africa have made this to some extent, possible for these two countries. So that whilst the maximum unity and co-ordination is required and in fact is being developed between the ANC, ZAPU, FRELIMO, MPLA and other movements, primarily these organisations and their armies must and will fight in their own countries under their independent leadership and command. It is important that this be recognised early and firmly before ultra-revolutionary and cosmopolitan ideas are put forward to disrupt the genuine revolutionary unity of the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

28. Problems of the South African Revolution

The programme of the South African Communist Party adopted in 1962 contains a detailed study of the character of the state, economic and social structure of the Republic. The Party programme characterises the structure of South Africa as constituting "colonialism of a special type". The features which give rise to this description are as follows:-

29. (a) South Africa is a highly developed country with all the features of an imperialist country which exports capital and seeks to dominate and exploit other countries.
30. (b) A number of colonists have settled in the country for a very long time and regard the country as their home. They are a white minority which constitutes a social base not only for the local system of rule but for international imperialism with which this minority is allied.
31. (c) The country is independent and sovereign. It is a founder member of the United Nations and has its own international links all over the world.
32. (d) The vast majority of the people in the country - the Africans and other non-white groups are nationally oppressed and experience all the sufferings of colonial people in a continent that has recently emerged from colonialism. To the Africans South Africa has no freedom and no independence at all.
33. (e) South Africa like all imperialist countries is in reality exploited by a tiny class of mining magnates, industrialists, farmers and commercial interests who use the weapon of racialism to blur and conceal the class realities in the country. This they have done by giving a monopoly of political, economic and social privileges to the Whites in the country at the expense of the Africans, so that the White people have a vested interest in the preservation of a society of which the capitalists of United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan and their local allies are the real masters.
34. The combination of all these features within the bounds of a country belonging to the colonially oppressed indigenous Africans is what constitutes "colonialism of a special type."
35. The situation in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) is not completely identical with that of South Africa. For one thing Rhodesia is not an independent and sovereign state and is technically a colony of Great Britain. This technicality is of little comfort to the oppressed people of Zimbabwe. But in other essentials the political, economic and social structure of Zimbabwe is remarkably like that of South Africa. Apart from this is the fact that particularly close relationships exist between the oppressed peoples of both South Africa and Zimbabwe. They share common

African languages; have close traditional and historical ties. Thus an alliance between ZAPU and the ANC cannot but receive warm support from the people of both countries. The Alliance unites the 19 million Africans in the two countries in a common revolutionary struggle. This remarkable example of co-operation between two oppressed peoples cannot but receive the support of all genuine progressives.

36. Since the adoption of the party programme in 1962 the structure of South Africa has not fundamentally altered. The oppression and exploitation of the non-Whites has been greatly intensified. All the old inequalities and discriminatory practices have been further emphasised. This is so despite the so-called boom which the country has experienced in the last five years.
37. South Africa has it is true experienced a tremendous growth of its economy especially in the manufacturing sector. This has led to a great shortage of skilled labour which has seen more and more Africans drawn into jobs which were formerly regarded as the preserve of the White people. This development has taken place in some areas of industry not as the result of a deliberate and conscious policy but in fact contrary to it. Wherever such relaxation of the colour-bar occurred it has been to the advantage of the Whites and limited in scope. This trend has existed in South Africa ever since industrialisation began. An opposite trend has been the deliberate policy pursued by the present regime to prevent the integration of the Africans and other non-White people in skilled jobs, trade or commerce.
38. The Group Areas Act and other legislation is being rigorously carried out. Already there are twenty thousand Indians in the Lenasia ghetto of Johannesburg. In other parts of the country the same process can be observed of harming the trade of the Indian people by pushing them out into ghettos far from the centre of the towns and cities.
39. The Job Reservation provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act (1956) as amended have been used to deprive Coloured people of many jobs which they formerly were able to do.
40. As far as the Africans are concerned all laws which relegate our people to the position of a voteless, controlled, exploited and pass-ridden labour force have been made even more effective. Everywhere one looks in South Africa the picture is one of more restrictions, more control, more intimidation.
41. Therefore the much vaunted "boom" we have been hearing so much about has in fact been a capital boom, not one of consumption for the masses. The economic growth was not the result of a liberalisation of policies but on the contrary resulted from even more vicious exploitation of the workers especially in the mining and farming fields. Foreign capital investment has been attracted precisely because of the fantastic profits derived from a country in which 80% of the people are held in colonial subjection.
42. The stress on the economic "achievements" of the fascist regime has been a propaganda ploy taking on a more sophisticated version of the old South African racist adage "Give the Kaffir plenty of mealie-meal porridge and bread and he is satisfied." The glossy material put out by the South African information services and putting out the same stuff every year is designed to show happy Africans in the urban areas who have made good. A comparison is then drawn between conditions in South Africa and the rest of the continent to the disadvantage of the latter. Upon examination it will be found that the comparisons are false and in any case are completely irrelevant. The stark fact is that the contrast between the wealth of the White minority and the poverty of the Africans is growing. The situation is comparable to

that of the United States whose Afro-American people no doubt enjoy a standard of living higher than that of non-white people anywhere else in the world. This is completely irrelevant within the United States context in which the Afro-American people suffer vicious oppression in contrast to the rest of the population. In South Africa as well since the second world war the Africans have been getting a progressively smaller and smaller share of the national income despite the absolute increase in wages and salaries. In the peak year of 1944-45 the earnings of non-whites as a percentage of white earnings was 29.3%. The percentage has now fallen to something like 20% and some economists put it even lower than that. It is in this contrast between the conditions of the masses and those of the privileged that revolutions are made.

43. Since the liberation movement took the path of armed struggle an idea has been heard even in progressive circles that there is "no economic crisis in South Africa and therefore conditions are not ripe for revolution." This has even been advanced as a Marxist proposition. This is so philistine and monstrous a proposition that we absolutely refuse to take it seriously. We merely mention it because of some very unexpected quarters from which it has emerged. The Africans are fighting against an alien minority that has stolen their country and has oppressed them. The time has now arrived for this to be stopped by an aroused and armed people.
44. We have previously referred to some of the features of South African society which justify the conclusion that what we have here is a special form of colonialism. These characteristics have profound political-military implications for a people who, like ours, has embarked on the path of revolutionary armed struggle.
45. It is naturally impossible in the course of a brief article to deal with these implications in full and we merely draw attention to some of them.
46. The population is multi-national and with differing racial origins. Of the 18 million people of the country over three million are of European origin and as a group have arrogated to themselves all political power, economic opportunities and social privileges. This does not mean that the Whites belong to the same class. The bulk of the Whites form a privileged stratum - an aristocracy of labour in relation to the oppressed non-White people. In fact, however, they are also subject to the rule of the big bourgeoisie allied with international imperialism which is the real ruler of South Africa. By law, custom and ideology the bourgeoisie have fanned the flames of racialism to an extent that has subjectively driven class consciousness to the background among the Whites who collectively regard themselves as the rulers of the black majority. This racial differentiation is the most striking phenomenon in South Africa and puts its imprint on everything.
47. Thus you have the whites behaving and acting as an alien imperialist segment set in amongst the colonially oppressed non-whites. The "imperialists" and the "colonial" people occupy the same country and are integrated in the same economy which rests on the labour of the vast black majority.
48. Therefore the revolutionary struggle against White supremacy state takes on the characteristics of a civil war. Yet unlike a civil war where the population is homogeneous, here the supporters of the regime are a

* See W.H. Hutt - The Economics of the Colour Bar (A. Deutsch)
H. Houghton - The Economy of S.A.

distinct group differentiated from the majority who inevitably hate the system and have no interest whatsoever in its preservation. Militarily this expresses itself in many ways. The South African army is exclusively composed of Whites who have rigorously kept Africans from any knowledge or use of weapons. This negative feature for the revolutionaries is compensated for by the fact that given modern weapons and techniques the masses of the people can be counted upon virtually to a man to be wholly against the Apartheid regime.

49. In many countries in which guerrilla struggles have been fought the antagonists were a major world imperialist power whose forces were fighting the people in a colony. Such was the position in Vietnam, Algeria, Cyprus and nearer home - in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. In this case the imperialist power from a secure home base and economy was able to send big military forces to the colony.
50. South Africa's resources and economy are those of a country of eighteen million of whom 80% are pledged to fight for their freedom. The local imperialists can look for relatively reliable support from only the privileged 20% of the population.
51. The economy about which the ruling class boasts so much to provide its military and other needs, rests on the labour and work of the very people whom they will have to fight. Every measure taken by the revolutionaries to advance the armed struggle and every counter-measure by the racists will strike blows at the highly sensitive modern economic structure of the country. The White supremacists will find that they are a small country, unable to deploy the manpower and resources to handle the revolution.
52. The developed economy of South Africa is usually looked upon only as a factor militating against the development of a successful revolutionary struggle. Much is made of the excellent roads, railway system, airports and airstrips of the country. With the latest anti-guerilla equipment which gives reactionary governments great mobility and operating in a country which has enormous space but hardly any inaccessible areas, mountains or jungles, it is thought by bourgeois "experts" that the people's struggle is faced with insuperable difficulties. They are difficulties but are not insuperable. The mistake made is to consider these problems one-sidedly and as if the situation will be a static one.
53. The armed units of Unkhonto We Sizwe will be treating all these beautiful roads, railways and airports as targets. The mobile South African army units will be operating among hostile people armed with modern weapons and not with usual sticks and stones which trigger-happy whites have taken advantage of all these decades. Looked at dialectically it will be seen that such a situation will offer tremendous scope for a war of attrition which will present the reactionary fascists with difficulties not much less than those faced by the revolutionary movement in South Africa.
54. Will the struggle in South Africa be urban or rural? Will it be a long guerilla struggle based on the countryside? Or will it be an insurrection led by the workers in the cities? Should the struggle be led by the Communist Party or by the African National Congress?
55. The revolutionary movement in the world has a vast treasure-house of the theory and practice of revolution. The South African revolution has drawn and will continue to draw from this experience. As always in modern revolutions it is necessary for us to place the South African revolution within a theoretical framework so as to minimise the risk of making avoidable mistakes. On the other hand it will be dangerous if we create a theoretical strait-jacket which paralyses or inhibits the development of the South African revolution which any intelligent person will soon realise will present us with some very interesting new features.

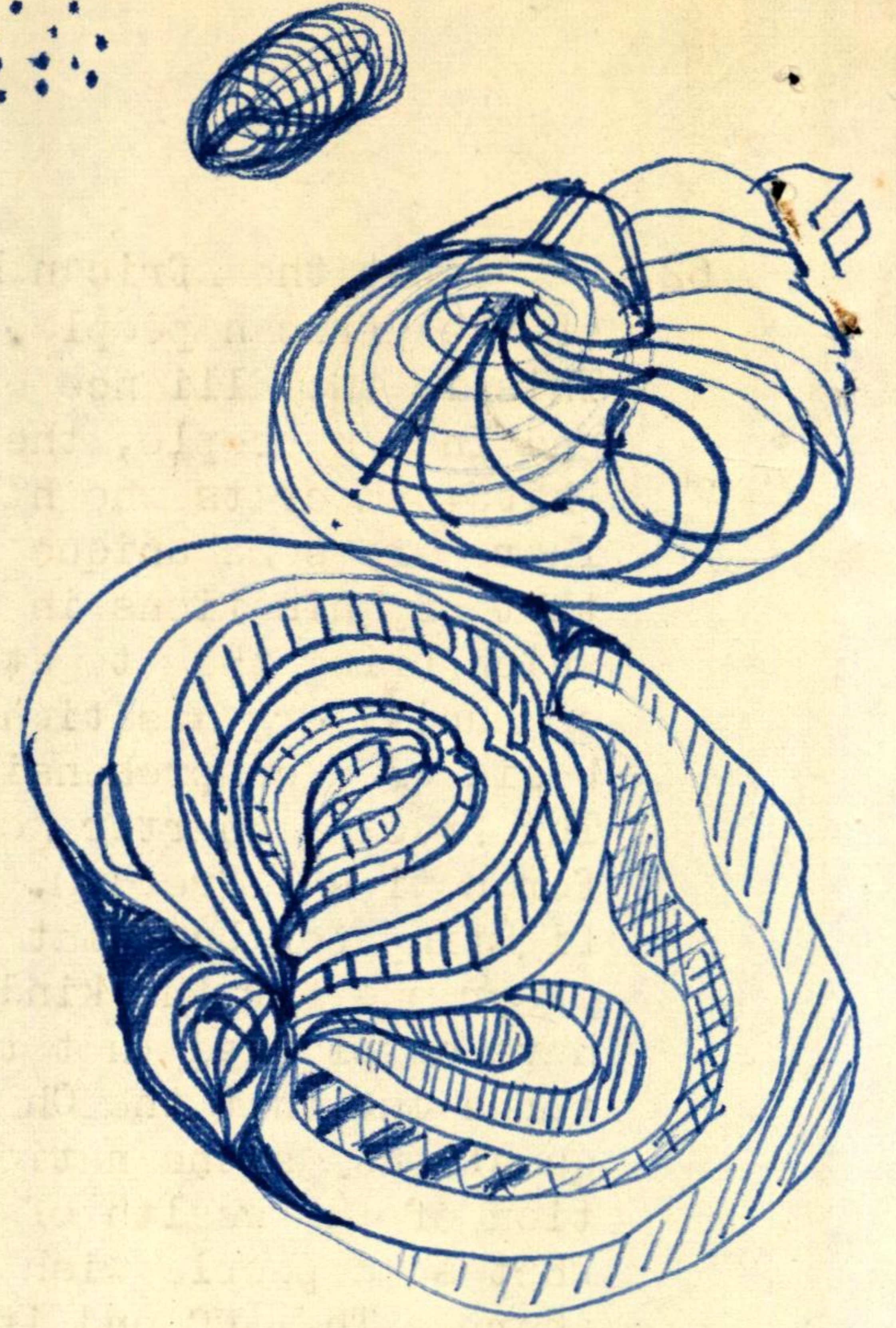
56. Success in the revolutionary struggle will depend ultimately on the extent to which the movement in South Africa is able to mobilise the entire oppressed people in active participation in the revolution. Total activity by all the people in the numerous tasks connected with revolutionary war is even more essential in a country like ours where such favourable factors as inaccessible areas are absent. In such conditions the enemy can be dispersed only by the creation of guerilla zones in widely separate areas over a vast territory. This means that a high level of activity in both urban and rural areas will be required to assure ultimate victory.
57. Our country is vast. And when to it is added South West Africa for which South African security forces are the defence against the revolutionary forces - there is plenty of room in which to develop guerilla activity. There is even more room now that the South African white imperialists have embarked on their expansionist adventures in Southern Africa. In military terms this expansion means South African militarists have undertaken the task of safeguarding imperialist interests over the whole of Southern Africa. The enemy are few and can be prevented from concentrating their forces by skilful application of guerilla tactics.
58. The process of arming and training our people will be a prolonged one. Our orientation must therefore be built on expectation of a prolonged effort before victory can be achieved. The idea that we can achieve success by means of a sudden uprising or insurrection is unlikely, although it is always dangerous to be dogmatic about possibilities in any revolutionary struggle. We must be ready for any eventuality. But on all available evidence it seems our perspective must be that of a long war of attrition. We are militarily inferior in many respects. We will require time to draw our people into the revolution step by step; to arm them; develop their skill in military matters; and mobilise them for a total people's war in the military, political, economic and social fields.
59. The vast majority of the oppressed people live in the countryside either in the so-called African reserves or in the sugar can fields, farms and plantations of the European landlords. This does not mean that the huge South African working class in the urban areas will play a subsidiary role in the struggle. Quite the contrary. Urban struggles will play a big role, especially in conditions of extensive armed struggles in the countryside.
60. The Revolutionary Movement and its Programme
- A revolution requires a tried and tested vanguard organisation of the people as a vanguard. Such organisations arise and are built in different ways. Naturally an organisation is not a vanguard by proclaiming itself as such. It has to win this position by its deeds and its wise political leadership. In this respect the South African revolution is fortunate. The decision to embark on armed struggle was taken by the African National Congress supported by all revolutionary forces in the country.
61. The African National Congress is the founder of the African nation in South Africa. The history of this organisation is inseparable from that of the African people. It is national liberation movement and unites all classes among the African people - workers, peasants, intellectuals. It is a united front of the African people. Because of the rapacity of the local privileged white minority the conditions do not exist at present for the emergence of a bourgeoisie among the Africans although some absurd attempts are being made to produce a stooge class of civil servants and traders dependent on favours from the government. Thus the ANC is a militant organisation of the people led by the working class.

62. But the African National Congress is not only the national movement of the African people. It is the basic element in another united front. This is the alliance of the ANC, the national organisations of the Coloured and Indian people, the working class organisations and the small section of White democrats who have thrown in their lot with the oppressed people. There are some unique features of this united front. It is usually the case that organisations in a united front are agreed on a minimum of objectives which bring them together. The Congress alliance on the other hand unites community organisations, working class and democratic organisations on the basis of a comprehensive programme common to all - The Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter goes beyond the usual demands of organisations struggling for national freedom. The Charter indicates not only what the people are fighting for but what they will do on attaining power. It puts forward a programme for the kind of South Africa the people will create. Some people have complained that the Freedom Charter is not clear. Upon examination it turns out that the Charter is too abrasive and clear in its demands on such questions as the nationalisation of banks; monopoly industries; the restoration of the wealth of the country to the people; the redistribution of land. What some people wish is that the Freedom Charter had not been so clear and sharp. The ANC and its allies say nothing more nor less than is contained in the simple language of the Charter. The aims of the Freedom Charter cannot be achieved unless the state of White supremacy backed by the huge mining monopolies and farming interests and a vast coercive machine is smashed. This can be done through armed revolution by the masses. Then and only then can the people erect the South Africa of our dreams.
63. The South African Communist Party fully supports and its members work as part and parcel of the national front of liberation in South Africa. The Party supports the Freedom Charter as a basis for a minimum programme and the establishment of a People's democratic state, in South Africa. But the Communist Party programme naturally goes much further and raises before the South African people the perspective after freedom is achieved to march to socialism. The timing of the advance to socialism will depend on the course and development of the present national democratic phase of the struggle; the balance of class forces at the critical point and the strength of the socialist forces led by the Communist Party. There is no Chinese wall between the stage of achieving national freedom and socialism in South Africa. But the prospects are bright that in our country the victorious national revolution will move rapidly to socialism. Fundamental to, this is the preservation of the unity of all revolutionary forces both communist and non-communist which has been a basis of all the progress made in the South African revolution which is now coming into its own.
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- (b) pol. rept.

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Julius - check



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